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JANUARY, 1734.

A View of the Weekly ESSAYS *and* DISPUTES *in this Month.*

Universal Spectator, Dec. 29. N° 273.

Reflections on Chriſtmas.



AS this is that Seaſon of the Year which, according to the antient Prerogatives of *Engliſhmen*, introduces a general Scene of *Sociableneſs*, *Hoſpitality*, and *Good Living*, I cannot (ſays Mr. *Stonecaſtle*) take a Walk thro' any of the high Streets of this Metropolis, but I meet with Objects which raiſe in me ſeveral pleaſing Reflections. As I took a Turn the other Day up *Fleet-Street*, I was ſtruck with Admiration at the Number of Porters I met, ſweating under heavy Loads of *Country Delicacies*; one was bearing on his Back all the Variety of a *Poulterer*'s Shop, while another was no leſs fatigued under a Weight of *Chines* and *Hams* of *Bacon*. Nor were our *Citizens* leſs grateful to their Country Correſpondents, but I obſerv'd were very buſy in diſpatching away their *Quota's* of *Spice*, *Plumbs*, *Sugar*, *Rice*, *Wine*, &c. This *Sociable Commerce* for the promoting of *Good Fellowſhip*, and theſe mutual *Exports* and *Imports*, rais'd in me a ſtrong Idea of the *Good Nature* of our *Britiſh Anceſtors*, who firſt gave a Foundation to this Cuſtom. But what delighted me moſt, was a ſtately Range of *Eatable Columns* I every now and then ſaw diſpoſed in a regular Order; I mean thoſe *Monumental Pillars* of *Engliſh Brawn*, for which our Iſland is remarkable: I could not help thinking that all Foreigners would with Wonder look on thoſe Collars of Brawn as ſo many Emblems of the *Britiſh* Strength. When theſe *Noble Obelisks* are plac'd at the Table, what *Briton*, without ſome Contempt, can behold the *Fricaſees*, the *Ragouſts*, the *Soup Meagres*, and ſeveral other Kickſhaws of *French* and *Italian Cookery*? I continued in ſuch Reflections in Favour of my Countrymen, till the luſcious Preparatives of the Paſtry-Cook's flung me into a different Way of Thinking; I could not without ſome Concern behold the Heaps of waſte Paper in each Shop, which were deſtin'd for the Oven; I conſider'd them as the *Miſcellaneous* Productions of *Authors* in all Profeſſions, who never would have wrote, could they have foreſeen the Fate of their Writings. The Pleaſure I have ſometimes receiv'd myſelf from the Paper which wrapt up a *Cuſtard*, or the *Wiſe Maxims* I have col-

collected from the Bottom of a *Mince-Pye*, have arm'd me with Philoſophy enough not to be under any Concern about the future Fate of theſe my *Lucubrations*, tho' they ſhould happen to be condemn'd to the ſame Uſes.

From the Preparations of keeping *Chriſtmas* here in *London*, I began to reflect on the good old *Engliſh Hoſpitality* which uſed once to reign in the *Country* at this Seaſon; when the *Nobility* and *Gentry* put on that *Good-Natur'd Familiarity*, which never fail'd gaining them the *Love* and *Intereſt* of thoſe People among whom they reſided. But moſt of our modern *Gentry* have taken up a Method of keeping *Chriſtmas* very different from that of their Anceſtors: A Perſon of *Faſhion*, or a *Nobleman*, is generally as great a Stranger to his Tenants and neighbouring Gentlemen of ſmall Fortunes, as if his Eſtate was a *Plantation* in the *Indies*. —Could our *Fine Gentlemen* and *Courtiers* be perſuaded to lay aſide their *Pleaſures* and *Ambition* for a *few Weeks*, and reſide among thoſe People who ſupport them; reſide among them at other Times beſides thoſe when they have *Favours* to ask of them, they would find it more in their Power to ſerve both their *Country* and their *King*.

Weekly Miſcellany, Jan. 5. N° 56.

The Weakneſs of the Modern Free-Thinkers expoſed.

I AM (ſays a Correſpondent of Mr. *Hooker*'s) a Deſerter from the Enemy's Camp, and am come to confirm your Opinion of the Weakneſs of their Forces. One of their moſt noted Leaders made an Attack upon the Bible, and was repulſed with Diſgrace by a ſmall Party of undiſciplined Voluntiers. This mighty Hero thought he ſhould demoliſh *Revelation* at one Stroke, which he aimed at *Moſes*'s Hiſtory of the *Creation*, which, it ſeems, is ſo very abſurd that it deſtroys the Credit of the Whole. *Moſes* makes the World to be but about 6000 Years old, and who can believe that it was not created ſooner? The Gentleman was asked a ſhort Queſtion, or two. Pray, Sir, do you think the World was created at all? Yes. Was it created *in Time*? Doubtleſs. Why then not 6000 Years, as well as ſix Millions of *Ages* ago? Since the longeſt Portion of *Time* bears no Proportion to *Eternity*; and if you carry the Date up as high as Numbers can be invented to reckon with, an *Eternity* lies ſtill behind, and the ſame Queſtion may, with equal Reaſon, be asked, Why was not the World created *ſooner*? Or, to bring the Argument nearer to this ſhort-ſighted Objector; I ſuppoſe he will grant that he himſelf is ſomething younger than the *World*; Now, I would ask him, why he does not object againſt the *Regiſter* as a *Forgery*, for giving him ſo ſhort a Date? If the *Goodneſs* of God was not obliged to create *him* ſooner, it was not obliged to create *any Thing elſe* ſooner. If the Argument proves any Thing, it proves thus much, (which is a great deal too much to be good for any Thing) *viz.* That *Infinite Goodneſs* was obliged, from *all Eternity*, to give Exiſtence to as many Beings as *Omnipotence* could create, and to communicate to them all as much Happineſs as any *created* Being is capable of receiving; ſo that he is now ſupplied with another *huge* Objection againſt *Revelation*, for telling us that there are different *Orders* of Beings: For, if God might give different Degrees of Happineſs to different Beings, he might as well bring ſome Beings into Exiſtence *ſooner* than others, as his infinite Wiſdom ſhould ſee expedient. What a ridiculous Figure does a little Wretch make at the Head of a Table, dictating with ſuch dogmatical Aſſurance, and inſulting the com-

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mon Belief of the wiſeſt and learneded Men of all Ages, upon ſuch pitiful Pretences.

In my Opinion it will be of Uſe, if you take Notice of ſome of the principal Objections, that the preſent *Freethinkers* are perpetually endeavouring to puzzle their Companions with. As ſtrange as it may ſeem to you, if a ſingle Difficulty be ſtarted, many Perſons are ready to give up their Bible, becauſe they are not able to anſwer it; not conſidering, that what appears a Difficulty to *them*, may be very plain and clear to thoſe who are better acquainted with ſuch Things. Great was the Sagacity, and great the Fame of a certain Gentleman, who found out that our firſt Parents are ſaid to have *ſewed Fig-Leaves together*, before there were any *Needles* in Uſe. I own I was ſilly enough, with ſome others, to admire and laugh; but, upon ſober Reflection, I am convinced, that the Gentleman is not quite ſo *ſharp* as a Needle; and that if he had been brought up to the Uſe of that Inſtrument, he might have excelled in the Art of making a *Coat*, or a Pair of *Breeches*; whereas he is not likely to make a Figure by his Objections againſt *Adam*'s *Apron*. How eaſily is this pretty Obſervation deſtroy'd, by ſuppoſing the moſt natural Thing in the World, *viz.* That, tho' our *Tranſlation* ſays they *ſewed* the Leaves together, the *Original* may ſignify no more than that they *put them together*, ſo as to make them a Covering?

§. *A Paſſage from the* Apprentice's Vade Mecum.

ALL the Fopperies and Apiſh Faſhions of the Men of Mode of the other End of the Town muſt be introduc'd into the City: And I have ſeen a prim young Fellow, with a *Cue* or *Adonis*, as they call the effeminate Wigs of the preſent Vogue, *plaiſter'd* rather than *powder'd*, and appearing like the *Twigs* of a *Gooſeberry Buſh* in a *deep Snow*; his Shoulders alſo cruſted or iced over with White, as thick as a *Twelfth-Cake*; with a plaited Shirt, ruffled at Hands and Boſom; a Coat, with a Cape reaching, like an *old Wife's Tippet*, half Way down his Back; Stockings, milk-white; and perhaps Velvet Breeches, with Silver Buckles at the Knees, and Taſſels hanging half way down his Legs; *Spaniſh*-Leather Pumps, (without Heels) and the burniſh'd peeked Toes, ſeeming to ſtare the Wearer in the Face; fine wrought Buckles, near as big as thoſe of a *Coach-Horſe*, covering his Inſtep and half his Foot; on his Head a diminutive Hat hardly bigger than ſome we have ſeen of *Gingerbread*, at a Country-Fair, gallantly cock'd and adorn'd with a Silver Button and Loop: In this Manner, with white Gloves upon his Hands, if he has no Rings, and a Staff near as tall as himſelf, that wants nothing but *Tinſel* and *Bells* to ſerve him for a *Hobby-Horſe*, have I ſeen a modern *London* Apprentice of the pretty Gentleman-Claſs, iſſue forth of his Maſter's Shop, and amble along like a *Running-Footman*, perhaps in Search of ſome light portable Goods, that may not too much diſgrace him in the Carriage, for Supply of his Maſter's Shop.—Perhaps I may be thought to have ſomewhat heighten'd this Deſcription; but at moſt I have only added two or three pretty Fellows of this Claſs, to make up the Character of one; and I wiſh, to complete the Ridicule, and ſhame ſuch Foplings into Reformation, the ingenious Mr. *Hogarth* would finiſh the Portrait.

But let us reſume a more ſerious Air, from which the thorough Ridiculouſneſs of theſe Animals had diverted us; and inform the young Man, that nothing can be more incongruous to his Situation and Circumſtances of Life, as an Apprentice, or ſhew a more light and frothy

Mind, and greater Depravity of Manners, than this Apiſh Affectation and Vanity of Dreſs, which muſt make him deſpis'd by the ſober Part of Mankind, and valued by no one living but himſelf.

Fog's Journal, Jan. 5. N° 270.

A Letter from Paradiſe, ſubſcribed by Dr. Burgeſs *of facetious Memory.*

Mr. FOG,

THE World will be amaz'd at my chuſing to correſpond with you; but let it ſuffice for the preſent to know, that finding the *London Journal*, *Free-Briton*, *Courant*, and *Craftſman*, too warmly and partially engaged, I thought it proper to convey a few Hints by your Paper, to your old Friends my new Converts, and to my old faithful Brethren and Children, to prevent their being impos'd on by either of the Contenders.

Let then my Brethren, and the new Converts, love and cheriſh each other, and be zealous for Liberty, Property, and the Proteſtant Succeſſion. Conſider from whence your Evils proceed, and guard againſt the Promoters of them, whether they come from Court, or independent Whigs, Diſſenters, Tories, or Papiſts, or a Mixture of all, or ſome of them together; remember that *Mammon* was always the real God of Courtiers, who generally caught at and deſpiſed all religious Opinions, or Principles, but ſuch as ſerved their Purpoſes to Riches, Power, and inſolent Ambition. Other Principles in private Life ſignified nothing; the Air of a Court made them ductile to its Deſigns, which always was for more Power; even *Nero* was not ſatisfy'd with his abſolute Tyranny, but wanted a Contrivance to bundle the People's Necks together by ten Thouſands, that he might deſtroy them faſter for his Royal Pleaſure and Diverſion. Have you not heard of the moſt inveterate Republicans having changed their Notes as ſoon as they got within the Sphere of a Court, and bawl out for Paſſive Obedience and Non-reſiſtance, *alias* Prerogative and Penſions?

Therefore, my Brethren, judge Mankind by their Actions, be not deceived by Appearances and Names. Hearth-Money was a great Grievance, and you had it doubled under the Name of Capitation; that too became odious, but was trebled by Window-Lights. Cuſtoms are burthenſome; but Exciſes, under the ſpecious Name of Inland Duties, would be ten Times worſe. Paſſive Obedience is a ridiculous Doctrine, but a Riot Act, it ſeems, is a good Thing; it was abſurd for a Servant of the People to accept of a Place, and ſo become a Minion of the Crown; but a Re-election is a Papal Diſpenſation. Fleeting Accidents, Policy, *&c.* made it convenient to prolong a three Years Parliament into Seven, *Ergo*, every Parliament ſhall be for ſeven Years in *Secula Seculorum*.

You are all Proteſtants, and your Differences in religious Matters are but trifling; be then true *Britons*, and have Charity for one another. *Jure Divino*, Paſſive Obedience and Hereditary Right, thoſe mutual Supports of Tyranny in Church and State, are juſtly exploded; you have been condeſcending and advancing in religious Matters towards each other for ſeveral Years; keep ſteady in this Path, and be not trick'd out of it by Politicks, and Men of no Principles, who will bellow, and roar, and aſſume any Name or Shape to delude and divide you.

You are now, my Brethren, courted by the contending Parties for your Intereſt in the next Elections, and you ought to inſiſt upon Pledges for their future Behaviour. This Winter they have it in their Power to reduce

duce Parliaments to the antient Standard of three Years. *Henry* VIII. was the firſt Introductor of long Parliaments. When the Pope fail'd him in his Divorce from his firſt Queen, he took Care to have a corrupt Houſe of Commons, which he continued for ſix Years together, and they in Return were ſo devoted to his Will, that they enacted whatever he pleas'd; by which Means he became abſolute in Church and State, and play'd the Devil for God's Sake.

The contending Parties have it likewiſe in their Power to annul or explain that Non-Reſiſtance Riot-Act. And this ſeems to be the more neceſſary, ſince a Court-Whig in great Power, as we are told here, did urge Juries to find treaſonable Bills againſt their Fellow-Citizens for humbly appearing at *Weſtminſter*, to implore Mercy and Protection againſt that devouring Devil Exciſes, and that too after the Fact, when all People were Witneſſes of the peaceable and quiet Behaviour of your Fellow-Citizens; but L—— J——s can do any Thing; and conſider this was audaciouſly ſeconded by a divine High-Church Trumpeter from the Pulpit of your Cathedral.

The Army, 'tis true, has hitherto behaved like Geutlemen and *Engliſhmen*, and if a Reduction is improper, Modelling may be fatal; and it will be conſider'd, that their Lives and Bread have depended upon the abſolute Pleaſure of the Crown, altho' their Subſiſtence was paid by the People. Why then ſhould not the Officers of the Army be put upon the ſame Footing as the Officers in *Sweden*, that is, to have their Commiſſions like their Judges, *aut Vita aut Culpa*, during Life or good Behaviour? And indeed this Privilege in *Sweden* was taken from the Model of our Judges Patents; and if the Soldiers had likewiſe the Choice to be diſcharged at the End of five or ſeven Years, as they have in many other Countries, it would greatly honourable to that boaſted Freedom of *Engliſhmen*.

Now, dearly Beloved, you muſt be ſenſible that ſeptennial Parliaments, Riot-Acts, and modelling of Armies, are of no Advantage to your Liberties and Properties, Religious and Civil, and are but of modern Whig Growths; therefore let the aboliſhing of theſe be the Touchſtone to try the Deſigns of the contending Parties; for you'll find this Triumvirate exceeds all the *Tory-rory* A—s of P—r. *Magna eſt veritas, & prævalebit.*

Regard not the Appellations that are aſſumed, or forced upon Gentlemen; let their Zeal in repealing Grievances be the ſolemn League and Covenant of diſtinguiſhing their Patriotiſm, and of intitling them to your Intereſt and Favours at the next Elections. Theſe you may demand and expect as your inherent Birthrights; but would they likewiſe compliment ye with the Favour of effectually ſtopping Bribery and Corruption, Penſions and ſecret Gratuities to the Electors and Elected, it would create an univerſal Joy to us here.

Paradiſe, Dec. 24, *Your loving Father*,
1733. Daniel Burgess.

Craftſman, Jan 5. N° 392.

Extracts from a Pamphlet, intitled a Review of the late Exciſe-Scheme, *&c. in Anſwer to one intitled*, The Riſe and Fall of the late projected Exciſe, *&c.*

WHATEVER *this Writer* may think, following the Trader into his *Vaults* and *Cellars*, or *other private Repoſitories of Goods*, whether run or not, is ſome Abridgment of *Engliſh Liberty*. *Holland* and *Venice*, who are as careful of their publick Revenues as we can be, never allow of any *ſuch Practices*; and *the Officers in* France *have no Power to enter and ſearch Houſes*; ſo that *our Exciſes* appear to be of a

worſe

worſe Kind than thoſe of other Nations, even under *arbitrary Governments*.

But we are aſſured that theſe Regulations were deſigned only againſt *Smugglers* and *Wine Brewers*. Did the *Bill* then make any Diſtinction between the *fair Trader* and *them*; or are all the Dealers in *Tobacco* and *Wine* to paſs under that Denomination?

It is further argued *that thoſe* injurious Dealers *might properly enough be ſubject to the* ſame Law, *which the honeſt Brewer of true* Engliſh Beer *is continually under*. This Argument hath juſt as much Force as the former, and is only quoting *one Grievance* in Juſtification of *another*, and is another Proof that the *Scheme* had a more general Drift than the *Projector* thought fit to own; for I will defy any Man to ſhew that the Caſe of the *Brewers* might not be urged as ſtrongly for converting all our Taxes into *Exciſes*, as well as thoſe upon *Tobacco* and *Wine*.

Another Argument equally fallacious is, that *Places of Sale only* were to be viſited, and that *no Houſe was to be enter'd*. I call this fallacious, and might call it abſolutely falſe; for the Words of the *Bill* are *all Warehouſes, Storehouſes, Rooms, Shops, Vaults, Cellars, and other Places, made Uſe of for the keeping, cutting, ſtripping, or otherwiſe manufacturing any Tobacco*. Now, as to the Body of the *Retailers*, their Shops and Store-Rooms generally take up the greateſt Part of their Houſes, and are ſo complicated together as to render them all liable to Inſpection.

He ſays, *the* Bill *expreſly removes the* greateſt Inconveniences, *which are complained of in the* preſent Laws of *Exciſe, and would have eas'd the* whole Exciſe Law, *in ſeveral Particulars*, and tells us *that it was calculated to prevent* Perjury, *by leſſening the Number of* Oaths, *and relieving the Trader from* ſwearing *to his own Books*.

But is it really true that the *Tobacco Bill* was calculated to remedy *that Evil?* No, tho' he talks ſo confidently of its *removing the greateſt Inconveniences of our preſent Exciſes*, the ſingle Inſtance he mentions to prove it, happens to be falſe; as may appear by ſome Clauſes in the Bill. (See Vol. II. p. 325.)

What therefore can be a groſſer Impoſition on the Publick than the *Author's Aſſertion*; when the expreſs Words of the *Bill* are, that the *Trader* is to *ſwear to the Truth of every Entry in his Books*; and is obliged *every Night to ſet down the groſs Quantity of every leſſer Quantity, in one Book; and in another Book every larger Quantity, that he ſhall ſell every Day of his Life?*

Our *Author* expatiates on the Arts made Uſe of *to affright the Nation with the ſtrange, groundleſs Terror of a* general Exciſe. What is a *general Exciſe* but an Accumulation of *particular Exciſes?* And if he will pleaſe to add what were deſigned by *this Bill* to thoſe, which already ſubſiſt, he will find a pretty large Catalogue.

The following Commodities are already *exciſed*; *viz. Beer and Ale, Mum, Cyder, Perry*, and *ſweet Wines*; *Malt, Brandy* and *all diſtilled Spirits*; *Leather, Soap, Candles, Hops*; *Paper, Paſte-Boards, Mill-Boards*, &c. *Silks* and *Callicoes*; *Starch, Hides, Wire*, and *wrought Plate*; *Cards* and *Dice*; *Coffee, Tea* and *Chocolate*; *Salt*.—— To theſe we muſt add *Tobacco, Wine*, and *Sugar*, which are all known to have been in the *original Scheme*; and then let the *Conſiderer*, or his *Patron* name any one material *imported Commodity*, which would have been left at the *Cuſtom-Houſe*, or *unexciſed*. But when we conſider the vaſt Multitude of *Traders* and *Dealers*, who are affected by *theſe Exciſes*, the Argument will appear in a much ſtronger Light. They are as follows, *viz.*

Brewers, Diſtillers, Inn-Keepers, Victuallers, Coffeemen, Mum, Cyder and Perry-Makers, Malſters, ſweet Wine-Makers, Vinegar-Makers; and

all

all other Perſons, making, importing, or dealing in *exciſeable Liquors*.

Soap-Boilers, *Druggiſts*, *Grocers*, *Tallow-Chandlers*, *Starch-Makers*, *Perfumers*, *Peruke-Makers*, *Barbers*, *Chandlers*; and all other Perſons concern'd in *Tea*, *Coffee*, *Chocolate*, *Starch*, *Powder*, &c.

Hop-Planters, *Tanners*, *Owners of Salt-Pits*, *Leather-Sellers*, *Linnen-Drapers*, *Paper-Makers*, *Paper-Stainers*, *Callicoe* and *Linnen-Printers*, *Paſte-Board*, *Mill-Board* and *Scale-Board-Makers*, *Goldſmiths*, *Silverſmiths*, and *Workers of Plate*, *Wire-Drawers*, and *Refiners of Gilt* and *Silver-Wire*, *Card-Makers*, *Dice-Makers*; and ſeveral other Perſons concerned in making, or vending *theſe Commodities*.

All theſe Trades are already under the *Laws of Exciſe*; to which we muſt add thoſe, who would have been in the ſame Condition, had the *late Scheme* taken Effect; ſuch as

Tobacco-Merchants, *Wine-Merchants*, *Sugar-Merchants*, *Tobacconiſts*, *Vintners*, *Sugar-Bakers*; and all Retailers of *thoſe Commodities*, not already *exciſed*.

Now, if we look thro' all the *Cities* and *trading Towns* in *England*, we ſhall find them inhabited and ſupported chiefly by *ſuch Sort of Men*, who are, or would have been cut off from the common Privileges of their Fellow-Subjects, by *this Method of Taxation*.

There are *two Kinds of Exciſes*; one of which ſtops at the *Maker*, or *firſt Owner*; ſuch as that upon *Beer* and *Ale*, *Malt*, *Hops*, *Soap*, *Candles*, &c. the *other* follows the Commodity not only into the *Retailer*'s Shop, but wherever it goes, and is liable to be ſeized, without a *Permit*; ſuch as that upon *Brandy*, *Rum*, *Arrack*, *Coffee*, *Tea* and *Chocolate*, &c. All our *modern Exciſes*, except that on *Salt*, as well as thoſe intended by the *late Scheme*, are of the *latter Kind*, which is vaſtly more grievous and expenſive than the *other*; both to the *Government* and the *People*.

But it would have been Time enough, ſays the Conſiderer, *to raiſe Alarms, when they found the leaſt Tendency towards a Deſign to exciſe any Part of our* Food, *or to enter any* private Houſe. That is, in plain *Engliſh*, it is Time enough to ſtruggle, when the Kniſe is at our Throat.

But is no Part of our *Food* already exciſed? Is not *Wine*, by long Habit, become Part of our *Food*? Even *Tobacco* is conſidered by the meaner Sort, and ſome of higher Rank, as Part of their *Food*; or at leaſt as uſeful to them as their *Food*: Don't the *fair Sex*, look upon *Coffee*, *Tea* and *Chocolate*, as Part of their *Food*? I know all theſe Commodities are treated as Articles of *Luxury* by the *miniſterial Writers*; and if they can perſuade the *Gentlemen* to leave off drinking *Wine* and ſmoaking *Tobacco*; or if the *Ladies*, even of the *Court-Party*, will agree to burn all their *Tea-Tables*, and ſubmit to the homely Regulations of old Queen *Beſs*'s *Maids of Honour*; I promiſe to give them no further Trouble on this Subject; but in ſuch a Caſe, I muſt deſire them once more to conſider what would become of our *Commerce*, and conſequently of the *Revenue*.

I can go ſtill farther, and defy them to prove that no Part of our *Food*, in the ſtricteſt Senſe, is already *exciſed*. Will they pretend to ſay that *Beer* and *Ale*, *Cyder* and *Perry* are no Part of our *Food*? Can they affirm that *Salt* is not an abſolute Neceſſary of Life; or this Part of our *Food* is not already under an *Exciſe*; a *Tax*, which affects not the Great and the Rich only, but the pooreſt Farmer, Manufacturer and Day-Labourer? Not a Piece of *Bacon*, *ſalted Beef*, or *Pork* can they eat; not a Pound of *Butter*, a little *Cheeſe*, or even a Bit of *Bread* can they make, without contributing ſomething to it. This, no Doubt, is a great Favour to the *Landed Intereſt*; and as to *Navigation*, are not all our Ships victualled with

ſalted

ſalted Proviſions? Let any Man therefore judge what an Eaſe *this Tax* muſt be to our *Commerce*, and how likely to give us the *Balance of Trade*.

As for *entering private Houſes*, it appears from what hath been ſaid before that almoſt all the *trading Part of the Kingdom* are already, or would have been, ſubject to this unwelcome Viſitation, by the Execution of the *late Scheme*. But this Point will admit of ſome farther Examination; for, even *private Houſes*, according to the *Projector*'s own Doctrine, are already under the *Laws of Exciſe*, in ſome Particulars; I mean the Houſes of *private Gentlemen* and *others*, who live upon their Fortunes; for, not to inſiſt on the *Inſpectors of the Window-Lights*, who very nearly reſemble the Officers of the *Chimney-Tax*, let them look into the Act of the 6th of the late King; by which no Gentleman can ſend a little Preſent of *Brandy*, *Rum*, or *Arrack*, to a Friend, even after he hath paid the Duty, without a *Permit*; which will not be granted him, unleſs he *enters his Houſe*, and thereby ſubjects it to the Viſitation of *Exciſemen*, like *Publick Houſes*. By the *ſame Act*, no private Gentleman can keep above 63 Gallons of any of *theſe Liquors* in his Houſe, without *entering it*. By the Act of the 10th of the ſame King, no Gentleman can have a little *Chocolate* made in his Houſe, without *Permiſſion from an Officer*, *after three Days Notice*, *as well as* ſwearing *to the Quantity made*, *and carrying it to the* Office, *ready wrapt up in Papers*, *to be ſtamp'd*.

In ſhort, when the *Projector* and his *Advocates* diſown any Deſign of a *general Exciſe*, they can mean only an *univerſal Exciſe*, which I believe there is not one Inſtance of in the whole World, even under the moſt tyrannical Governments; and if an *Exciſe* was actually laid on *Fiſh* and *Fleſh Meat*, they might as well pretend that it had not *the leaſt Tendency to a* general Exciſe, becauſe *Apples*, *Eggs*, *Milk*, &c. might ſtill remain free.

In Anſwer to the Craftſman *of* Dec. 29. *(See Vol.* II. *p.* 630.*) wherein is contain'd a Character of King* Charles II. *a Writer in the* Courant *makes the following Reflections.*

IF *King* Charles *(ſays the* Craftſman*) had found the Nation plunged in Corruption, he might have diſhonoured her Abroad, and impoveriſh'd and oppreſs'd her at Home.* Who can help admiring the Modeſty of the Man, to hear him ſay, He *might* have done this? Was ever the Nation ſo diſhonoured Abroad, as in the Reign of this Prince? Did he not, notwithſtanding the ample Revenue granted him by his People, receive from *France* an annual Penſion of 100,000l. Sterling? Did he not form a Deſign, in Conjunction with *France*, of bringing about an entire Deſtruction of the United Provinces, and putting them into the Poſſeſſion of that Crown? Did he not, as appeared from Orders, counterſign'd by the Earl of *Arlington* Secretary of State, give away more than three Millions Sterling to ſeveral private Perſons? Did he not ſell *Dunkirk* to *France* for a trifling Sum of Money? Did he not, in Violation of the Faith and Law of Nations, fall upon the *Dutch* Fleet? Did he not enter into the Triple Alliance, only to amuſe the Publick, and after that was bribed by *France* to deſert it? Did he not expend of the People's Money 7,760,000l. Sterling, in carrying on the glorious War againſt *Holland*? Did not the Dutcheſs of *Orleans* come into *England* to negotiate a ſecret Alliance with *France*, and to aſſure the King her Brother, from his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, of Force ſufficient to free him from the Tyranny of his Parliament, render him abſolute in his Kingdom, and introduce *Popery*, as ſoon as the States ſhould be ſufficiently humbled, and was not the Duke of *Buckingham* ſent into *France* to conclude that Treaty? Did

Did he not ſhut up the *Exchequer* for eighteen Months, to the utter Ruin of many Thouſands of his Subjects? Did he not refuſe to hearken to the repeated Deſires of his Parliament to enter into a War with *France*, at the Time, when it ſeem'd unavoidable but the *United Provinces* muſt fall a Conqueſt to *France?*

In giving the Character of this Prince, the *Craftſman* ſays, *Far from being proud, haughty, or brutal, he was the moſt affable, beſt bred Man alive.* This is in ſome Meaſure true. He was indeed affable, well-bred, and free from Pride. But, as the Earl of *Mulgrave* ſays of him, *He could not, on Premeditation, act the Part of a King for a Moment, either at Parliament or at Council, either in Words or Geſture.*

As for his not being brutal: Could he be guilty of a more brutal, barbarous Act, then that of ſhutting up the *Exchequer?* And it is too true, what *Burnet* ſays of him; *That he had indeed an Appearance of Gentleneſs in his outward Deportment; but he ſeem'd to have no Bowels nor Tenderneſs in his Nature, and in the End of his Life he became cruel.*

Whatever Notion he had of Hereditary Right (ſays the Viſcount, B—ke, *he means) he own'd the Obligation for the Crown he wore to his People:* That is, he was reſtor'd to the Crown of his Anceſtors by a Free, *Proteſtant* People, who had no Doubt that he was a *Proteſtant*, as he profeſſed himſelf; and that he would protect them in their Religious and Civil Liberties, and utterly and ſincerely diſcountenance and ſuppreſs *Popery*; inſtead of which, he not only, throughout his whole Reign, endeavoured to render himſelf abſolute, but exercis'd a moſt cruel Rigour towards a great Body of his *Proteſtant* Subjects, by turning above 2000 of them out of their Livings at one Time, and by continual Proſecutions rais'd againſt them; whilſt the *Papiſts* were countenanced and encouraged to attempt and execute the moſt enormous Villainies.

He gave up to the Murmurs of his People ſeveral great and able Men: That is, he gave up that faithful Friend and Servant, the Earl of *Clarendon*, who had attended him in all his Exile, had done the greateſt Services both to his Father and himſelf: He gave up this great and good Man, not ſo much to the Murmurs of his People, as that he might have it more in his Power to execute his Deſign of making himſelf abſolute, and eſtabliſhing *Popery*.

He ſtarted often out of the true Intereſt of his People, but the Voice of his People almoſt as often reclaimed him: That is, he never did one Thing for the Honour or Intereſt of the Nation, but when he was compell'd to it thro' Fear. But was ſure to be bought by *France* to come into any Treaty, or to break thro' any Treaty he had made, whenever that Crown tempted him with a Sum of Money.

The Viſcount ſays, *The proper and real Diſtinction of the two Parties,* Whig *and* Tory, *expired at this Æra,* viz. *the Revolution:* When it is notoriouſly true, that the proper and real Diſtinction of the two Parties never ſo openly diſcovered and diſplayed itſelf, as on this great Occaſion, this famous Æra; Unleſs, indeed, I ought to except the remarkable Æra of his own great and glorious Adminiſtration.

N. B. *The Abſtracts we have given from the* Weekly Regiſter, *of the Review of the Publick Buildings and Ornaments of* London *and* Weſtminſter, *have, we find, been acceptable to many of our Readers: We omitted only one, being then ſomewhat ſtreightned for want of Room: But as that is alſo deſir'd, we ſhall here inſert it. It is concerning St.* James's-Park, *from the* Regiſter *of* Dec. 22. *And is as follows:*

MANY may think that the *Park*, in its preſent negligent Cir-

Circumſtance, is more beautiful, than if methodiz'd with Art, and decorated in a more grand and elegant Manner: I confeſs I am of a different Sentiment, and ſhould be pleas'd to ſee it render'd as agreeable as the Nature of its Situation, and the Uſes it muſt anſwer will give Leave.

To begin with the *Green Park*, for Example; No-body will controvert, but that the agreeable Variety of Ground there, is capable of very great Improvements; Slopes might be contriv'd in a beautiful, and yet an unaffected Taſte; Baſons of Water ſunk in various Places, which would be no ſmall Addition to the Landſcape; new Walks laid out, and Trees planted in ſuch a Manner, as to make the Whole appear natural and picturesque together.

In the lower Park, near the End of the *Canal*, you have a View of the Space between the *Mall* and the Water, in which Nature herſelf has mark'd a large ſemicircular Break, that, in ſome Meaſure, calls upon the Spectator to plead for its Improvement: This, therefore, I would wiſh to ſee turn'd into a Terraſs, in the Form it at preſent appears in, with a large Gravel Walk to lead from the *Mall*, to its Centre; the intermediate Spaces to remain cover'd with wild Graſs, as they are now: From this Terraſs, I would have a regular Slope continued to the Flat below, with a Flight of Steps juſt in the Middle, both for Convenience and Decoration: The Flat ſhould be cover'd with Turf, with a Statue in the Midſt, and a Gravel-Pit round it. The Walk by the Side of the *Canal*, I would have gravell'd too, that it might at once adorn the Scene by Day, and afford a beautiful Evening Retreat, in a Summer by Moon-Light, to enjoy the Air and Water in Perfection.

With the Regulations here propos'd, 'tis eaſy to imagine, how beautiful a Proſpect the *Park* would afford from hence. Even as it ſhews at preſent, hardly any Proſpect appears ſo grand or beautiful; particularly in a clear Day, when the Sun's deſcending, the Water ſmooth, and the whole Picture reflected from the Surface, even with more Graces than the Original.

Roſamond's-Pond is another Scene, where Fancy and Judgment might be employ'd to the greateſt Advantage; there is ſomething wild and romantick round the Sides of it, which a Genius would make a fine Uſe of, if he had Liberty to improve it as he pleas'd: To be ſure the Banks of it ought to be kept in better Repair; and if a *Venus*, in the Action of riſing from the Sea, with the Graces round her, was rais'd in the Middle of it, it would neither be an improper or a uſeleſs Decoration.

The *Vine-Yard*, and that whole Side of the *Park* is, to be ſure, moſt ſcandalouſly neglected; and, if 'tis not capable of ſuch Beauty as the other, 'tis the more neceſſary to keep it decent.

The *Bird-Cage Walk* is exceedingly pleaſant; the Swell of the Ground, in the Middle, has an admirable Effect on the Viſta; and the View, from thence, down to the *Canal*, is perfectly ſimple and agreeable: To be ſure 'tis capable of as much Improvement, as the oppoſite Side, tho' I would adviſe ſomething different for the Sake of Variety: The Circle of Trees there, might be made the Centre of a very beautiful Scene, and become one of the moſt delightful Arbours in the World.

The Iſland may be made one of the moſt enchanting Summer-Retreats imaginable: As it is, 'tis a Place of great Beauty, and improv'd with ſome Art. But if one Side is like a Paradiſe in Miniature, the other is a Wilderneſs, and, as the Waters in, and about it, are ſuffer'd to ſtagnate,

ſtagnate, they become almoſt as much a Nuiſance, as an Ornament: If the little Channels which wander ſo variouſly thro' this Place, were directed properly, and kept ſweet, and pure, even that Part of the Iſland, which is now a Deſart, would rival, if not ſurpaſs the other; and the Side next the *Canal*, with the Advantage of that noble Viſta, would be more beautiful than either: I would recommend too a proper and elegant Management of the Trees, and the erecting a Grot, Statue, or Obelisk, at the End of a little Canal, that ſhoots up into the Centre of the Iſland, on the Weſt Side.

The *Parade* is certainly a grand and ſpacious Area, and, if it ſhould ever be adorn'd with truly noble and auguſt Buildings, would not be eſteem'd one of the moſt inconſiderable Beauties about Town. I can by no Means think it a wrong Place to erect an Equeſtrian Statue in, to the Memory of ſome departed Heroe: 'Tis true the great and immortal *Naſſau* has been once deny'd this Piece of Juſtice, but they were not Soldiers who were guilty of ſo great an Indignity; we may preſume, therefore, that, one Time or other, thoſe Gentlemen will reſolve to pay this Compliment to a Monarch, they muſt all eſteem, as his mighty Genius and ſuperior Abilities deſerv'd. (See this *Review* continued, Vol. II, p. 630.)

Weekly Regiſter, Jan. 5. N° 200.

Further Continuation of the ſaid Review.

THE new Church with the four Towers, at *Weſtminſter*, is ſituated in ſuch a Manner, with Reſpect to *Old Palace-Yard*, that it might have been ſeen from thence, as the End of a noble Viſta, to the greateſt Advantage: The Sight of the Towers over the Tops of the Houſes, puts one in Mind of this, and 'tis with much Regret, that we loſe ſuch a Beauty.

The Building itſelf is in a very particular Taſte, and has a great Mixture of Beauty and Caprice in it. All falſe Ornaments become Faults inſtantly, and only ſerve to make an Abſurdity more conſpicuous. If the *Architect* of this Pile had once thought of this, he would have been abundantly more chaſte in his Compoſitions, and cut his Towers, like that of *Babel*, off in the Middle.

Henry VIIth's Chapel has a Right to be taken Notice of in a very particular Manner, as being one of the moſt expenſive Remains of the antient *Engliſh* Taſte and Magnificence: There is no looking on it without Admiration; but then its Beauty conſiſts much more in the Workmanſhip, than the Contrivance; which is juſt the Reverſe of what it ought to be: The Proportion and Harmony of a Plan is the firſt grand Secret in Building; Nicety, and Point, in Execution, the laſt.

Nothing could be more abſurd than the erecting this Fabrick at the End of the *Abbey*; it now ſerving only to ſpoil the Symmetry of both, and make a Botch, inſtead of adding a Beauty: And by this unnatural Conjunction, the whole Magnificence of Front, which might have been given to this coſtly Chapel, is intirely loſt; and thoſe who admire it moſt implicitly and devoutly, can't help enquiring for an Entrance ſuitable to the reſt of the Structure.

Let us for once then ſuppoſe, it had been intirely detach'd from the *Abbey*, and erected oppoſite to the Houſe of Lords, with a ſumptuous Front to the Street; let us ſuppoſe the new Parliament-Houſe finiſh'd on the other Side, and the beforemention'd Viſta laid open to the New Church; and there would be then another Groupe of Beauties in Building and Decoration, which few Cities in *Europe* could parallel.

By the many Things I have ſaid

on the Advantage of Space before a Building, no Body will wonder, that I am for levelling the *Gate-houſe*, demoliſhing a large Part of *Dean Yard*, and laying open the Street at the Weſt End of the *Abbey*, at leaſt, to an equal Breadth with the Building. Nothing appears ſo miſerable to me as ſuch Incumbrances round a grand, or elegant Building: They abate the Pleaſure of the Proſpect exceedingly, and are a real Diſadvantage to the Builder's Fame.

Weſtminſter-Abbey is of great Antiquity, and challenges ſome Kind of Veneration, on that Account: It is beſide of prodigious Bulk, and fills the Eye, at leaſt, if it does not ſatisfy it: To glance at it in the Landſcape, without examining its Parts, it pleaſes tolerably well; to examine its Parts, we are under a Neceſſity of diſliking the Whole: If the Height ſurprizes, we are out of Humour with its Form; and the Fronts in particular ought to have roſe eminently above the reſt, in order to have vary'd the Lines, and given that Grace it ſo viſibly wants. We now rather think of a Barn, than a Church; I believe this Image is owing intirely to the extream Sharpneſs of the Roof, and, if that was rectify'd, 'twould be greatly to the Advantage of the Building in general. The Weſt End, indeed, was never finiſh'd, and there is much Reaſon to believe that the two Towers, on each Side of it, were deſign'd to give the Elevation, 'tis now ſo apparently defective in.

There is indeed a Rumour, that the Dean and Chapter ſtill deſign to perfect this Scheme, and raiſe the Towers according to the firſt Projection: But I think 'tis rather too late to begin; for, unleſs they would new-caſe the Church all over, the Mixture of new and old would have a worſe Effect, than what we complain of, and make a Sort of Patch-work in Building, ever offenſive both to Judgment and Taſte.

The Inſide of the Church is certainly more perfect and judicious than the Out: The Perſpective is ſtrong and beautiful, and ſtrikes the Spectator in a very forceable Manner, as ſoon as he enters: And yet it owes the greateſt Part of its Effect to a Fault in Symmetry: 'Tis the exceeding Height of the grand Iſle which gives the Aſtoniſhment; but if that was only in exact Proportion to the reſt of the Parts, it would not be diſtinguiſh'd ſo much, and yet would deſerve much greater Praiſe.

The late erected Organ has even interfer'd with this Beauty, and broke the Viſta in the moſt injudicious Manner: The Iron Gate below, 'tis true, makes ſome Amends, by preſenting us with a little View of Perſpective, which would make one of the beſt Pictures in that Stile I ever ſaw; and the Lights and Shadows fall ſo artfully, that the Painter has nothing elſe to do but copy; 'twill hardly be in his Power to improve.

Grubſtreet Journal, Jan. 10. N° 211.

Preliminary Articles of Peace between the Patentees and the Revel Company of Comedians.

1. THERE ſhall inſtantly commence an entire Suſpenſion of Arms on both Sides.

2. The Chevalier de *Clarges* ſhall effectually reſtrain his Troops of Execution from committing any further Hoſtilities upon the Perſons and Properties of the Revellers or Revolters.

3. A general Amneſty ſhall immediately be iſſued, fully pardoning all ſuch, who by writing, printing, publiſhing, or ſpeaking, ſhall have any Ways offended the moſt illuſtrious Republick of *Drury-Lane*.

4. The Revellers ſhall be permitted to march out of the New Theatre in the *Hay Market*, with their Swords

Swords and Baggages, their own Muſic playing before them, and other Marks of Honour.

5. The ſayed Revellers ſhall, for themſelves, their Heirs and Succeſſors, for ever renounce all Manner of Right and Title whatſoever to the Antient and Royal Theatre in *Drury-Lane*, together with all the Diſtricts and Dependencies thereunto belonging, notwithſtanding any Treaty or Stipulation they may have entered into with any Perſon whatſoever to the contrary.

6. The ſayed Revellers ſhall return to their Duty within 14 Days after the Date of theſe Preſents; and ſhall acknowledge, and ſwear Fealty to *Mary Wilks*, *William Highmore*, *John Ellis*, and *John Rich*, as their only rightful and lawful Sovereigns.

7. The opprobrious Names of *Vagrant*, *Rogue*, and *Vagabond* ſhall be eraſed out of the Records of *Drury-Lane*.

8. Signior *Harper* ſhall receive ample Satisfaction for whatever Damage he may have ſuſtained by the Detainder and Confinement of his Perſon in the Caſtle of *St. Tothill*.

9. Commiſſaries ſhall be appointed to eſtimate and ſettle the Charges and Expences both Sides have been at, during the Continuance of the late unnatural Diviſions; and if any new Difficulties happen to ariſe, they ſhall be referred to a more particular Diſcuſſion at the next general Dyet of *Bartholomew-Fair*.

10. And for the more effectual reſtoring, ſettling, confirming, and eſtabliſhing the Peace and Tranquillity of the Stage, the illuſtrious Dowager *Heſter Booth* ſhall be given in Marriage to the moſt ſerene Infant Don *Theophilus Cibber*, with ſuch Apanage, Portion, and Dower, as ſhall be judged neceſſary and proper to ſupport their Dignity.

11. Duke *Giffard* ſhall have ſix Weeks allowed him to accede to this Treaty; which if he declines, he ſhall be compelled by the united Forces of the contracting Powers, to evacuate the Dutchy of *Goodman's-Fields*, and to retire with all his Vaſſals out of that Neighbourhood, by the 25th of *March* enſuing, being the Feaſt of the Annunciation of our Lady.

12. The laudable Cantons of the Theatre-Royal in *Lincoln's-Inn-Fields*, together with the *Helvetick* Body of the King's Theatre in the *Hay-Market*, ſhall be invited to accede to this Treaty, with ſuch Reſtrictions and Limitations as ſhall be agreed on by the contracting Powers.

13. The moſt high and puiſſant *John Frederick Handel*, Prince Palatine of the *Hay-Market*, the moſt ſublime *John James Heidegger*, Count of the moſt ſacred and holy *Roman* Empire, and the moſt noble and illuſtrious Signior *Seneſino*, little Duke of *Tuſcany*, do engage for themſelves, their Heirs and Succeſſors, to become Guarantees for the due Performance and Execution of all, every, and ſingular the Articles of this preſent Treaty.

Done in the Camp in *New-Palace-Yard* before *Weſtminſter-Hall*, this 28th Day of *November*, in the Year of our Lord 1733.

Fog's Journal, Jan. 12. N° 271.

The moſt effectual Means of enſlaving a State

IN the late Memoirs we gave the Publick concerning the Adminiſtration of Cardinal *Mazarine*, (Vol. II. p. 610.) we took Notice what Uſe the Hirelings of that Miniſter made of that vulgar Cant, of his *governing according to Law*.

All the Cruelties exerciſed by the Inquiſitions in *Spain*, and *Portugal*, are ſtrictly according to Law; but I fancy thoſe that ſuffer will not allow their Chains the eaſier, or their Sufferings to be the more juſt.

If the Exciſe-Projector had carried his pernicious Scheme, all the Severities

rities the Subject muſt have ſuffered in Conſequence of it, would have been legal, and his Mercenaries wou'd have ſtun'd the Ears of the whole Nation, with bawling out, that he *acted according to Law:* Nay, the Thing would have been true too, notwithſtanding that one of the Privileges of *Magna Charta* would have been taken off by it.

Since our publiſhing thoſe Obſervations on the Adminiſtration of *Mazarine*, I happen'd (ſays this Writer) to meet with ſomething of the ſame Nature in a Writer of our own Nation; which is as follows.

'*Tacitus* obſerves, that about the Time that *Tiberius* came to the Empire, the Conſuls, the Senate, and all thoſe that pretended to publick Offices, were ſo far degenerated, that they endeavoured, as much as in them lay, to take away from the People the very Senſe of Liberty; but God forbid that ſuch ſhould ever be the Caſe of *England*, for our Conſtitution will be entirely loſt whenever ſuch a Corruption happens here. We may indeed preſerve the Name of Liberty, and ſome of its outward Forms, (as they did) but it will be no more than will juſt help to keep our Chains the faſter on. Tyrannies have often been ſubverted, where the Princes govern'd merely by their own Will, without leaving to their Subjects ſome little outward Appearances of being free; but thoſe *abſolute Monarchies* are hardly to be ſhaken, and that Servitude is laſting, where the People have made their own Fetters themſelves, that is, when their Liberties are given up by thoſe whom they had choſen to be the Guardians of them.

It is a Matter of Wonder, that from the Days of *Auguſtus Cæſar* downwards, the *Romans*, who in the worſt of Times were never without ſome brave and virtuous Men, ſhould never make ſo much as one Attempt to reſtore the Commonwealth, and to ſhake off that Power which the Emperors exerciſed with ſo much Exorbitance; but in all Probability it might proceed from this Cauſe, that the Soldiers and common People, without whom no great Revolution can ever be brought about, believed themſelves ſtill to be free, becauſe in outward Shew, the Commonwealth had ſtill the ſame Form as in antient Times. They had all the while *Panem & Circenſes*, *Bread* and *publick Shews*, and that was all they deſired; they thought the Laws ſtill governed, becauſe they ſaw a Senate, and every Year new Conſuls; whereas it was this Senate, by being corrupted, that made the Tyranny bounleſs and ſafe.

In the ſame Manner, if in future Ages the Parliaments of this Kingdom ſhould happen to be debauched in Principles, and become willing to be the Inſtruments of a Prince's Will and Pleaſure, and to act as he or his Miniſters ſhall think fit to direct them, arbitrary Power would then be ſettled here upon a laſting Foot.

When Corruption has ſeized upon the Repreſentatives of a People, it is like a chronical Diſeaſe, hardly to be rooted out: When ſervile Compliance and Flattery come to predominate, Things proceed from bad to worſe, till at laſt the Government comes to be diſſolved.

Abſolute Monarchies are ſubject to great Convulſions, when one Man, their Prince, happens to be weak, or wicked; but Commonwealths or mix'd Governments are gone, when the chief Part of the leading Men are debauch'd in Principles; however, abſolute Monarchy has this Advantage over the other, that one Man, their Prince, is mortal, and if he is bad, it is poſſible he may be ſucceeded by one that is better; but a People thoroughly corrupted, never returns to right Reaſon; and we ſee that the Depravity of Manners which began

gan in *Rome* preſently after the ſecond *Punick* War among the Nobility and Gentry, became every Year worſe and worſe, till at laſt *Cæſar* deſtroy'd the Commonwealth; and after his Time, every Senate grew ſtill more abject and complying than the other, till in Proceſs of Time the old *Roman* Spirit became utterly extinguiſhed, and then that Empire by Degrees became a Prey to barbarous Nations.

A Tyranny that governs by the Sword has very few Friends except the Men of the Sword, but a *legal Tyranny* (where the People are only call'd together to confirm Iniquity by their own Voices) has of its Side, the Rich, the Cowardly, the Lazy, thoſe that know the Law and get by it: *Ambitious Churchmen*, and all thoſe whoſe Livelihood depends upon the quiet Poſture of Affairs as they then ſtand, and the Perſons here deſcribed, compoſe the influencing Part of moſt Nations; ſo that ſuch a Tyranny is hardly ever to be ſhaken off.

Men may be ſaid to be inſlav'd by Law, or by their own Conſents, as under corrupt and degenerate Republicks, ſuch as was the *Roman* Commonwealth from the Time of *Cinna*, till the Attempts of *Cæſar*; and under degenerate mix'd Governments, ſuch as *Rome* was while the Emperors made a Shew of ruling by Law, *but with an aw'd and corrupted Senate*; to which Form of Government *England* was almoſt reduc'd, when the King came over to put our Liberties upon a better Foot.

It imports all Degrees of Men in their ſeveral Poſts, to endeavour at the preſerving that Form of Government under which we have proſper'd for about 700 Years. It happens ſeldom that any Country is totally ſubdued by foreign Force, and tho' civil War be a raging Fever, it goes away of itſelf, when the Humours that fed it are ſpent, and is often no more than the Sign of a Health too florid, and the Effects only of too much Blood in the Body Politick; but ill Conduct in a State, long continued, waſtes it by ſlow and certain Degrees; and at laſt brings an incurable Conſumption upon all its Parts and Members.

If the Affairs of this Kingdom ſhould ever happen to be ill conducted, which we hope is a remote Fear, the Legiſlative Power muſt then interpoſe with its Authority, and *the united Wiſdom of the Nation muſt reſcue us out of weak and polluted Hands; for ſuch a Miniſtry is a ſurer Engine to deſtroy a State, than any its Foreign Enemies can bring againſt it.*'

Craftſman Jun. 12. N° 393.

The Diſſertation upon Parties *continued, (from Vol. II. p.* 632.)

THE ſlaviſh Principles of *paſſive Obedience* and *Non Reſiſtance*, which had ſculk'd perhaps in ſome old Homily before K. *James* I. but were talk'd, written and preach'd into Vogue in that inglorious Reign, and in thoſe of his 3 Succeſſors, were renounced at the *Revolution* by the laſt of the ſeveral *Parties*, who declared for them. Not only the *Laity* but the *Clergy* co-operated in the Deliverance, which the Prince of *Orange* brought them. Some of our *Prelates* join'd to invite him over. Their Brethren refuſed to ſign an Abhorrence of this Invitation. The Univerſity of *Oxford* offered him their Plate, and aſſociated for him againſt their King. In one Word, the Conduct of the *Tories*, at this Criſis, was ſuch as might have inclined a Man to think they had never held *Reſiſtance* unlawful, but had only differed with the *Whigs* about the Degree of Oppreſſion, or of Danger, which it was neceſſary to wait, in Order to ſanctify *Reſiſtance*. Now, it may appear at firſt a little ſtrange that *theſe Principles*, which had always gone Hand in Hand with thoſe of the *divine, hereditary, indefeazable Right*

Right of Kings, which were juſt as well founded, ſhould not keep their Hold, as well as the *others*.

This Attachment to *hereditary Right* will appear the more ſtrange, if we conſider what Regard was ſhewn, at this Time, to the Difficulties they, who had pawn'd themſelves, as it were, for the *Principle*, would be under, when they came to concur in eſtabliſhing a *Settlement* repugnant to it. That great and ſolemn Reſolution, about the *Abdication of K. James*, and the *Vacancy of the Throne*, might have been expreſs'd in Terms much ſtronger and plainer than it was. I have heard there were Perſons, who had a Mind it ſhould be ſo; and who, more attach'd to the Honour, that is, the Humour of *Party*, than to the *National Intereſt*, would have turn'd this Reſolution, as well as the Declaration of the P. of *Orange*, to a more expreſs Approbation of the *Whig*, and Condemnation of the *Tory* Tenets and Conduct. But a wiſer and honeſter Conſideration prevail'd. Inſtead of erecting the *new Government* on the narrow Foundations of *Party Syſtems*, the Foundations of it were laid as wide, and made as comprehenſive, as they could be.

The Diſputes about the Words *abdicate*, or *deſert*, and about the *Vacancy of the Throne*, were fitter for a *School* than an *Houſe of Parliament*. The Truth is, that they, who formed the Oppoſition, were reduced to maintain ſtrange Paradoxes. Thus, for Inſtance, they were forc'd to admit that an *oppreſs'd People* might ſeek their Remedy in *Reſiſtance*, for they had ſought it there themſelves, and yet they oppoſed making Uſe of the *only Remedy*, which could effectually ſecure them againſt Returns of the *ſame Oppreſſion*, when *Reſiſtance* had put it in their Power, as *Oppreſſion* had given them a Right to uſe *this Remedy*. Thus again, the *ſame Men* declared themſelves willing to ſecure the Nation againſt the Return of K. *James*; nay, ſome of them were ready, if we may credit the Anecdotes of that Time, to proceed to ſuch extream Reſolutions, as would have been more effectual, than juſtifiable in the Eyes of Mankind; and yet they could not prevail on their ſcrupulous Conſciences to declare *the Throne vacant*. They had concurred in the Vote, that it was *inconſiſtent with the Laws, Liberties and Religion of* England *to have a* Papiſt *rule over the Kingdom*. K. *James* had followed the pious Example of *Sigiſmond*, who, not content to loſe the Crown of *Sweden himſelf* for his Religion, had carried his *Son* away, that he might be bred a *Papiſt*, and loſe it too; and yet they maintain'd, tho' they did not expreſly name him, that if the Throne was then, or ſhould be at any Time vacant of the *Father*, it muſt be reputed inſtantaneouſly full of the *Son*, upon the Foundation of this ſilly Axiom, that the *King never dies*. According to this Law, and theſe Politicks, K. *James* and his Succeſſors, to the twentieth Generation, might have continued abroad, a Race of Royal Exiles, preſerving their *indefeazable Right* to govern, but debarred from the *Exerciſe* of it; whilſt the Nation continued, during all this Time from Century to Century, under the Dominion of *Regents*, with *regal Authority*, but without any *regal Right*; an excellent Expedient ſure to keep the Monarchy in an *hereditary Succeſſion!* But there remain'd none better, on the Principles of *theſe Men*, ſince the P. of *Orange* had committed the fatal Overſight of neglecting to *conquer* the Nation. His Sword would have cut the Gordian Knot of *hereditary Right*, and they could have ſubmitted with ſafe Conſciences to a *Conqueror*. But to *give* the Crown to a *Prince*, tho' they had put the *whole*

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Adminiſtration into his Hands; which, by the Way, was *High Treaſon*, unleſs the Throne was, what they deny'd it to be, actually *vacant*; to *give* the Crown, I ſay, to a *Prince*, who would not *take* it, when it was in his Power, without their *Conſent*; to ſettle a new Government by *Agreement* and *Compact*, when the glorious Opportunity of eſtabliſhing it by *Force* and *Conqueſt* had been unhappily loſt; theſe were Propoſitions, to which they could not conſent. No *King*, except a *Stuart*, was to reign over us. But we might eſtabliſh a *Doge*, a *Lord Archon*, a *Regent*; and thus theſe warm Aſſertors of *Monarchy*, refuſing to be *Slaves*, contended to be *Republicans*.

If the Perſons, who maintain'd this *divine, hereditary, indefeazable Right*, had thought fit to drop theſe Principles, when they laid aſide thoſe of *paſſive Obedience* and *Non-Reſiſtance*, their Conduct would have been conſiſtent and uniform, which would have been productive of great Good, by taking away at once even the Appearances of all political Diviſion in the Bulk of the Nation. But whilſt they labour'd to reconcile their *preſent Conduct* to their *antient Syſtem*, they were true to *neither*. They loſt every Kind of Merit: Nay, they did worſe; for the miſchievous Conſequences of their Conduct were not hurtful to them alone, and at that Time alone, but to the Publick, and even down to theſe Times. They furniſhed Pretence to *Factions*, who kept up a Diviſion under the *old Names*, when the Differences were really extinguiſhed by the Conduct of *both Parties*; becauſe the Conduct of *both* was no longer conformable to the Principles imputed to them. The *Tories* had no longer any Pretence of fearing the Deſigns of the *Whigs*; ſince the *Whigs* had ſufficiently purged themſelves from all Suſpicion of *republican* Views, by their Zeal to continue *monarchical Government*, and of Latitudinarian Schemes in Point of *Religion*, by their ready Concurrence in preſerving our *eccleſiaſtical Eſtabliſhment*, and by their inſiſting on nothing farther, in Favour of the *Diſſenters*, than that Indulgence, which the *Church* was moſt willing to grant. The *Whigs* had as little Pretence of fearing the *Tories*; ſince the *Tories* had purged themſelves, in the moſt ſignal Manner, from all Suſpicion of favouring *Popery*, or *arbitrary Power*, by the vigorous Reſiſtance they made to *both*. They had engaged, they had taken the Lead in the *Revolution*, and they were fully determined againſt the Return of K. *James*. The real Eſſences of *Whig* and *Tory* were thus deſtroyed; but the nominal were preſerved, and have done ſince that Time a good Part of the Miſchief, which the real did before. The Oppoſition made to the *Settlement of the Crown* brought this about. An over-curious Enquiry into the Motives of this Oppoſition would be a Task too invidious for me to undertake. Something however may be ſaid upon it. We may ſay in general, without Offence, that *private Ambition* mingled itſelf early in the great and national Concerns of the *Revolution*; and that it did ſo more, as the Proſpect of a *new Settlement*, and of the Elevation of the P. of *Orange* approached.

But to analyſe the ſeveral *Parties* at this Time a little more. In the firſt Place then, there was a *Party*, that concurred in making the *new Settlement*; a *Party*, that prevail'd in Parliament, and was by much the Majority of the Nation out of it. Were the *Whigs* this Majority? Was *this Party* a *Whig Party?* No Man will preſume to affirm ſo notorious an Untruth. K. *James* muſt have died on the Throne, if the *Tories* had not concurred to place the P. of *Orange* there in his ſtead. Was *this Party* a *Tory Party* then? Certainly no. The *Whigs*

had been zealous in the ſame Cauſe, and had contributed to make it ſucceſsful by their Temper, as well as their Zeal; by waiting the Time of the *Tories*, or rather the Maturity of the Conjuncture, and by moderating their Principles and their Conduct, in Favour of that *Coalition*, without which the *Revolution* could have ſucceeded no more than the *Excluſion* did. We find then here neither a *Whig* nor a *Tory Party*; for in *Coalitions* of this Kind, where *two Parties* are melted, as it were, into one, *neither* of them can be ſaid, with Truth and Propriety, to exiſt.

There was *another Party* directly oppoſite to *this*; a certain Number of Men, on whom the original Taint, tranſmitted down from K. *James* the firſt, remain'd ſtill in the full Strength of its Malignity. Theſe Men adhered to *thoſe Principles*, in the natural Senſe and full Extent of them, which the *Tories* had profeſs'd. But yet, the *Tories* having renounced *theſe Principles*, or diſtinguiſhed themſelves out of any Obligation to obſerve them, this inconſiderable Faction could not be deem'd the *Tory Party*, but received the Name of *Jacobite* with more Propriety.

Two other Parties there were at this Time, form'd on one common Principle, but widely different however, by the different Conſequences they drew from it. The Principle I mean is that contain'd in the Diſtinction of a King *de Jure* and a King *de Facto*. The famous Statute of *Henry* the 7th authorized this Diſtinction. The Statute was deſign'd principally, no Doubt, for the Advantage of the *Subjects*, that they might be ſafe, which ever Side prevail'd in an Age, when the epidemical Folly of fighting for *different Precendency* had ſpilt Oceans of Blood on the Scaffold, as well as in the Field; and yet the Statute was deſign'd for the Service of *Kings de Facto* too, and particularly of *Henry* the 7th.

There are two Obſervations to be made to our preſent Purpoſe on *this Statute*. *Firſt*, it confounds in Effect the very Diſtinction it ſeems to make; ſince it ſecures alike, and by ſecuring alike authorizes alike, thoſe, who adhere to the *King de Jure*, and thoſe, who adhere to the *King de Facto*, provided they adhere to the *King in Poſſeſſion*. *Secondly*, it was contrived *to hinder the People*, according to my Lord *Bacon*'s Senſe of it, *from buſying themſelves in prying into the King's Title*, and that *Subjects might not trouble themſelves with Enquiries into the Juſtneſs of the King's Title, or Quarrel*. Now, upon the Foundation of this Diſtinction, and this Statute, thus underſtood, they, who demurred on the *Settlement of the Crown*, at the *Revolution*, might plauſibly, tho' I think very unreaſonably, reſolve neither to vote, nor act themſelves againſt thoſe Maxims and Principles, which they had entertain'd and profeſs'd, as Maxims of Law, and Principles of the Conſtitution, and yet reſolve to ſubmit ſincerely, and adhere faithfully to a *new Eſtabliſhment*, when it was once made. But the *other of the two Parties* I mentioned, drew from the ſame Principle, a very different Concluſion. They acknowledg'd *one King*, and held their Allegiance ſtill due to *another*. They bound themſelves by Oath to preſerve a *Settlement*, which they pretended themſelves in Conſcience obliged to ſubvert. This was to juſtify *Perfidy*, to ſanctify *Perjury*, to remove the ſacred Boundaries of *Right* and *Wrong*, and, as far as in them lay, to teach Mankind *to call Good evil, and Evil good*.

Such were the *three Diviſions*, into which Men broke at the *Revolution*, in oppoſing the *Settlement* then made; whilſt the great Body of the Nation concurred in it, and *Whig* and *Tory* form'd in Reality but *one Party*. *The firſt of theſe Diviſions* continued, and became a *Faction* in the State, but

but made no Proſelytes, and is worn out by Time. The Principle of the *ſecond* was wrong, but it could not be reputed dangerous, whilſt it laſted, and it ſeems to have been built on ſo narrow and ſlippery a Foundation, that it did not continue long in Force. I may be the more bold in aſſerting this, ſince if we look back to the Æra of the *Revolution*, and to the Times, which followed, we ſhall find among thoſe, who voted for a *Regent*, not a *King*, on the Abdication of K. *James*, ſome illuſtrious Perſons, who ſerv'd K. *William* faithfully, who adher'd inviolably to our *new Eſtabliſhment*, and who have been diſtinguiſhed Friends of the *Succeſſion*, that hath now taken Place. That there have been Perſons, who deſerv'd to be rank'd under the *third Head*, is too notorious to be deny'd; but I perſuade my ſelf that *this Diviſion* hath conſiſted always of a flux Body. On one Hand, it is ſcarce poſſible to believe that any Number of Men ſhould be ſo harden'd, as to avow to themſelves, and to one another, the acting and perſiſting to act on a Principle ſo repugnant to every Sentiment, that harbours in the Breaſts of ſocial Creatures. On the other, we know how the Sallies and Tranſports of *Party*, on ſome Occaſions, can hurry even reaſonable Men to act on the moſt abſurd, and honeſt Men to act on the moſt unjuſtifiable Principles, or both one and the other on no Principles at all, according as the Object, which the prevailing Paſſion preſents to them, directs. This hath been the Caſe of many, ſince the *Revolution*, and there are ſome of all Sides, I believe, ſtill alive, ſure I am that there were ſome a few Years ago, who know that no Side is abſolutely unexceptionable in this Reſpect.

Weekly Regiſter, Jan. 12. N° 201.

Continuation of the Former. *(See p. 11.)*

AS we are now in the *Abbey*, 'twill be unpardonable not to take a Survey of the moſt remarkable Monuments there. I ſhall begin with Sir *Godfrey Kneller*'s, ſituated at the lower End of the North Iſle; a Thing deſigned by Sir *Godfrey* himſelf, and executed by *Ryſbrack*, and, yet ſo far from anſwering the Idea we might conceive of it from two ſuch great Names, that it hardly excites common Attention or Curioſity, unleſs to read the Epitaph, which is exactly of a Piece with the Tomb, and as unworthy of Mr. *Pope*'s Genius, as the Deſign of that is of *Kneller*'s Pencil. The Ornaments he has choſen, may do as well for any Body elſe, and belong no more to a *Painter*, than a *Lord Chief Juſtice*.

That erected to the Memory of young Mr. *Carteret* is worthy of Notice: The Thought, it turns on, is fine, and poetical; no Guardian is ſo proper of a Thing ſacred to Memory as *Time*, and no Bribe ſo effectual to ſecure him in its Favour as *Merit*: The Epitaph he is made to diſplay, is in a fine Taſte: The Buſt of the young Gentleman himſelf is beautifully ſimple, and preſerves a fine Keeping with Reſpect to the Whole.

On the other Side of the ſame Iſle, on the Back of the Choir, we ſee another, in all Reſpects, the Oppoſite of this: I forget the Lady's Name in whoſe Honour 'twas erected, and if thoſe who were at the Expence of it could be forgotten too, 'twould be ſome Advantage to their Characters: The Conceit of this Monument is a Front Figure of a Lady ſpringing upwards from the Ground, with a Cherubim above her deſcending to give her a Liſt; tho', by her Attitude, 'tis impoſſible ſhe ſhould know any Thing of the Matter. Below her, hovering over the Baſe, is another as lame and wretched as the firſt, who unfolds as bad an Epitaph.

That belonging to the late Lord *Kingſale* is as fine as Painting, Carving, and Gilding can make it: But,

for its Taſte, ſurely 'tis impoſſible that any Thing ſhould be more remarkable: That Nobleman is in a recumbent Poſture, with a curious Suit of Armour on, a delicate Head of Hair, and points to a very emphatical Coronet near him, as the Sum of all his Glory; a very prety Bit of Canopy dangles over him, a Coat of Arms moſt pompouſly emblazon'd glitters above that: Two poor little Boys, whom I pity prodigiouſly, bear up a moſt ponderous Urn, with the additional Weight of the Statue into the Bargain; and an important Epitaph underneath all tells you, that it has been a Privilege of the *Kingſale* Family to wear their Hats before the King, Time out of Mind

Doctor Chamberlain's Monument is by many thought one of the beſt Pieces in the *Abbey*, and I am inclin'd to be of the ſame Opinion: Every one of the Figures are finely executed, and ſome Parts of the Doctor's, in particular, deſerve Applauſe: I have no material Fault to find with the Order, and Diſpoſition of the Whole, and the Epitaph ſays a great many fine Things of the Doctor: Yet ſtill there wants a Boldneſs and Spirit thro' the Whole; you can't blame, 'tis true, but then you can't heartily praiſe.

As there is a Buſt of a late Muſician in our Way, dreſt up in a Beau-Peruke, and a fine lac'd Cravat, he would take it ill, if we did not pay our Compliment to him as we paſs'd by; for which Reaſon I make this Acknowledgement; but for Fear the Heirs of any other Muſician, ſhould laviſh away any more Money to a like Purpoſe, I think myſelf oblig'd to declare that *Purcel*'s Epitaph is, at leaſt, of ten Times more Value, than *Blow*'s Monument.

The two Boys on each Side of the little Tomb, erected to the Memory of Sir *Gilbert Lort*, are in a very pretty Taſte, and a perfect Contraſte to each other; one repreſenting paſſionate exclamatory Grief, and the other the ſtill and ſilent: 'Tis Pity they are divided by ſo bad an Ornament in the Middle.

Looking thro' into one of the little Chapels, which are ſeparated from the Body of the Church, we ſee a A Monument that belongs to one of the *Veres*, and challenges ſome Attention: 'Tis true the principal Figure is in the old *Gothique* Taſte, flat on his Back, and, of Conſequence, not to be reliſh'd, tho' executed in the moſt perfect Manner in the B World: But then the four *Knights* which ſupport the Stone over him, with his Armour on Top, are juſtly to be admir'd; and, tho' both their Dreſs, and the Oddneſs of their Employ, are Diſadvantages, yet they ſtrike you with Pleaſure notwithC ſtanding, and each independent Figure demands your Approbation. Sorry I am to ſee them uſed ſo ill; moſt of them are maim'd, and one of them, in particular, has lately had a Leg broke off.

Juſt oppoſite to this Door, againſt D the Wall, is a martial Figure, repreſenting one of the *Holles*'s, and, till that of Mr. *Craggs*'s was put up, was the only erect one in the *Abbey*: An Attitude I am far from diſcommending, for, 'tis my Opinion, Statues ſhould always repreſent Life and E Action, and not Languor and Inſenſibility: 'Tis particularly happy when adapted to Soldiers and Heroes, who ought never to be ſuppoſed at Reſt, and ſhould have their Characters repreſented as ſtrong as poſſible: This F before us is bold and manly, tho' not chaſte and elegant; 'Tis finely elevated too, and the mourning *Pallas*'s at the Baſe of it, are both well fancied, and well applied.

Free Briton, Jan. 17. N° 220.

G *Of keeping up the Forces from Year to Year.*

TO me (ſays *Walſingham*) it hath ever appeared, that this Par-

Parliamentary Buſineſs, of keeping up the Publick Force from Year to Year, is the Life of all our Liberties. We never meet with any Inſtances of Grace from the Crown, or Conceſſions to the People, in the Records of former Times, but where publick Neceſſity compelled the Calling of Parliaments; and the Redreſs of Grievances was the Purchaſe of Parliamentary Subſidies. After theſe Supplies had been granted, Parliaments were as ſeldom ſummoned as Grievances were redreſſed; and, whilſt the Crown could proceed without Aids, Indulgences were ſeldom thought of. It is to the *Revolution* of 1688, that we owe the mighty Difference in our Government. In the long Reign of Q. *Elizabeth*, a Reign of more than 40 *Years*, ſhe held but 13 Seſſions, and ſcarcely any one Seſſion continued *Six* Weeks: But ſince the *Revolution*, Parliaments have been held without Intermiſſion; every Year hath ſeen a Seſſion of many Months Continuance, and all this hath been owing to that Dependance for Aid and Support, in which the Princes of the *Proteſtant Succeſſion* have choſen to live; whilſt, asking the Supplies of their People, from Year to Year, it hath given Life to that Law which appointed Parliaments to be held from Year to Year; a Law which, tho' it was made almoſt 500 Years ſince, yet never had Effect till within theſe 50 Years.

It is therefore unjuſt, to charge this Grant of Forces with a Tendency to hurt our Liberties, when it hath ſo manifeſtly been the Source of them. It hath, indeed, been our Bleſſing, ſince the *Revolution*, to have had ſuch Princes, as were the natural Friends of our legal Rights; but there have been Miniſters of all Complexions under theſe Princes, who have, all of them, found it neceſſary to undergo the moſt fiery Tryal of Parliamentary Inqueſts, rather than not apply for Parliamentary Forces: And in the whole Courſe of Time, ſince the Revolution, theſe Forces were never refuſed by a Parliament, but one, who were too much engaged in the Work of diſtreſſing their Prince to provide for the Good of their Country; nor were theſe Forces ever broke by a Miniſtry, but one, and then with ſo certain a View of introducing a *Popiſh Pretender*, that this was thought the wiſeſt Meaſure to be taken for leaving the Publick quite defenceleſs.

Grubſtreet Journal, Jan. 17. N° 212.

Concerning Dr. Tindal's Will. (Vol. II. p. 614.)

ON the 17th of *Auguſt* laſt Mr. *N. Tindal* received a Letter from Mrs. *Price*, giving him a ſhort Account of his Uncle Dr. *Tindal*'s Death. Upon this he comes to *London*, and, in Company with the Rev. Mr. *Philip Morant*, goes to Mr. *Budgell*'s Houſe, where, after ſome general Diſcourſe, Mr. *B.* takes him aſide, and tells him *that his Uncle had for ſome Time entertain'd a great Value for him, whether on Account of his perſonal Merits, or for his Works, he could not ſay; and as a Mark of it, had committed to his Care thē publiſhing of his Manuſcripts.* Adding, *that out of a generous Compaſſion for his Misfortunes, and in Conſideration of the Trouble he might undergo in printing his Papers, the Doctor, he believ'd, had moreover left him a* handſome Legacy; *which (continues he) let it be what it will, you are not to reckon as loſt; for you muſt know, your Uncle was of Opinion there will be very quickly a Change in the Miniſtry, and from ſomething he ſaw in me, imagined, I ſhould be, as he was pleas'd to expreſs it, a* great Man, *and therefore has laid me under the ſtrongeſt Obligations, when ſuch a Change happens, to provide for you and your Family.*

Mr. *T.* (who was then an utter Stranger to his Perſon and late Writings)

ings) being amaz'd at his Vanity, and dreading what theſe Preambles might tend to, ſaid but little; and deſired Mr. *B.* to go with him to Mrs. *Price*'s, to open the Will. When they came there, ſhe produces the Doctor's Will and Strong-Box. Mr. *T.* having read the Will; and expreſſing his Surprize at the Legacy of 2100*l.* to Mr. *B.* he, to comfort him, ſteps up and tells him, *he muſt not think he had all this Money to pay, for the Doctor had lately lent him upon Bond and Judgment* 1000*l.* And then both Mrs. *P.* and Mr. *B.* aſſured him, *the Doctor had left him very handſomely, for he might depend upon it, the Doctor died worth at leaſt* 4 *or* 5000*l.* Mr. *T.* ſays nothing, but immediately opens the Strong-Box; where, to his Amazement, he found only Mr. *B*'s Bond of 1000*l.* with ſome other Things to the Value of about 60*l.* Whereupon he asked Mrs. *P.* and Mr. *B.* *Whether they knew of, or had ſeen, any other Papers, or Writings, concerning the Doctor's Effects?* And they both ſolemnly declared, *they had never ſeen any.* As Mr. *T.* knew the Doctor's true Will was kept in the Strong-Box, he particularly ask'd them, *whether they had ſeen it, or knew what was become of it?* Mrs. *P.* anſwer'd, *ſhe knew nothing of it.* —— After ſome farther Diſcourſe, Mrs. *P.* asked Mr. *T.* *Whether he would prove the Will the next Morning?* But he anſwer'd, *As the Legacies were very large, he would firſt be certain of ſufficient Aſſets to pay them; and therefore intended to ſpend a Day or two in Search of the reſt of the Doctor's Effects.*

Accordingly, on the Morrow, Mr. *T.* calls at Meſſrs. *Snow* and *Paltock*'s, the Doctor's Bankers, where he receives the following Information. ——That the Doctor had not been poſſeſſed, at leaſt theſe many Years, of more than 100*l.* Bank-Stock, and 1800*l.* South-Sea-Stock. That on *June* the 2d, 1732, Mr. *Snow* ſold for him 1000*l.* South-Sea-Stock, and paid him in Bank-Notes; and on *June* the 20th, 1733, he ſold for him the remaining 800*l.* South-Sea-Stock, and heard him ſay afterwards, he had lent his Money upon Bond.

Mr. *T.* who before ſuſpected foul Play, was now by this Information and other Circumſtances, ſtrongly confirmed in his Suſpicions. For among other Reaſons he could not believe, his Uncle would, in his Senſes, give more than he was worth, in one Legacy; and then formally appoint him *Reſiduary Legatee*, as well as Executor Wherefore he reſolv'd to conteſt the Will, but however would firſt ſee what was become of the 1000*l.* received by the Doctor of Mr. *Snow*, the 2d of *June*, 1732. For as to the other 800*l.* Stock ſold the 20th of *June*, 1733, Mr. *B*'s Bond being of the ſame Date, it was plain he had received it, as indeed he confeſs'd. ——Now, in order to this Search, Mr. *T.* takes the Numbers and Dates of the Bank-Notes receiv'd by the Doctor, from Meſſrs. *Snow* and *Paltock*'s Books, and having obtain'd Leave at the Bank to ſee the ſaid Notes, they were all found indorſed with theſe Words, *Budgell*, 3d *June*, B. B. This extremely ſurprized Mr. *T.* it being ſo directly contrary to Mr. *B*'s late ſolemn Declaration. Upon farther Enquiry it appeared, that *B. B.* was the Mark of a Servant of Sir *Francis Child* and Company, to whom the Bank-Notes were paid by Mr. *B.* the 3d of *June*, 1732, and for which he took promiſſary Notes of Sir *Francis Child* and Comp. *payable to* Euſtace Budgell, Eſq; *or Order.*

London Journal, Jan. 19. N° 760.

THE Author of the *Diſſertation upon Parties*, (ſee p. 15) was he not himſelf a *Party-Man*, by which I don't mean (ſays *Oſborne*) a *Tory* or a *Whig*, (for he has too much *Senſe* to be the One, and I'm afraid,

too

oo little Regard to his Country to
ſt as the Other;) but was he not ab-
olutely determined, at all Events,
gainſt the *Court* and *Miniſtry*, his
Remarks on *Hiſtory* and *Publick Life*,
would be as *uſeful* as they are *judi-*
ious: But the implacable Malice,
which *infect* every Paragraph of his
Writings) againſt the R—l F——y,
s well as the Miniſtry, have thrown
Cloud over his Underſtanding, and
ender'd him incapable of ſeeing,
hat tho' *theſe Diſſertations* were wrote
n Purpoſe to ſhew, *that Parties are*
t an End, yet he hath not produced
ne Medium to prove it by.

The Truth relating to *Whig* and
Tory at the Revolution, appears to
ne to be this: The *common Danger* of
eing ſwallowed up by *Popery* and
rbitrary Power united the *two Parties*
gainſt K. *James*; and as that Danger
pproached, the Impreſſions of *Ter-*
or encreaſed, and *hurried* the *Tories*
nto *Meaſures* againſt their *Principles*:
Not ſo the *Whig*. The Difference
etween *Whig* and *Tory* at the Revo-
ution, was this: The *Whig*, having
is *Paſſions* and his *Reaſon* on his Side,
ever *debated*, but *plunged* in at once
ver Head and Ears; the *Tory crept*
o the Side of the River, *walk'd* in a
ittle Way, grew afraid, and re-
reated: But, at laſt, *driven* by his
ears, came on again, ſounded the
Depth, and trembling, ventured in,
eyond the Poſſibility of a Retreat,
o do, againſt his *Reaſon*, what *his*
aſſions urged him to do. The *Whigs*
oncurred in the Revolution, and *ap-*
roved their own Act; the *Tories*
oncurred too, but *diſapproved* their
wn Act. Their Behaviour thro'
he whole Reign of K. *William*,
hro' the Reign of Q. *Anne*, eſpeci-
lly in the *four laſt Years*, and ſince
he Acceſſion of the preſent Royal
amily, particularly at the Time of
he *Preſton Rebellion*, put it beyond
ll Doubt, that their *Principles* and
ffections are the ſame they uſed
be.

Our Author, who boaſts ſo much of his *Impartiality*, hath dealt very *partially* and *unjuſtly* with the *Diſſenters*. (Vol. II. p. 632.) He ſays they were cajoled by the Court, and *became the Abettors of* K. James's *Uſurpations*; which he affirms, is eaſy to prove even by Biſhop *Burnet*'s Account: Which is ſo far from being true, that the Biſhop ſays, The *Preſbyterians* and *Independents*, who were *three Fourths* of the Body, were *Enemies* to the *high Prerogative* the King was aſſuming; and that the fulſome Addreſſes which contained *abject Strains* and *Promiſes*, were conſented to but by a *few Diſſenters*, and thoſe too, *mean* and *inconſiderable*.

But is there not a wide Difference between a *few Diſſenters* making ſome *undue Compliances*, for the Sake of Liberty from grievous Oppreſſions, and *the Conduct* of the *High-Church Party*, who brought all thoſe Evils upon them? And yet, our Author ſays, what will *juſtify* the one will *juſtify* the other. Strange indeed! that *Wickedneſs* and *Weakneſs* ſhould be the ſame Thing!

Fog's Journal, Jan. 19. N° 272.

A Speech of Sir Francis Bacon, *with Reflections thereon.*

ABOUT the 12th Year of the Reign of K. *James* I. it happened, that ſome forward impudent Perſons, in order to make their Court to the King, had engaged to manage the Houſe of Commons; but it ſeems this hopeful Project for making the Miniſters eaſy took Air; the Houſe of Commons was moved about it, and all of them that were not in the ſcandalous Secret, were extreamly inflamed againſt thoſe impudent *Undertakers*; for ſo theſe fine Gentlemen were called.

Sir *Francis Bacon* was at this Time Attorney-General, and a Member of the Houſe, who, with all his Learning and fine Parts, was as ſervile

a Courtier, as even that which was the Age of Sycophants could ſhew; he made Uſe of all his Cunning and Eloquence to palliate the Matter, and if poſſible to hide the Shame of the Court. Part of his Speech on this Occaſion, was as follows.

Mr. Speaker,

I have been hitherto ſilent in this Matter of Undertaking, *wherein, as I perceive, the Houſe is very much enwrap'd.*

Firſt, becauſe I did not well underſtand what it meant, or what it was; and I do not love to offer at that, which I do not thoroughly conceive —— that private Men ſhould undertake for the Commons of England! —— *Why, a Man might as well undertake for the four Elements.* —— *It is a Thing ſo giddy and ſo vaſt, as cannot enter into the Brain of a ſober Man, and eſpecially in a new Parliament, when it was impoſſible to know, who ſhould be of that Parliament, and when all Men that knew never ſo little of the Conſtitution of this Houſe, do know it to be ſo open to Reaſon —— As Men do not know when they enter into theſe Doors, what Mind themſelves will be of until they hear Things argued and debated, much leſs can any Man make a Policy of Aſſurance what Ship ſhall come home ſafe into the Harbour of theſe Seas —— I had heard of Undertakings of ſeveral Kinds —— There were Undertakers for the Plantations of* Derry *and* Colerain *in* Ireland, *the better to command and bridle thoſe Parts —— There were not long ago ſome Undertakers for the North-Weſt Paſſage, and in ſhort, every Novelty uſed to be ſtrengthened and made good by a Kind of Undertaking —— But for the antient Parliament of* England, *which move in a certain Manner and Sphere, to be* undertaken, *it paſſes my Reach to conceive what it ſhould be —— Muſt we be all* Dy'd *and* Dreſs'd, *and no pure White amongſt us?- or muſt there be a new Paſſage found for the King's Buſineſs, by a Point of the Compaſs that was never ſailed by before? — or muſt there be ſome Forts built in this Houſe that may command and contain the reſt?* —— *Mr. Speaker, I know of but two Forts in this Houſe, which the King ever hath* —— *the Fort of Affection and the Fort of Reaſon; and others, I know none* —— *I think Æſop was a wiſe Man that deſcribed the Nature of the Fly, that ſate upon the Spoke of the Chariot Wheel, and ſaid to herſelf, what a* Duſt do I raiſe! *ſo I for my Part think all this Duſt is raiſed by light Rumours and Buzzes, and not upon any ſolid Ground.*

For if the Iſſue ſhall be this, that whatever is done for the King, ſhall be thought to be done by a Number of Perſons, that ſhall be labour'd and pack'd, this will be rather a Sign of Diffidence and Alienation, than a natural Benevolence and Affection, in his People at Home, and rather Matter of Diſreputation than of Honour Abroad. So that to ſpeak plainly to you, the King were better call for a new Pack of Cards, than play upon theſe if they be pack'd.

And then for the People, it is my Manner ever to look as well beyond a Parliament as upon a Parliament, and if they Abroad ſhould think themſelves betray'd by thoſe that are their Deputies and Attornies here, it is true we may bind them and conclude them; but it would be with ſuch Murmurs and Diſſatisfactions as I would be very loth to ſee.

The Arguments he makes Uſe of to diſſuade them from going into any Enquiry, are ſuch as he thinks will touch them home.

If we go about to gall and fret each others Reputation (ſays he) *the End of it will be, that every Man will go from hence, like* Cain, *cried down, and of leſs Price than he came hither* (and in another Place he ſays) *that ſuch Enquiries would not only affect Particulars, but make the whole Houſe look contemptible.* A little after he ſpeaks

ſpeaks like a Lawyer, and endeavours to perplex and puzzle the Matter, according to the laudable Cuſtom of the Gentlemen of the Bar; as for Example.

As to his own Part (he tells them) he ſhould not be againſt an Examination, but he does not ſee where they can begin, and where they can end; for (ſays he) if you fall upon Examination. ſome Perſon muſt be charged — ſome Matter muſt be charged — and the Manner of that Matter muſt be likewiſe charged—for it may be in a good Faſhion, and it may be in a bad, in as much Difference as between black and white, and then how far Men will ingenuouſly confeſs, and how far they will politickly deny, and what we can make and gather againſt their Confeſſion, or how we ſhall prove againſt their Denial— It is an endleſs Piece of Work, and I doubt not but we ſhall grow weary of it.

I think it is plain enough by what is here ſaid (ſays this Writer) that there were but too good Grounds for Suſpicion, and that all this Duſt was not raiſed by *light Rumours* and *Buzzes*; for had our Courtier really believed there was nothing in it, he needed not to have employed all this Art to draw the Houſe aſide from looking into it; for in that Caſe nothing could have turn'd more to the Honour of the Court, as well as of the ſuſpected Members, than a thorough Enquiry.

It may be wonder'd at why the Corrupt Party (if they were the ſtrongeſt in Numbers) did not come into the Enquiry, and themſelves appoint a Committee conſiſting of the Perſons the moſt guilty amongſt them; they might have made what Report they thought fit, and ſuch a Farce might have ſerv'd to amuſe the People abroad with a Shew of preſerving the Conſtitution. Had the *Grand Undertaker* been a Perſon verſed in nothing but the little Tricks of Buſineſs, he would have triumph'd in ſuch a Come-off as this; but it ſeems theſe Undertakers were not quite ſo wrong-headed as to run into the Practice of ſuch ſilly Tricks as the World muſt ſee thro', and which in the Minds of Men would have confirm'd the Iniquity as much as if it had been proved by a thouſand Witneſſes.

Craftſman, Jan. 19. N° 394.

Diſſertation upon Parties *continued.* (See p. 15.)

WHATEVER the State of *Parties* was at the *Revolution*, and for ſome Time afterwards, the *Settlement* made at that Time having continued, that State of *Parties* hath changed gradually, tho' ſlowly, and received at Length a total Alteration. This Alteration would have been ſooner wrought, if the Attempt to defend *Principles* no longer defenſible, had not furniſhed the Occaſion and Pretence to keep up the Appearances of a *Tory* and a *Whig Party*. Theſe Appearances were the more eaſy to be kept up, becauſe ſeveral Men, who had ſtood conſpicuous in Oppoſition to one another before the *Revolution*, continued an Oppoſition, tho' not the ſame, afterwards. The Cavils, which may be made, and the Facts, which may be cited, ſome of older, and ſome of freſher Date, againſt what hath been ſaid, do not eſcape me. Men of Knowledge, and of cool and candid Thought, will anſwer one, and account for the other, without my Help; and I cannot reſolve, for the Sake of the Paſſionate, nor even of the Ignorant, to deſcend upon this Subject into a greater Detail.

I paſs to that, which is of more immediate Uſe; and I ſay that as the natural Diſpoſitions of Men are alter'd and form'd into different moral Characters by Education, ſo the Spirit of a Conſtitution, which is confirm'd and improved by the Courſe of

Events, and especially by those of fruitless Opposition, in a long Tract of Time, will have a proportionable Influence on the Sentiments and Conduct of those, who are subject to it. A different Spirit and contrary Prejudices may prevail for a Time. But the Spirit and Principles of the Constitution will prevail at last; especially if they be agreeable to Nature, and the true Ends of Government, which is the Case of the present Constitution of the *British Government*.

The Settlement at the *Revolution* was made by a *Convention of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal*, and *a full and free Representative of the whole Body of the People*. When K. *William* and Q. *Mary* were once settled in the Throne, *this Settlement* was continued and confirmed by an Assemblage of *all the legislative Powers*. He, who will dispute the Validity of these Proceedings must shew therefore *first* of all, what hath never yet been shewn, the Invalidity of the Proceedings of *those Parliaments*, which raised *Edward* III. and *Henry* IV. to the Throne; which were called as irregularly, tho' by Writs in the Names of *Edward* II. and *Richard* II. as it can be pretended that the *Convention* was. He must shew the Invalidity of the Proceedings even of *that Assembly*, by which *Charles* II. was called home, till their Proceedings became valid by a subsequent Confirmation. He must shew farther, how any of the Laws of the Princes of the House of *Lancaster* came to be *constantly received and executed*. *Necessity* and *Self-Preservation* are great Laws of Nature, and may well dispense with the strict Observation of the common Forms of any particular Constitution. Upon the Whole, I will venture to assert that he, who scruples, or pretends to scruple, the Validity of our *present Constitution*, is no wiser, or else no honester, than he, who would scruple, or pretend to scruple, the Validity of *magna Charta*. I have often wish'd that some profound Antiquary, of much Leisure, would write an elaborate Treatise to assert *royal Prerogative* against the *great Charter*, as well as *hereditary Right* against the *Revolution*. I am persuaded he would succeed alike in *both*. Why, indeed, should a *Charter*, extorted by Force, and therefore vicious in its Principle, stand on a better Foot, or have more Regard paid to it, than a *Settlement* made in Opposition to a *Divine*, and therefore *indefeazable Right?* I say, *and therefore indefeazable*; because if it be not proved to be something more than *human*, it will hardly be proved *indefeazable*.

Whether the *Revolution* alter'd our *old Constitution for the better*, or *renewed* it, and brought it back to the *first Principles*, and nearer to the *primitive Institution*, shall not be disputed here. I think the latter, and every Man must think that *one* or the *other* was necessary, who considers, in the first Place, how the Majesty and Authority of the *Prince* began to swell above any Pitch, proportionable to the Rank of *chief Magistrate*, in a *free State*; by how many Arts the *Prerogative of the Crown* had been stretch'd, and how many *Precedents*, little favourable to *Liberty*, had been set, even before the Accession of the *Scotish* Line; and who considers, in the next Place, the direct Tendency of *those Principles of Government*, which composed an avowed System of *Tyranny*, and established *Slavery* as a political, moral, and a religious Obligation, which K. *James* I. was too successful in establishing; but neither *he*, nor his *Descendents* were able to pursue. What these Considerations made necessary, was done at the *Revolution*, at least, so far as to put it into our Power to do the Rest. A Spirit of *Liberty*, transmitted down from our *Saxon Ancestors*, and the unknown Ages of our Government, preserved

itſelf thro' one almoſt continual Struggle, againſt the Uſurpations of our *Princes*, and the Vices of our *People*; and they, whom neither the *Plantagenets*, nor the *Tudors* could enſlave, were incapable of ſuffering their Rights and Privileges to be raviſhed from them by the *Stuarts*. Let us juſtify this Conduct, by perſiſting in it, and continue to ourſelves the peculiar Honour of maintaining the Freedom of our *Gothick Inſtitution of Government*, when ſo many other Nations, who enjoyed the ſame, have loſt theirs.

If a *divine, indefeazable, hereditary Right* to govern a Community be once acknowledged, a *Right independent of the Community*, and which reſts in every ſucceſſive Prince immediately on the Death of his Predeceſſor, and previouſly to any Engagement taken on his Part towards the *People*; if the *People* once acknowledge themſelves bound to ſuch Princes by the Tyes of *paſſive Obedience* and *Non-Reſiſtance*, by an *Alleagiance unconditional*, and not reciprocal to *Protection*; if a Kind of *oral Law*, or *myſterious Cabbala*, which Phariſees of the *black Gown* and *long Robe* are always at Hand to report and interpret, as a *Prince* deſires, be once added, like a ſupplemental Code, to the *known Laws of the Land*; then, I ſay, ſuch Princes have the *Power*, but not the *Right*, given them, of becoming *Tyrants*, and Princes, who have the *Power*, are prone to think that they have the *Right*. Such was the State of *King* and *People* before the *Revolution*. By the *Revolution*, and the *Settlement* ſince made, this State hath received conſiderable Alterations. A *King of Britain* is now, ſtrictly and properly, what *Kings* ſhould always be, a Member, not the Supreme Member, or the Head of a political Body; Part of the individual, ſpecifick Whole, in every Reſpect; diſtinct from it, or Independent of it, in none.

Now, that we may ſee the better how to proceed in the Cauſe of *Liberty*, to compleat the Freedom, and to ſecure the Duration of our *preſent Conſtitution*, it will be of Uſe, I think, to conſider what Obſtacles lye, or may hereafter lye in our Way, and of what Nature that Oppoſition is, or may hereafter be, which we may expect to meet. In order to this, let us once more analyſe our political Diviſions; thoſe, which may poſſibly exiſt now, or hereafter, as we did thoſe, which were form'd at the *Revolution*. (See p. 17.)

One poſſible Diviſion then is, That of Men angry with the *Government*, and yet reſolved to maintain the *Conſtitution*. This may be the Caſe at any Time; under the preſent, wiſe, virtuous, and triumphant Adminiſtration, and therefore to be ſure at any other.

A *ſecond poſſible Diviſion* is, That of Men averſe to the *Government*, becauſe they are ſo to the *Conſtitution*, which I think can never be the Caſe of many; or averſe to the *Conſtitution*, becauſe they are ſo to the *Government*, which I think may be the Caſe of more. *Both* of theſe tend to the ſame Point. *One* would ſubvert the *Government*, that they might change the *Conſtitution*. The *other* would ſacrifice the *Conſtitution*, that they might ſubvert the *Government*.

A *third poſſible Diviſion*, and I ſeek no more, is, That of Men attach'd to the *Government*; or, to ſpeak more properly, to the Perſons of *thoſe*, who govern; or, to ſpeak more properly ſtill, to the Power, Profit, or Protection they acquire by the Favour of *theſe Perſons*; but Enemies to the *Conſtitution*.

Now, as to the firſt and *ſecond of theſe poſſible Diviſions*, if there be any ſuch among us, I do not apprehend that we are at preſent, or can be hereafter, in much Danger; or that the Cauſe of *Liberty* can meet with much Oppoſition from them; tho'

the ſecond have certainly Views, more likely to bring *Slavery* upon us, than to promote *Liberty*; and tho' Prudence requires that we ſhould be on our Guard againſt *both*.

As to the *third Diviſion*, if any ſuch there be, it is in that our greateſt, and almoſt our whole Danger centers. The *others* cannot overthrow, but *theſe* may undermine our *Liberty*. Capable of being admitted into Power, in all Courts, and more likely than other Men to be ſo in every Court, except the preſent, (whoſe approved Penetration and ſpotleſs Innocence gives a certain Excluſion to them,) they may prevent any farther Securities from being procured to *Liberty*, till thoſe already eſtabliſhed are diſſolved, or perverted,

Weekly Regiſter, Jan. 19. N° 202.

Continuation of the Review, &c.
(See p. 19.)

THERE is not any Mauſoleum belonging to the whole *Abbey*, except *Henry* VIIth's, which is built at ſo great an Expence as the late Duke of *Newcaſtle*'s. The Materials are exceedingly fine, the Space it fills grand, and noble; the Architecture rich, and ornamental; and yet it gives no Pleaſure to the Elegant, and Knowing, and is only the Admiration of the Vulgar: The Reaſon of which is plain; Magnificence has been conſulted only, and not Beauty; and Coſt, and Splendor are laviſh'd away, if not directed by Judgment and Taſte.

The Statue of Sir *Iſaac Newton* has ſomething in it exceedingly venerable, bold, and majeſtick; it commands Attention, and expreſſes Importance; but then the Action, it is employ'd in, is vain, and of Courſe out of the Character of the Perſon it repreſents: Sir *Iſaac*, tho' one of the greateſt Men that ever did Honour to Humanity, was at the ſame Time, the leaſt proud, and aſſuming; and deliver'd ſome of the fineſt Principles of Philoſophy, as doubtful, which all his Readers were ready to believe demonſtrated: 'Twas wrong, therefore, to give him that Vanity after his Death, which never belong'd to him in his Life. The Bas-Reliefs, on the Urn, are moſt excellent, and do great Honour to *Rysbrack*; the principal Figure in particular, that weighs the Sun, and all our planetary Syſtem by the Steel Yard, is admirable, and the Device is beautiful, and fully expreſſing Sir *Iſaac*'s Doctrine of *Gravitation*, which is the Baſis of his Fame. The Globe, in the Back of the Monument, is almoſt a general Objection, as projecting too forward on the Sight, and ſpoiling the Keeping of the Whole. The upper Part of the Figure of *Aſtronomy* is, without Controverſy, one of the moſt delicate Things that can be imagin'd; the Manner and Action, are both faultleſs, and the Expreſſion of the Face is at once thoughtful, and compos'd, ſweet, and majeſtick; I wiſh the reſt of it had been anſwerable, but it is quite the contrary in all Reſpects.

But if this Monument of Sir *Iſaac*'s muſt undergo ſuch a ſevere Trial, and be ſo hardly acquitted, what will be the Fate of its Neighbour, ſince rais'd to commemorate the late Lord *Stanhope*? Undoubtedly it will meet with no Advocate, and has not even the ſmalleſt Title to Favour. 'Tis all alike huge, and heavy; expenſively *Gothique*, and magnificently clumſey.

The Monument of Mr. *Craggs*, is in a very ſimple, and elegant Taſte: Here appears much Judgment in ſetting his Statue upright, becauſe it fills the Viſta, with great Harmony, and looks advantageouſly even at the greateſt Diſtance; the Attitude of it is delicate, and fine; the Thought of reſting it on an Urn, pathetique, and judicious. In a Word, many Tombs have more Beauties, none fewer Faults.

I muſt now take Notice of two Monuments together, tho' ſomewhat remov'd in Situation from one another; they are the Lord *Godolphin*'s and Mr. *Congreve*'s; my Reaſon for mentioning them at one Time is becauſe they were erected at the Charge of the ſame Perſon; becauſe they are in the ſame bad Taſte, and the Epitaphs of them both are wrote in the ſame Stile, and ſpelt with the ſame Exactneſs.

The Plainneſs, and Simplicity of Doctor *Freind*'s Buſt pleaſes me much; and if his Epitaph had been in the ſame Goût, it would have been, at leaſt, as high a Compliment, both to the *Scholar* and *Phyſician*.

There is ſomething pretty in Mrs. *Desbovery*'s Tomb; the Figures are lively, and free, and the Architecture not much amiſs; her own amiable Character, indeed, is the higheſt Decoration, and to which, we may juſtly add that of her Friend's, who had the Gratitude to pay this gentile Compliment to the Remembrance of their former Affection.

Not far from this is a Monument inſcrib'd with the Name of Mr. *Smyth*, which is much in Taſte; a fine Buſt, in Relievo, of that Gentleman, is ſupported by a weeping Figure, repreſenting his Daughter, both which are deſign'd, and executed with great Judgment, and Spirit. If any Thing is wanting, 'tis a Reſt for the Lady's left Arm; which being held up to the Head, appears painful for want of it.

Weekly Regiſter, Jan. 26. N° 203.

The ſame Subject continued.

THE Monument of Mr. *Thynn* is one of the moſt celebrated Things in the *Abbey:* The languid dying Poſture he is plac'd in, with the Action of his Hand, directing the Spectator to the tragick Story of his Death, which was once ingrav'd behind him, are beautifully conſiſtent with each other, and muſt have had a very pathetick Influence on all who beheld it; particularly, as ſo ſtrongly inforc'd with the fine Relief, which repreſented the Murder below: But ſince the Caprice of ſome, or the Prejudice and Intereſts of others, have eraz'd the Inſcription, neither his Action, nor that of the inimitable Boy at his Feet, can be thoroughly underſtood.

The execrable *Gothique* Heap, erected at ſo great an Expence, in Honour of Sir *Cloudeſly Shovel*, by his Sovereign herſelf, has been ſo juſtly expos'd in the *Spectator* already, that I have no Need to ſay any Thing more; I ſhall only beg Leave, to put the two neighbouring Tombs of Admiral *Churchill*, and Mr. *Stepney*, in the ſame Rank of Cenſure.

I cannot overlook the droll Figure, lately ſet up, at the Charge of a noble Peer, to the Memory of *Grabe* the Commentator: He is elevated high on a Sort of Funeral Cheſt, with a Lamp by his Side, and a Pen in his Hand, to repreſent, I ſuppoſe, his Application to Study in his Lifetime; but then the ridiculous Height of the Statue, the Clumſineſs of the Attitude, and the Oddneſs of the Employ, never fail to excite Laughter in all who behold them: In ſhort, he looks like a Boy on a high Joint-Stool, kicking his Heels about, and afraid of tumbling every Moment.

The venerable Names of *Spencer*, *Johnſon*, *Cowley*, and *Dryden*, have been perpetuated by *Sheffield*, and *Villiers*, Dukes of *Buckingham*, the preſent Earl of *Oxford*, and *Devereux*, Earl of *Eſſex:* Some Diſtinction, 'tis true, is neceſſary to be made: The Earls of *Eſſex* and *Oxford* did this Honour to *Johnſon* and *Spencer* without complimenting themſelves, by inſcribing their own Names on the Stone; a delicate Piece of Self-Denial, which *Villiers* and *Sheffield* had not Firmneſs enough to practiſe, in their Generoſities to *Dryden* and *Cowley*. The preſent Dutcheſs

Dutcheſs of *Buckingham* will, however, have an equitable Claim to Glory with the firſt: For ſhe juſtly diſliking the Buſt, which was firſt ſet up for Mr. *Dryden*, order'd it, at her own Expence, to be remov'd, and another plac'd in its Stead, which is far from being contemptible, and the whole Tomb ſimple, if not magnificent.

I am always ſurpriz'd to ſee ſo wretched a Thing as that erected to the Memory of Mr. *Phillips*, inſcrib'd with the Name of *Harcourt*: One would have naturally imagin'd that whoever aim'd at a publick Ornament, would endeavour at ſomething like Elegance too: But, on the contrary, nothing is more oppoſite, nothing can be more contemptible: It is even a Burleſque upon Monuments.

The Buſt of *Johnſon* is executed with great Happineſs, and looks with abundance of Life, and Spirit: The Tablature 'tis inclos'd in is beautiful, and the Decorations few, proper, and elegant. To talk like a Critick, there is nothing wanting but a Note of Admiration, at the End of the Inſcription: *O rare Ben Johnſon!*

Tho' the Tomb of *Spencer* has ſuffer'd greatly by Time, and was erected in an Age when Taſte was in its Infancy in *England*, yet there is ſomething in it venerably plain, and not abſurdly ornamental.

I am pleas'd to ſee the Buſt of the great *Butler* here on any Terms, but 'twould have given me much greater Satisfaction, to ſee it rais'd in a more magnificent Manner, and by ſuch Perſons too as might have reflected greater Honour on his Memory.

Mr. *Prior*'s Monument is meant to be magnificent, and was deſign'd to call upon the Attention of Mankind: Undoubtedly few Men have ever better Title to a ſepulchral Trophy, than this Author; but ſtill I ſhould have been more pleas'd if it had been erected at any other Perſon's Charge, rather than his own: His Buſt, which is deſign'd to be the principal Figure, is hurt by the whole Statues on either Side; a ſimple Urn, with the Head on a Pedeſtal over it, would have had a finer Effect. The Head itſelf is certainly perform'd with great Maſtery, and is juſtly eſteem'd one of the beſt Things in *England*.

I believe every one, that viſits this ſacred Repoſitory of the illuſtrious Dead, cannot help looking round, like me, for the divine *Milton*, and the immortal *Shakeſpear*; Names which are the Honour of their Country, and yet have receiv'd no Honour from it; Names which every Foreigner muſt enquire for, and miſs with Regret and Uneaſineſs to himſelf, and Cenſure and Diſeſteem to us: That *Milton*, indeed, has been deny'd this Privilege, I don't ſo much wonder, becauſe he oppos'd the Prieſthood: An Injury which they can neither forget, nor forgive. But this was not *Shakeſpear*'s Caſe; a Man whoſe Works have been the Bread of Thouſands, and the Entertainment of whole Nations for above an Age together; who was almoſt the Creator of the *Engliſh* Stage, and the Support of it ever ſince; and yet, notwithſtanding all, not one honorary Stone has diſtinguiſh'd him among the Sons of the *Muſes*.

London Journal, Jan 26. N° 761.

A Writer in this Paper, making ſome Reflections on the *Craftſman*'s *Diſſertation on Parties*, ſays:

The *Tories* were willing to bring their Country to the *Brink* of the *Precipice*, in the Reign of K. *James*, to gratify their Revenge, and a barbarous Itch of Oppreſſion. But the *Whigs*, to ſave their Country from *tumbling over the Precipice*, chearfully forgot all their former Reſentments, and heard with Compaſſion the Cries of thoſe very Men, who, purely out of Hatred to the *Whigs*, had precipitated both themſelves and their Country into the Danger. This was Vir-

Virtue, this was publick Spirit, this was Heroiſm; if ever Virtue, publick Spirit, or Heroiſm can be aſcrib'd to any of the Actions of Mankind.

This was the only Period of Time, wherein there was a real *Coalition* between the two Parties. And how was this *Coalition* effected? Merely by the Wiſdom and Virtue of the *Whigs*, in liſtening to the Voice of common Danger. But, how is it poſſible they can unite with theſe Men, who repented of having contributed to the Deliverance of their Country, the very Moment it was compleated? and who have ever ſince been raiſing an unjuſt and a ſeditious Cry, under a *legal Government, legally adminiſtred* in all its Branches, purely becauſe they have not been permitted under it to riot in Power, and ſatiate a ſavage Inclination of oppreſſing their Neighbours?

That this is the true State of the Caſe, will appear from the Behaviour of the *Tories* immediately before, and immediately after the *Revolution*. When they became ſenſible of their Danger, and that was not till they found themſelves brought to the *Brink* of the *Precipice*, (Vol. II. p. 631.) what a *Mourning* did they make! They whin'd and canted in the *Day of their Diſtreſs*, and while the *Storm* was impending over their Heads: But it ſoon blew over; and ſo likewiſe did all their pious Reſolutions: Like true *Sailors*, as ſoon as they found themſelves ſafe, they return'd to their *Brandy* and their Blaſphemy. And in every Conjuncture ſince, when Power has been lodg'd in their Hands, they have never fail'd to throw off the Diſguiſe, and to diſplay themſelves in the genuine and natural Colours of the *Party*.

Fog's Journal, Jan. 26. N° 273.

This Paper *contains a Quotation from a Pamphlet, entitled*, The late Exciſe-Scheme Diſſected. *The Author propoſing to enquire into the additional Powers given to the Crown ſince the Reſtoration of K.* Charles II. *proceeds thus:*

LET us ſee how the Royal Power ſtood at the Reſtoration: The Crown had then hardly any Revenue to ſubſiſt on, but what it was to get yearly from Parliament. There was no Army, or a very ſmall one, and conſequently, no military Preferments to be diſpoſed of; there were no Cuſtoms or Exciſes, and of Conſequence no Commiſſioners, Collectors, Comptrollers, Surveyors, Accomptants, Clerks, Secretaries, Landwaiters, Tide-waiters, Horſe-gaugers, and Foot-gaugers, *&c.* to be made; there were few or no mechanical Crimes, and therefore but few Pains and Penalties at the Diſpoſal of the Crown; but a few Places about the Houſhold and in the Law, nor any Penalties to inflict, but for Crimes which to have pardon'd, wou'd have render'd the Court ridiculous. But the Nation was then ſo overjoy'd at being reliev'd from the Anarchy, under which it had groan'd for above 20 Years, that the Courtiers eaſily found Means to get the Parliament to conſent to the increaſing the artificial Power of the Crown, with Regard to every one of theſe Branches. They ſettled upon the King a great Revenue for ever, or for Life; they gave him an abſolute Power over the whole military Force; they created a great many Crimes, and as to moſt of them, they gave a diſpenſing Power to the King; they created Cuſtoms, they created Exciſe, and thereby gave Being to that Shoal of *idle Subjects, who muſt always be maintained at the publick Expence*, for collecting ſuch Revenues; and to compleat their Undertaking, they gave to the Crown the abſolute Diſpoſal of all theſe Places and Preferments, and an arbitrary Power, with Regard to the Tryal of theſe new-made Crimes.

We know what were the fatal Conſequences of this Benignity to the Crown. We know how near the Nation was thereby brought to its Ruin in the very next Reign. We know that from thence the Miniſters of the ſucceeding Prince form'd their Scheme of arbitrary Power; and yet the whole publick Revenue then ſettled for any Number of Years did not amount to above 1,500,000*l. per Ann.* The King had no Parliamentary Army eſtabliſh'd, nor were any but common Brewers ſubjected to the Laws of Exciſe; yet ſo near were we brought to our Ruin, that if the then Circumſtances of *Europe* had not made it neceſſary for ſome of our Neighbours to fly to our Relief, our Caſe would have been without Remedy, we could not have extricated ourſelves, and the Great K. *William*, notwithſtanding his Affection for theſe Kingdoms, notwithſtanding his glorious Love of Liberty, yet he could not have had it in his Power to have aſſiſted us, if the Preſervation of the Liberties of *Europe* had not depended upon the Reſtoration of the Liberties of *England*.

The Power given to the Crown by the firſt Seſſion of Parliament after the Revolution, was certainly then thought ſufficient, not only for all the juſt Ends of Government, but alſo for breaking the Neck of that Faction which had join'd with, and encourag'd the former King in his Project of trampling upon the Liberties of the People. But by the heavy Foreign War we were then engag'd in, for the Preſervation of thoſe Liberties, which we had but juſt recover'd, and by the many Taxes we have ſince been obliged to impoſe, and the Debts we contracted (I ſhall not ſay have been obliged to contract) the Power of the Crown has ſince been greatly increas'd. Inſtead of that antient Maxim of granting no Taxes but for a Year, or for a ſhort Term, moſt of our Taxes are now granted for ever; the King and his Succeſſors having a Power of levying them upon the People to all future Generations, without any new Application to Parliament; and we all know how apt an ambitious Government may be to convert the Money thus levied to the People's Deſtruction. The Places and Preferments at the Diſpoſal of the Crown are greatly multiplied, and the Laws of Exciſe have been ſo far extended, and ſo many Crimes created, that it is become very difficult for a Merchant or Tradeſman to know when he is ſecure againſt any criminal Proſecution. I will not preſume to ſay, that the Power of the Crown is at preſent too extenſive, but I think I may ſay, that it may be made too great; and if that be poſſible, we ought well to conſider our Conſtitution before we grant any additional Power.

He then quotes the late Exciſe-Bill, and explains it Paragraph by Paragraph; which whoſoever will read, will be convinced that all the Dread and Terror, which we ſaw the People under, of this pernicious Scheme were infinitely ſhort of the Miſchief it contain'd.

Craftſman, Jan 26. N° 395.

Diſſertation upon Parties *continued.*

(*See p.* 25.)

IT may be asked, perhaps, how Men, who are Friends to a *Government*, can be Enemies to the *Conſtitution*, upon which *it* is founded. The Anſwer will be eaſy, if we conſider theſe two Things; firſt, the true Diſtinction, ſo often confounded, between *Conſtitution* and *Government*. By *Conſtitution* we mean, whenever we ſpeak with Propriety, that Aſſemblage of Laws, Inſtitutions and Cuſtoms, derived from certain fix'd Principles of Reaſon, directed to certain fix'd Objects of publick Good, that compoſe the ge-

neral

neral System, according to which the Community have agreed to be governed: By *Government*, that particular Tenor of Conduct, which a chief Magistrate, and inferior Magistrates, under his Direction and Influence, hold in the Administration of publick Affairs. We call this a *good Government*, when the Execution of the Laws, the Observation of the Institutions and Customs, in short, the whole Administration of publick Affairs is wisely pursued, and with a strict Conformity to the Principles and Objects of the *Constitution*. We call it a *bad Government*, when it is administer'd on other Principles, and directed to other Objects, either wickedly or weakly, either by obtaining *new Laws*, which want this Conformity, or by perverting *old ones*, which had it. And when this is done without Law, or in open Violation of the Law, we term it a *tyrannical Government*. In a Word, *Constitution* is the Rule, by which our Princes ought to govern, at all Times; *Government* is that, by which they actually do govern, at any particular Time. *One* may remain immutable; the *other* may, and as human Nature is constituted, must vary. *One* is the Criterion, by which we are to try the *other*; for surely we have a Right to do so, since if we are to live in Subjection to the Government of our *Kings*, they are to govern in Subjection to the *Constitution*; and the Conformity, or Nonconformity of their Government to it prescribes the Measure of our Submission to them, according to the Principles of the *Revolution*, and of our *present Settlement*. Another Thing to be consider'd is this, when Persons are spoken of as *Friends to the Government*, and *Enemies to the Constitution*, the Term *Friend*-ship is a little prostituted, in Compliance with common Usage. Such Men are really incapable of Friendship; for real Friendship can never exist amongst those, who have banished Virtue and Truth. They have no Affection to any but themselves; no Regard to any Interest, except their own. They may bear the Semblance of Affection to their Prince, and of Zeal for his Government; but they, who are false to the Cause of their Country, will not be true to any other.

The general Division of Wicked and Weak runs thro' the whole Race of Mankind; of the Multitudes designed to obey, and of the Few designed to govern. It was this Depravity of Multitudes, as well as their mutual Wants, which obliged Men first to enter into Societies, to depart from their natural Liberty, and to subject themselves to Government. It was this Depravity of the Few (which is often the greater, because born no better than other Men, they are educated worse) which obliged Men first to subject *Government* to *Constitution*, that they might preserve social, when they gave up natural Liberty, and not be oppress'd by arbitrary Will. *Kings* may have preceded *Lawgivers*, for ought I know; or have possibly been the *first Lawgivers*, and *Government by Will* have been established before *Government by Constitution*. *Theseus* might reign at *Athens*, and *Eurytio* at *Sparta*, long before *Solon* gave Laws to *one*, and *Lycurgus* to the *other* of these Cities. *Kings* had govern'd *Rome*, we know, and *Consuls* had succeeded *Kings*, long before the *Decemviri* compiled a Body of Law; and the *Saxons* had their Monarchs before *Edgar*, tho' the *Saxon Laws* went under his Name. These and a thousand other Instances of the same Kind will never serve to prove what my Lord *Bacon* would prove by them, *That Monarchies do not subsist, like other Governments, by a precedent Law*, or Compact; that the *original* Submission to them was *natural*, like the Obedience of a *Child* to his *Parents*; and that *Allegiance to hereditary Monarchs is the Work of the Law of Nature*. But that, which these Examples prove very plainly is, that however Men might submit voluntarily in the primitive Simplicity of early Ages, or be subjected by Conquest, to a *Government* without a *Constitution*, yet they were never long in discovering that *to live by one Man's Will became the Cause of all Men's Misery*, and therefore they soon rejected the Yoke, or made it sit easy on their Necks. They instituted *Commonwealths*, or they limited *Monarchies*; and here began the Struggle between the *Spirit of Liberty* and the *Spirit of Dominion*.

To govern a Society of Freemen by a *Constitution* founded on the eternal Rules of right

Reaſon, and directed to promote the Happineſs of the Whole, and of every Individual, is the nobleſt Prerogative, which can belong to Humanity, and if Man may be ſaid, without Profaneneſs, to imitate God in any Caſe, this is the Caſe. But ſure I am, he imitates the Devil, who is ſo far from promoting the Happineſs of others, that he makes his own Happineſs to conſiſt in the Miſery of others, and governs by no Rule but that of his Paſſions.

It is certain that if ever ſuch Men as call themſelves *Friends to a Government*, but are *real Enemies of the Conſtitution*, prevail, they will make it a capital Point of their wicked Policy to keep up a *ſtanding Army*. Not that I imagine an *Army* would be employed by *theſe Men*, directly and at firſt againſt the Nation, and National Liberty. To deſtroy *Britiſh Liberty* with an *Army of Britons* is not a Meaſure ſo ſure of Succeſs as ſome People may believe. To *corrupt the Parliament* is a ſlower, but might prove a more effectual Method, and two or three hundred Mercenaries in the two Houſes, if they could be liſted there, would be more fatal to the *Conſtitution* than ten Times as many Thouſands in Red and in Blue out of them. *Parliaments* are the true Guardians of *Liberty*. For this principally they were inſtituted; and this is the principal Article of that great and noble Truſt which the collective Body of the People of *Britain* repoſes in the Repreſentative. But then no Slavery can be ſo effectually brought and fixed upon us, as *Parliamentary Slavery*. The Integrity of *Parliament* is a Kind of *Palladium*, a tutelary Goddeſs, who protects our State. When ſhe is once removed, we may become the Prey of any Enemies. No *Agamemnon*, no *Achilles* will be wanted to take our City. *Therſites* himſelf will be ſufficient for ſuch a Conqueſt.

The ſingle Reign of *Henry* VIII. will ſerve to ſhew that no Tyranny can be more ſevere than that, which is exerciſed by a Concert with *Parliament*; that arbitrary Will may be made the ſole Rule of *Government*, even whilſt the Names and Forms of a *free Conſtitution* are preſerved.

Univerſal Spectator, Jan. 26. N° 277.

In Praiſe of Laughter.

I AM one of that Claſs of Men who love to be *merry* as well as *wiſe*; and as I know no greater Sign of Mirth than *Laughing*, I chuſe that Method of expreſſing it: From this Cuſtom I have been reflected on for ſhewing more *Mirth* than *Wiſdom*; but in Defence of myſelf and the reſt of the *Laughers* of *Great Britain*, I have in this Letter undertaken to prove, that *Laughing* is rather the Sign of *Wiſdom* than *Folly*.——*Ride ſi ſapis*, that old Apothegm, *Laugh, if you are wiſe*, carries ſome Proof, that the *Ancients* entertain'd no mean Opinion of *Riſibility*. According to the Schoolmen the Definition of a Man is, *Animal Riſibile*, an *Animal that can laugh*; then if the Powers of *Diſcourſe*, and *Reaſon*, and *Laughter* be *all* equally proper to *Man* only, why ſhou'd not that Man be moſt wiſe who us'd the Power of *Laughing* moſt, as well as he who us'd moſt *Reaſon* in his *Diſcourſe*? ——I muſt confeſs there is an old *Latin* Adage,

Per Riſum multum poſſis cognoſcere Stultum.
By too much *Laughter* you a *Fool* may know.

And another more vulgarly known, *A Fool is known by much Laughing*; yet neither is to be taken in a Senſe that the *Laughers* themſelves are *Fools*, but that among them there is a *Fool* at whom the Wits laugh. That *Folly* makes *wiſe Men* laugh is indiſputable; wherefore *Eraſmus*, in his *Moriæ Encomium*, or *Praiſe of Folly*, hath made *Folly* herſelf ſay, ſhe made Beholders *laugh*; and that it is the Fools who are laugh'd at, none will contradict, who has had the good Fortune to be one of the *Wits* of the *Company*. *Nature* ſaw this Faculty of human Kind to be ſo neceſſary to its Species, that ſhe ſuffer'd us to be importun'd to laugh by more Cauſes than to exerciſe any other of our *Powers*: For even Things *contrary* in themſelves produce this Effect, and we laugh *moſt* at Things which are *moſt* witty or *moſt* abſurd. That Laughter is a Sign of Wiſdom in a wiſe retired Man, may ſeem more difficult to aſſert; yet the Poet ſays in one Queſtion what we have not comprehended in ſeveral Lines, *Quid facit Cannutus? Ridet.* And that *Democritus*, one of the *greateſt Laughers*, was one of the *greateſt Philoſophers* of the Age he liv'd in, none I believe will deny. *Heraclitus*, his *Contrary Sage*, indeed was given to *Weeping*; but were they both now alive, I may venture to aſſert more of our *modern Wiſemen* wou'd rather *laugh* at *Heraclitus weeping*, than *weep* with *Democritus laughing*. There is one Thing I have obſerved in my Converſation among Mankind, that ſeveral have *laugh'd* when others in Company have *laugh'd*, tho' at the ſame Time I have been aſſured they took not the Jeſt, but *laugh'd* only to conceal their Ignorance; which is a convincing Proof that Laughing they thought was an evident *Sign* of *Prudence* and *Wiſdom*.

DEMOCRITUS, Junior.

On the BUSTOES in the *Royal Hermitage*. By a Lady.

WHILE to our Queen each duteous bard conveys
The faithful tribute of exalted praise;
While genius, learning, all their force combine,
To make the numbers, as the theme, divine;
How shall a Cambrian muse, (obscure and mean,
The lowest, latest, of the tuneful train;
Too weak her wings, too tardy in her flight,)
Amongst their sterling coin, dare to present her mite?
O Queen! more learn'd than e'er Britannia saw,
Since our fam'd Tudor to the realm gave law.
O wife! more happy in thy lord alone,
Than in the pow'r and splendor of his throne.
O mother! blest in your illustrious race;
The guardian angels of our future peace!
O patroness of science! will't thou deign
T' accept from thy own sex, this artless strain?
Around the throne too dazzling glories dwell;
May I, most gracious Queen! approach thy cell?
Hail happy grotto! to thy blest retreat
Greatness retires, to be more truly great.
Here, by the sculptor's art, are well design'd
The busts of those, who dignify'd their kind.
Locke, Boyle, and Newton, Woollaston and Clarke,
Brightent those paths, which ignorance made dark;
Reason and arts, truth, moral and divine,
In their immortal works, unclouded shine.
Resemblance, the well-judging eye delights,
And th' active soul, to semblant thought excites;
Intent, sh' exerts her faculties and powers,
Rises in thought, in contemplation towers.
Reason, that emanation of the mind,
Breaks forth in Locke, diffusive, and refin'd.
Wisdom and piety, their beams unite
To shine in Boyle, with strong convictive light;
Which, thro' the various works of nature, shews
God, the sole source, whence all perfection flows.
Newton, th' all-wise Creator's works explores:
Sublimely, on the wings of knowledge, soars;
Th' establish'd order of each orb unfolds,
And th' omni-present God, in all, beholds:
If to the dark abyss, or bright abode,
He points, the view still terminates in God.
The moral duties, Woollaston displays,
On nature's laws the firm foundation lays.
In Clarke, the christian purity appears,
Reveal'd religion, he divinely clears
From mists of error, vapours of blind zeal,
Which oft her heav'n-born beauties, wou'd conceal;
From sanguin marks, which her pure whiteness stain'd,
And all her sacred truths polluted and profan'd.
Here reason, knowledge, primogeneal law,
Submit to faith, with reverential awe;
'Tis she, celestial grace! must those refine,
'Tis her impression stamps them all divine.
These are the worthies whom our glorious Queen
Delights to honour, in this solemn scene.
She consecrates their memory to fame,
Affixing theirs to her own deathless name.
While plenteous Thames flows from his crystal urn;
While ebbing tides, to ocean's bed return;
While circling waves around Britannia move;
While liberty and honour, Britons love;
While the fair moon reflects the solar ray,
And guides the motions of the swelling sea;
While the bright sun the golden day shall give,
With royal Caroline's these sages fame will live.

The MISTAKE.

ALL you, who Hymen's yoke would prove,
Come listen to my ditty:
The tale I sing may chance to move,
Your laughter, or your pity.
To be a wife full thirty years,
Nan various arts had try'd;
And often said with sighs and tears
She ne'er should be a bride.
To an old crone at length she went,
One fam'd for fat and sin;
Relates her cause of discontent,
And begs advice therein.
Oh thou! whose equitable skill,
Can dead men's thoughts supply;
Help me now living to my will,
And make it when I dye.
Assist P--c--la, Nanny cry'd,
And ease an old maid's mind,
For law-suits, wounds, and stars, thou pride
Of all the female kind:
O help me to some youthful mate,
And I thy fame will tell:
Assist me to avoid the fate
Of leading apes in hell.
Then may you see more happy days,
In being B———'s wife:
When dead, his Bee shall buz thy praise,
And C———ll shall print thy life.
Pleas'd with these words, th' experienc'd dame
To weeping Nanny said;
Once beauty's charms cou'd raise a flame,
And help the willing maid.
Our modern sparks, more cunning grown,
Court not like them of old:
For now each youth will doubly burn
For beauty and for gold.
Your wash and paint are idle stuff——
Give out that you are rich:
Of wooers then you'll have enough;
Or ne'er say I'm a witch.
Nan's soon beset, as said the hagg,
With twenty amorous ninnies,
By shewing oft' a canvas bag
Of counterfeited guineas.
Among the rest a youth there came,
From boggy Enyskillin;
By persecuting duns and bums
Drove here to seek a living.
A greater stranger, none than he
To honesty and pence:

Nor H——y *more a foe cou'd be*
To modesty and ſenſe.
And tho' his brawny back, oh Nan!
With future hopes did win ye;
Will C—— *prov'd no more a man,*
Than ſignior Nicolini.
With eager haſte the match they made,
Each other glad to take in;
Will's *ſtill in debt,* Nan *ſtill a maid,*
And both are prov'd miſtaken.
And tho' dear Nan *poor* Will *offends,*
Tranſgreſſing nightly rules;
He makes the town a large amends,
By not increaſing Fools.

P. P.

ODE for the new Year.

RECITATIVO.

TO George, *to* George, *our patriot king,*
The new and happy ſeaſon ſing.

AIR.

With high reſounding lay,
Invoke the God of day,
That this auſpicious morn may bear,
To his indulgent ſway,
Progenial rounds of many a glorious year.

RECITATIVO.

Rude tho' our native ſtrains may prove,
Yet flowing from the voice of love,
What equal ſounds can charm the royal ear?

AIR.

Freedom, peace, and laws ſecure,
We'll way make the ſubjects ſing;
Smiling thus, while theſe endure,
Ev'ry kind at home's a king.
Wou'd the mortal wiſh have more,
Than enjoying what we taſte?
Cou'd diſtraction call'd to pow'r,
Give the world a nobler feaſt?

RECITATIVO.

To former reigns look back and ſee
What periods rival our felicity;
None we there ſhall find,
Unleſs to glory blind,
We wantonly confeſs,
That war than peace is greater happineſs.

AIR.

What land, or what nation, tho' nearer the ſun,
Throughout in its ſtation has Britain *outdone?*
Whate'er in high meaſure our climate denies,
For uſe or for pleaſure, the ocean ſupplies;
If gold or gems glaring we fetch from the mine,
We're not in the wearing burnt under the line;
Nor tho' our occaſions far northward may roll,
Are ſtarv'd like the nations froze under the pole:
Our flocks on the mountains are fleeces of gold,
Our valleys and fountains how fair to behold!
To Britain *ſubjected, the ſeas are her ſunce,*
While freedom protected, gives might to our prince;
Yet tho' to our wiſhes all nature we bring,
The boaſt of our wiſh is, Great George *is our king,*
While abſolute princes take pride to annoy,
His glory commences where ſubjects enjoy.

RECITATIVO.

For ever might theſe bleſſings laſt,
If never full poſſeſſion pall the taſte:
Kind heaven ſeems to pour them down our duſt;
While to our prince, and to ourſelves we're true.

CHORUS.

With high reſounding lay,
Invoke the God of day;
That this auſpicious morn may bear,
Progenial rounds of many a glorious year.

Next to the *Laureat*'s admirable *Ode*, (ſay the Writers of the *Grubſtreet Journal*) we can preſent the Public with nothing ſo extraordinary as the *Bellman* of S. *James* his *Verſes*; which have been equally the Entertainment of that polite Part of the Town this Seaſon.

PROLOGUE.

To my loving Maſters and Miſtreſſes:

THIS Chriſtmas *time, your pardon I implore,*
(My Maſters) that I never rhym'd before.
You know the proverb ſays, that of a cat
The creature's ſkin is all that you can get.
Let, for this reaſon, then, my learned friends
Gracious, accept the all your Bell-man *ſends,*
Since ſuch you'll find moſt men of my degree,
Excuſe the ignorance appears in me;
Becauſe, when thus I write, I'm forc'd to go
And beg a little ſenſe as ſchool-boys do.
No Greek *nor* Latin *has my* John Trott *read,*
But brings plain native Engliſh *in its ſtead.*
My maſters courteous reverence will forgive,
The homely way in which you theſe receive;
And when you ſee me fairly write my name,
For England's *ſake, wiſh all could do the ſame.*
Nay, I myſelf could not ſo much have done,
Had I been bred and born an eldeſt ſon,
But even as thoſe may write who cannot think;
So I at crambo play with pen and ink,
And am call'd poet, 'cauſe I write in rhyme,
Th' account of how to paſs our Chriſtmas *time.*
So much for this — but I am ſore afraid,
Tho' I wrote more, that you no more would read.
So maſters, to my miſtreſſes be true,
I ſay no more — paſt twelve o' clock. Adieu.

The EPILOGUE.

BEHOLD the circling year is fairly run,
My taſk is finiſh'd, till the next's begun;
Now 'midſt the crowd which at this ſeaſon flocks,
Promiſcuouſly to beg a Chriſtmas-box,
I, as a Bell-man, nightly watch do keep,
I, as a poet, ſing to thoſe who ſleep,
I, as a Beadle, little curs do whip,
Such little curs, as bark in proſe or rhyme,
Do naughty tricks, and yelp in ſervice time.

Verſes on the Death of Mr. *Dennis.*

ADIEU, unſocial excellence! — *At laſt,*
Thy foes are vanquiſh'd, and thy fears are paſt!

Wan,

Want, *the grim recompence of truth, like thine,*
Shall, now, no longer dim *thy deſtin'd ſhine:*
Th'impatient envy, the diſdainful air,
The front malignant, and the captious ſtare!
The furious petulance, the jealous ſtart;
The miſt of frailties, that obſcur'd thy heart!
Veil'd, in thy grave, ſhall unremember'd lie;--
For, theſe *were parts, of* Dennis, *born to die!*
But, there's a nobler ſeity, *behind;*
His reaſon *dies not, and has* friends *to* find.
Tho', here, revenge, and pride, withheld his praiſe,
No wrongs ſhall reach him, through his future days:
The riſing ages ſhall redeem his name;
And nations read *him, into laſting fame.*
In his defects, *untaught, his labour'd page*
Shall the ſlow gratitude of time *engage.*——
Perhaps, ſome ſtory of his pitied woe,
Mix'd in faint ſhades, may with his mem'ry go,
To touch futurity, with gen'rous ſhame,
And backward caſt an unavailing blame
On times, too cold, to taſte his ſtrength *of* art;
Yet, warm contemners of too weak *a* heart!
Reſt, *in thy duſt,* —— *contented with thy lot;*
Thy good *remember'd, and thy* bad *forgot!*
'Tis more, than Cæſar, *and his* world *cou'd* give! —
Spread o'er his virtues, *his* few errors *live!*
Till reas'ning brutes, *whoſe ſpeck of ſoul wants* room,
To lodge the juſt conception *of his doom,*
Dare, with lewd licenſe, poize *his* queſtion'd *fame;*
And blot *the* ſacred rev'rence *of his name!*

Paraphraſe on the firſt Pſalm.

HAppy the man, who innocent and wiſe,
The peſt of wicked converſation flies;
Refuſes with ungodly men to ſit;
Starts at the guilt of irreligious wit,
Nor ſhares the dark cabals, where ſcoffers meet:
But meditates on God with pious awe,
And night and day enjoys his ſacred law.
Still ſhall he bloom, ſtill flouriſhing, and fair;
Like a tall tree, that ſhoots its boughs in air,
Faſt by the running ſtream; and ne'er deceives
Its owner's hopes; but ſpreads its verdant leaves;
Deep fixes in the mould its piercing root,
And in due ſeaſon bends with copious fruit.
Whate'er he does, ſtill providence ſhall bleſs,
And crown his juſt deſigns with wiſh'd ſucceſs.
A diff'rent fate ſhall unbleſs'd ſinners find,
Diſpers'd like chaff before the driving wind.
And when at laſt ſtern juſtice ſhall appear
All trembling they ſhall ſtand, and pale with fear;
Nor dare, while black with malice, pride, and luſt,
To mingle with th' aſſembly of the juſt:
Who then (for God their ev'ry action knows)
Shall take their ſeats, where endleſs pleaſure flows;
Triumphant join the bright etherial quire,
And reign in light, while ſinners howl in fire.

On the *New Year:* Moſt humbly inſcrib'd to the Right Hon. the Lord *Onſlow.* By *Robert Taterſall,* of *Kingſton upon Thames.*

AS when th' Arabian *wonder of the* Eaſt,
Worn out with years, deſires to be releaſt;
She ſues for death, and lab'ring builds her pile,
With twigs of caſſia, 'midſt the ſpicy ſoil;
From * Titan's *beams ſhe draws the gentle fire,*
Fann'd by her purple wings; and doth expire.
Cleans'd by theſe flames, from imperfections free
Her ſpotleſs aſhes, ſtrives again to be,
Whence a new Phœnix *vital breath obtains,*
And only dies more pure to live again:
So this new year, freſh-ſpringing, uſhers in
Pure and unſullied from defects of ſin:
Nature, adorn'd with veſtal innocence,
Springs forth, prolifick, with a grateful ſenſe.
With infant beauties ſhe adorns the earth,
Select and pure, the firſt-fruits of her birth;
Till, riper grown by Sol's *reviving ray,*
Leaves grace the trees, and light prolongs the day.
With virgin beauties Flora *chaſte and fair,*
Pride of the ſpring, perfumes the ambient air.
When now through Cancer Phœbus *makes his* way,
Contracts the ſhades, and lengthens out the day.
Mature and perfect every thing appears,
And loaden fields depreſs their pendent ears.
Here Phœbus *ſtops, and gently doth decline,*
To re-aſſume the equinoctial line.
The days contract, the lengthen'd ſhadows fly;
The trembling leaves forſake their trees, and die.
Cold miſts ariſe, dark clouds the ſky o'erſpread,
Foreboding omens of the winter's dread.
Then let us with the ſpringing year increaſe
In budding virtue, love, and gentle peace;
Spotleſs and pure, as the unſullied year;
Chaſte as the virgin light that gilds our ſphere;
Growing in virtue, as the fruitful earth
Ripens to bleſs us with her copious birth.
So may we live betimes, for heav'n mature,
And make our calling and election ſure!
Bleſt by ſo good a king, *whoſe gracious ſway*
Demands the utmoſt homage we can pay;
A king to whom we owe our happy days,
Whoſe merits claim the choiceſt of our lays!
May many happy years conſpire to bleſs
His majeſty with laſting happineſs!
May peace attend and guard the new-born year!
Faction and ſtrife expire and diſappear!
May virtue flouriſh round our happy iſle,
Commerce increaſe, and plenty on us ſmile!
And may each year exceed the laſt like this,
And crown our land with an eternal bliſs!

* The Sun.

Verſes to a *Lady,* after a Quarrel.

YES, fair Zelinda! *you have charms to move*
An hermit's heart, and make a ſtoick love;
But

But beauty ſhould appear as virtue's ſhrine,
A caſket clear that ſhew'd the gem within;
The brighteſt eye, that glories in diſdain,
Strikes pleaſure blind, and points its rays in vain:
Good-nature dips in balm the feather'd dart,
And, tho' it flies unerring to the heart,
Heals its own wound, or lenifies the ſmart.
If then the magick charm of beauty fires,
And paſſion courts what reaſon moſt admires:
If all my wiſhes doat on your dear name,
And each fond moment ſtill increaſe the flame;
Yet ev'n ſtern rigour's voice can ne'er reprove
Such modeſt hope, and ſuch reſpectful love:
Tho' to a mortal I my vows preferr'd,
Such faultleſs vows an angel might have heard.
Say then, injurious fair! why you return
My gen'rous plea with inſult, pride, and ſcorn?
Why muſt contempt purſue the lover ſtill?
Or why will beauty uſe its power ſo ill?
When Venus *ſmiles, the* Graces *round her play;*
But, when ſhe frowns, they fly diſpleas'd away.
If 'tis your joy to give your vaſſals pain,
A tyrant's curſe will wait a tyrant's reign;
We may conſeſs your pow'r, but muſt abhor
your reign.

Epitaph on a young Lady. By *Richard Savage*, Eſq;

CLOS'D are thoſe eyes, that beam'd ſeraphic fire;
Cold is that breaſt, which gave the world deſire;
Mute is the voice, where winning ſoftneſs warm'd;
Where muſick melted, and where wiſdom charm'd;
And lively wit, which, decently confin'd,
No prude e'er thought impure, no friend, unkind.
Cou'd modeſt knowledge, fair, untrifling youth,
Perſuaſive reaſon, and endearing truth;
Cou'd honour, ſhown in friendſhips moſt refin'd;
And ſenſe, that ſhields th' attempted, virtuous mind;
The ſocial temper, never known to ſtrife;
The height'ning graces, that embelliſh life;
Cou'd theſe have e'er the darts of death defy'd,
Never —— ah! never had Melinda *dy'd!*
Nor can ſhe die —— e'en now ſurvives her name,
Immortaliz'd by friendſhip, love, and fame.

An *Epilogue* to the *Adelphi* of *Terence*, acted by the *King's Scholars* at *Weſtminſter School*, on *Nov.* 28, and *Dec.* 6. Spoken by *Demea*.

SINCE angry juſtice late her power eſſay'd,
To ſtop the progreſs of dramatic trade;
In earneſt ended, what in jeſt begun,
And dropt the curtain ere the play was done;
An arch comedian wag compell'd has been,
To make his entrance in another ſcene,
To act a ſcurvy part he ne'er before
Had play'd, and from low life deſcend to lower.
Perhaps you'll aſk us, if our hard, and we,
Can ſtand the teſt of legal ſcrutiny?
Small privilege, I fear, can Terence *have,*
By birth and fortune, African *and ſlave:*
From their own pariſh far his perſons come;
At Athens *born, and bred, they ſtroll'd to* Rome.
But there the vagrants meet uncommon grace,
And e'en his worſhip Scipio *ſigns the paſs,*
Where e'er they roam, of favour ſtill ſecure,
If wit can favour claim, or language pure.
But who in court a plea of wit e'er ſaw?
And Latin, *all muſt know, is dead in law.*
Theſe reaſons fail perhaps, if ſtrictly try'd;
But, Sirs, I, Demea, *take the milder ſide:*
And thoſe who carry ſummum jus *ſo high,*
I hope will change their minds, as well as I.
Let mercy temper rigour --- tho' I own,
I fear no other danger than your frown:
On Rome *I little build, on* Athens *leſs;*
Yet no commitment fear, or law diſtreſs;
I act by licence from the good queen Beſs.

Acroſtick, by a young Lady in the Country.

M aria, faireſt of thy ſex and beſt;
A dor'd by all; of ev'ry grace poſſeſt;
R enown'd for all that's good: to make thee ſhine,
Y outh, beauty, wit, and innocence combine.

H ere nature's maſter-piece at once we view,
A nd all her choiceſt gifts pour'd out on you.
W atch her, ye Sylphs, *that hourly guard the fair,*
K eep from approaching ills your darling care:
E ach nymph with me ſhall join to ſing thy praiſe,
R epoſe and peace crown all thy future days.

Prologue to the *Eunuch* of *Terence*, lately acted by the young Gentlemen of *Cadington-School*, in *Hertford-School*.

TO laſh the gown with unbecoming rage,
And on devotion fall, to raiſe the ſtage;
To ranſack brothels for the guilty ſcenes,
Or paint the villain happy in his chains;
This taſk to others we conſign: let G——
From dungeons fetch the hero of his play.
Let C——r *by his coxcombs gain applauſe;*
Live, as he acts; and be the thing he draws:
The many various fops his writing apes,
Are but himſelf in juſt ſo many ſhapes.
To nobler ſenſe attend, and beauties bear,
That charm'd a Roman *and* Athenian *ear;*
Such as Menander's *warmer fancy thought,*
And Terence *to perfection's ſtandard brought.*
What, tho' our author one ſmall ſketch diſplay
Of ſoft intrigues, and wanton Cupid's *ways?*
Yet couch'd and elegant the paſſion's ſhown,
And o'er the ſcene the niceſt veil is thrown:
In ev'ry act ſome turn diſtinguiſh'd ſhines;
The ſcheme how curious, and how warm the lines!
With the fair virgin, who a part not burns?
Who glows not at her charms? who melts not at
her tears?

The

The courtly pimp and bully well appear,
In Gnatho's *cringe, and* Thraso's *bluſtring air.*
In fine contraſt who can enough admire,
The ſober, tipſy, fighting, flying ſquire?
But after all, ſome here perhaps will ſay,
How came the Eunuch *hero of the play?*
Ladies, your leave, this Eunuch *to explain.*
The perſon then, ———
Not from the proud Seraglio's *priſon came;*
Unlike that herd in ev'ry thing, but name;
Such as might ſhine midſt Pruſſia's *tall batallions;*
And worth at leaſt a hundred of Italians:
Such as might earn a longing matron's peſs:
In ſhort, juſt ſuch an Eunuch---- *as myſelf.*
Then ſay, ye fair, for ſay with truth you can,
You've ſeen the Eunuch *once,---that was a man.*

Cælia, or the *Toaſt* at *Fifty*.

OUR hearts at fifty, Cælia *ſtill alarms;*
Blooming *till* thirty, *ſhe at* fifty *charms:*
While of the famous toaſts a younger *train*
Have roſe to empire, *and have ſet again.*
The oak *thus thro' an* age *in* pomp *appears,*
And boaſts its glories at an hundred years:
While the gay, gaudy flowers *of a* day,
Quickly ſpring up, and quickly fade away.

To *Will. Drama* on his *new Play*.

DRAMA, ſhould pointed jeſts thy humour bit;
Thou ſwear'ſt they are the quinteſſence *of wit.*
They ought to be: for five ſtol'n *in one day,*
Are, Will, the quinteſſence *of thy* new play.

To the *Laureat* on his *laſt Ode*.

MOST laureat Bards *who* birth-day odes *have ſung,*
Seldom retain'd their firſt keen ſpirit long!
For in few words to ſay the ſelf-ſame thing,
Made the third Muſe to drop her flagging wing:
But, Colly, thine, with no ſuch weakneſs curſt,
Sings her laſt ode *as* ſweet *as was her* firſt.

The *Unbelieving Wife*, or the *Lying Huſband*.

WHATE'ER Tom *tells for truth, if ſpouſe is ly,*
With modeſty ſhe hints, it is a lye!
Wars ſtreight enſue: ye Gods, ſuch wraths to ſoothe,
Give her more B'lief, or give to Tom *more Truth.*

An *Ode* to be ſung, at a Meeting of ſome *Floriſts* at the *Bowling-Green-Houſe* at *Iſlington*.

RECITATIVO.

YE ſons of Flora, *come in worſhip join,*
And pay your adorations at her ſhrine:
Summons your brethren, *call her* votaries *forth,*
From eaſt, *from* weſt, *and from the* ſouth *and* north:
To her theſe ſolemn feſtivals *belong;*
Who charms our ſenſes, and who warms our ſong.
Come join with me, revere her ſacred name;
And thus in tuneful ſounds your joys proclaim.

AIR. *Goddeſs! in thy bright* form *deſcend,*
With blooming garlands *in thy hand;*
Thy ſhining laurels *ſhall adorn*
A race of mortals yet unborn.
On thy fair altars *they new* trophies *raiſe,*
And ſing, like us, their lateſt breath in praiſe.
Thy beauties always new will prove,
And raiſe our wonder, and our love:
Beauties! that here in luſtre *ſhine,*
That ſpeak thy love, and power *divine;*
Beauties! that deck the boſom *of the* fair,
And rival'd only by the ſweetneſs *there.*

CHORUS.

Behold us then aſſembled here,
To ſhow our joy, *and own thy care;*
And hail with grateful ſong *the new-born year.*

Verſes, to the unknown Author of the *Rover reclaim'd*.

THE low-brow'd Muſe, that gives malignance *birth,*
As oft excites our anger, *as our* mirth:
For, gen'rous hearts wou'd, uſefully, *correct;*
Not ſpare the fault, *but ſtill the* man *reſpect.*
Touch'd, by a rev'rence, to the ſpecies *due,*
Fain wou'd they laugh, without deſpiſing *too.*
Raſh, and by no ſuch ſoft impreſſions aw'd,
The ſcurril witling *ſpreads his joke too broad:*
Straining at humour, *lets* diſcernment *fall;*
And laughs at *all, by turns, to* laugh with *all.*
Not ſo thy *guardian ſcene! whoſe manlier* end,
Warring on guilt, wou'd innocence defend.----
From the falſe rover, *ſtrips his amorous* art;
That his true form *may fright the fair one's heart:*
And reſcu'd beauty be, by one man, dreſs'd,
In arms of temper'd proof, againſt the reſt.
The loom, *thus* fine, *how bad'ſt thou* weav'd amiſs, [*this!*
To thread coarſe laughter, *thro' a theme, like*
'Twere an affront to woman's worth! --- for, here,
Not to be grave, *were* --- not *to be* ſincere.
Nor, let the taſte of fools betray the wiſe,
A cheap *applauſe, before a* juſt, *to prize:*
Oft, we approve, *where but to* ſmile *we ſeem;*
But, where we laugh *the* moſt, *we* leaſt eſteem.
This, ------ *the deſerving purpoſe of thy play*
Compels a ſtranger's *grateful verſe to ſay:*
Who felt a pleaſure, thouſands ſoon will feel,
And judg'd it mean, *that pleaſure to* conceal.

MUSOPHILUS.

On the *New-Year's Ode*. (See p. 36.)

WHETHER high-ſounding nonſenſe pleaſe us beſt;
Or groveling nonſenſe ſuit our genius more;
In the immortal Cibber's *yearly* odes,
Full ſatisfaction we are ſure to find.
Hail (happy poet) able to compoſe
Nonſenſe, or low, or high; or both to join
In the ſame wond'rous piece! O for a ſight
Of thy rare ſecret! ------ But I muſt reſtrain
My forward wiſhes, for thy excellence
Conſiſts in darkneſs. Then go on; and ſpread

Darkneſs arrund *thee each revolving year.*
Let others boaſt of perſpicuity:
Thine is the praiſe to be compleatly dark.
Cimmerian *darkneſs was a proverb once;*
Cibberian *darkneſs is a proverb now.*

An Operatical Epiſtle to a Friend in the Country, *Dec.* 28.

For the Ouverture play.

ADAGIO. Chevy-Chace.
ALLEGRO. Lumps of Pudding.

AIR I. Oh! Ponder well.
[Beggar's Opera.

OH! ponder well, be not ſevere,
So ſave a wretched wight,
Shou'd rage prevail, and ſhou'd you rail,
Alas! 'twou'd kill me quite.

RECITATIVO.

Dear Sir, ſo many and ſo often times,
Sheets fraught with nonſenſe I to you have ſent,
That you ſurpriz'd at nought can be I gueſs,
To this what urg'd me is of ſmall importance,
Howe'er 'tis fit I tell you.

AIR II. Since laws were made in e'ery degree.
[ibid.

Since of late operatical thingums are grown,
In vogue ('tis ſuppos'd both in country and town,
And nothing we find will glibly go down,
But ſol fa la.
Since meaning or wit, few palates have hit,
And criticks ne'er mind, and ne'er meddle with it,
Methought I might venture to trifle a bit,
With a ſol fa la.

RECITATIVO.

Certain I am this way the leaſt of any,
Your taſte and judgment I ſhall entertain,
But 'tis the faſhion now with us in town,
Which ſcribblers muſt ſubſcribe to.

AIR III. Patty's Mill.

Let ſenſe and vigour reign,
In Pope's *melodious page,*
Ah! what avails the ſtrain,
In this diſcerning age!
When wit and art are vain,
Who wou'd the tryal make,
Or riſque the town's diſdain,
For ſenſe or meaning's ſake?

RECITATIVO.

O' th' muſes I have read, and poets who,
Us'd to be rapt, inſpir'd, and all that,
Tempora mutantur, *now the times are chang'd.*

AIR IV. Tho' late I was a cobler's wife.
[Devil to pay.

Of old we read of nymphs *that ſtray'd,*
Parnaſſus' *heights upon a,*
And Bards *of fame, that ſipp'd the ſtream,*
Of heav'nly Helicon *a,*
But now alas! 'tis come to paſs,
Such beings all are flown a,
Both muſe and bard, without regard,
Have left us all alone a.

RECITATIVO.

Wonder you will not, I preſume, nor think
I tell a fib, if now I ſay that we
Envy you gents that in the country live
Unpeſter'd with the follies of the town.
(Sometimes not always) now eſpecially
When Chriſtmas *comes, with ale, and minced pie,*
Attended blith, and alſo clever girls.

AIR V. Whilſt I gaze on *Chloe* trembling.
Whilſt a beauteous train ſurrounding,
With perpetual May *you're bleſt,*
Joy in various ſports abounding,
Still careſſing and careſs'd;
We alas! in town abide,
Without a gambol, or a game,
No good-fellowſhip's deſcry'd,
And nought of Chriſtmas *but the name.*

RECITATIVO.

Reflection moſt heart-breaking!

AIR VI. To you fair ladies now at hand.
Around in graceful order ſet,
You cloſe methinks the fire,
Whilſt harmleſs jokes and ſprightly wit,
To cheat the night conſpire;
The mirthful jeſt goes ſweetly round
And kiſſes and content abound,
With a ſal tal ta ral.

AIR VII. How happy cou'd I be with either.
[Beggar's Opera.

And now for a catch or a riddle,
Each nymph *into ſmile to provoke;*
Or Newton *do thou take thy fiddle,*
And ſtrike up the bonny black joke.

AIR VIII. In the days of my youth I cou'd
bill like a dove. [ibid.

If any look gruff, or ſhou'd chance to be ſad,
May ſhe live to grow old, and (what's
worſe) die a maid.
Fal tal ta ral.

AIR IX. Pretty Polly ſay.

Each is now prepar'd,
Lads and laſſes pair'd,
And now the ſprightly muſick's heard,
All alike inviting.
Love and joy,
With alloy,
Each employ,
Ev'ry breaſt delighting,
Skipping, tripping, e'ery where,
Whiſking, friſking, void of care,
Oh! the charming, charming chear.
End with Bobbing Joan.

J. M.

PLAISTOW. A POEM.

UPON a fertile ſpot of land,
Do's Plaiſtow, *thriving* Plaiſtow, *ſtand*
The ſea, which whilome rowl'd his flood,
And hither brought the fatt'ning mud,
Has left a richneſs *in the ſoil,*
That well rewards the peaſant's toil.
One ſide the level marſhes *ſees,*
And all is interſpers'd with trees.
From hence the ſilver Thames *appears,*
And the wing'd veſſels which he bears;
In which the waſt ſupplies of trade
To fam'd Auguſta *are convey'd.*

pleasing sight to see them ride,
With sails unfurl'd, with wind *and* tide!
From hence to our delighted eyes,
O' Greenwich *regal spires arise;*
Those stately domes, in which the poor
And aged Tar, *with bounteous store,*
richly fed; a happy case,
That they can die in plenteous peace,
Who for their king, *and* country's *good,*
Have spent their strength, and youthful blood.
Thee, Woolwich, *also o'er a green*
And fruitful marsh, *that lies between,*
We hence behold; thou art not poor
In dreadful arms, and naval store;
For Britain's *safety. Please our eyes,*
With curious fire-works in the skies;
But silent all thy cannon *keep,*
Nor let their thunder break our sleep.
But, wand'ring muse, *no flights pursue;*
Keep Plaistow *always in thy view.*
Grand ships may sail where'er they please;
But little vessels coast the seas.
A lofty genius *may explore*
New regions, but keep thou the shore
Within thy ken; those dangers shun,
In which the bold *and* foolish *run.*
You, that a soft retirement *chuse,*
And to a point contract your views,
May here enjoy a safe retreat
From pomp, *and ev'ry thing that's great.*
Here are you free from noise and strife,
And all those carking cares of life,
That plague the town; *from jilting jade,*
From nauseous fops, and bites in trade.
With wholesome fare our villa's *stor'd.*
Her lands the best of corn *afford.*
Not Hartford *wheat, or* Derby *rye,*
Or Ipswich *peas, can ours out-vye;*
Not Irish wights *no longer boast*
The fam'd potatoes *of their coast;*
Potatoes now are Plaistow's *pride,*
Whole markets are from hence supply'd.
The largest *Ox, *that* England *bred,*
Fat in our grassy pastures fed;
For finer mutton *can you spend,*
Than what our fatt'ning marshes *send;*
And in our farmers *yards you find,*
Delicious fowls *of ev'ry kind;*
Those cellars *hardly ever fail,*
That keep a cask *of nappy* ale;
These blessings *with a* friend *sincere,*
Can furnish out the best of cheer.
Around our fields bold Nimrod's *sons*
With hounds, *or* nets, *or* lethal *guns,*
Pursue the game. *The* hare *in vain,*
Swift as the wind, flies o'er the plain;
Or wain the chucking partridge *glides*
Thro' thorny brakes, or skulking hides
Its head in grass; the fatal lead
Sooner flies, but strikes 'em dead.
Does curious fruit *your* palate *please?*
Profusion wantons in our trees.
The pippin, *and the* Windsor-pear
Grow ripe, in their perfection here.
Our orchards *bit each taste that comes,*
With grapes, nuts, berries, medlars, plumbs!
Walk thro' this garden, view this wall;
How plump this peach! *nor is it small.*
These apricocks, *ripe to decay,*
Wou'd in your mouth dissolve away.
What flavour! what delicious juice,
These nect'rines *to the tongue produce!*
And what more lovely can you see,
Than those red cherries *on the tree?*
Come here; for what I need not tell,
Ambrosial *sweets will meet your smell.*
Pinks, roses, lillies *to your eyes*
At once in gay confusion *rise.*
Wild variegated scenes appear,
And mingled sweets perfume the air.
Vain tulip! *now so richly dress'd,*
And proudly tall above the rest;
Like haughty mortals, *e'er so high,*
Thou soon must wither, droop and die.
Long had my muse, *(whose friendly aid*
I often, ere engag'd in trade,
Had try'd,) since then repuls'd my vows;
And left me dull to write in prose.
No learning cou'd inspire my strain,
And I invok'd her help in vain.
But, Plaistow, *thy salubrious* air,
Thy rural walks, *thy* fields *so fair,*
Thy silent shades, so sweet, so plain,
Have brought her to me once again;
For which in these unlabour'd lays,
I sing thy just deserving praise.
Delusive trade! *thy fair deceit*
Did my unguarded judgment cheat;
By thee misled, I meanly chose
For noble verse, *thy grov'ling* prose;
But I from hence renounce thy charms,
And like a serpent, shun thy arms:
For when I yielded to thy vile embrace,
I left a faithful muse, *reproach, disgrace!*
And took thee, jilting baggage, *in her place.*

QUINTILIANUS ICENUS.

God *and* Nature *distinct Beings. Occasioned by the* Essays *on* Man.

MIRAC'LOUS being! which we *nature* call,
Expressing all things, and express'd in all!
Explain, O mystick *nature,* thy first cause;
Unalter'd institutes; eternal laws.
Stand forth, O *nature!* if you've strength to stand
When not uplifted by divine command;
Or own, dependent being, this decree,
Nought once you was, and nought again shall be.
O'er thee a genial providence presides;
The wheels of motion, springs of matter, guides:
Doubted in private, publickly receiv'd,
By no man understood, by all believ'd.
To this soul-moving influence they submit
The verge of reason, and the bounds of wit.

* Mr. Rutland's of this Town, sold for 100 Guineas.

Art may direct, and *nature* may design,
But human thought proceeds from thought divine.
Our creed's unanswer'd, and our faith's unmov'd,
So fairly stated, and so strongly prov'd.

SONG.

ATTEND, ye ever tuneful swains,
Who in persuasive lulling strains,
Of *Chloe* sing, or *Phillis*;
Tho' mean my skill, and rude my verse,
Upbraid me not, while I rehearse
The charms of *Molly Willis*.

To beautify my artless thought,
No simile shall here be brought
From roses, pinks, or lillies:
Some common beauties they may hit;
But sure no simile can fit
The charms of *Molly Willis*.

A simile to match her hair,
Her rising forehead, round and fair,
Above my greatest skill is:
How then, ye swains, shall be express
The eyes, the lips, the heaving breast,
Of dearest *Molly Willis*?

She's not like *Venus* on the flood,
Or as she once on *Ida* stood;
Nor mortal *Amaryllis*.
Frame all that's beautiful and fair,
Of pleasing form and winning air,
And that is *Molly Willis*.

Tho' time shou'd wear her charms away,
(All beauty must in time decay)
Within her pow'r there still is
A charm more lasting to secure,
I mean the virt'ous mind and pure
Of dearest *Molly Willis*.

On reading the Rhapsody *on* Poetry.

I'D ask the reason why the D——
Pours out so much poetick spleen?
The reason! why 'tis very plain.
The holy man sees merit slighted,
And draws his pen to have it righted:
Am I (thinks he) (a man of wit,
And of no common sense) not fit
To grace the lawn, as well as they
Who only preach, write prose, and pray?
I'll scourge, with my poetick sting,
My friend, my country, and my king;
And libel, till preferr'd, with all the care
A skilful coachman drives ye to a hair.
Then spight of him who bid the * queen
First make a christian of the D——,
Wrap up his sleeves in sacred lawn,
And keep his conscience for a pawn.

* *Queen* Anne.

The reaking steam still upward flies,
But ceases, when condens'd, to rise;
The D——, when once condens'd by lawn,
Will sink to prose and learn to fawn,
Will lay aside his angry rod,
And peradventure serve his G——.

Cætera desiderantur.

On the Rose: *From* Anacreon.

IN the garland-bearing spring,
To the rose I strike the string,
Joyn the consort while I sing.
Scented first by heav'nly breath,
Sprung the rose for man beneath,
Fragrant blossom! yielding joy,
Dear to *Venus* and her boy;
To the Graces dear, in hours
Full of love, and full of flow'rs;
To the Muses it belongs,
Subject of poetic songs!
Sweet to him, who haply strays,
Doubtful, slow thro' thorny ways:
Sweet to her, who from the stalk
Plucks it in her morning's walk;
That her virgin hand may move
To her breast the flow'r of love.
From the rose what pleasures rise,
To the gay, and to the wise!
This with gladsom wreath invests
Vernal and autumnal feasts;
Grace and ornament affords
To our altars, and our boards.
Roses all that's fair adorn,
Rosy-finger'd is the morn,
Rosy-arm'd the nymphs are seen,
Rosy-skin'd is beauty's queen.
These the sick and languid please,
Nay the dead are deck'd with these,
These can even conquer time,
Since, when faded from their prime,
Still they breathe perfume, and hold
Youthful odour when they're old.
Say we whence the rose's bloom;
When, from the neglected foam,
Hoary ocean *Venus* gave,
Dew-besprinkled from the wave;
When *Minerva*, fierce and fair,
Queen of tumult, and of war,
Issu'd from the head of *Jove*,
Dreadful to the realms above:
Then the gen'ral mother earth
Teem'd, and bore a flow'ry birth,
New-born rose, producing thee,
Various, beauteous progeny!
See the Gods in council meet!
See the soil with nectar sweet
Soft they tinge! and quick the rose
Sacred to *Lyæus* glows;
Deathless flow'r divinely born!
Glorious offspring of the thorn!

The GENTLEMAN's

Monthly Intelligencer.

JANUARY, 1734.

WEDNESDAY, Jan. 2.

THIS Morn. about 10 o'Clock his ſerene Highneſs the Prince of *Orange* ſet out from *Kenſington* for the *Bath*, in one of his Majeſty's Body-Coaches, attended by Sir *Clement Cotterel*, Knt. Maſter of the Ceremonies, Dr. *Teiſſier*, and Dr. *Scholten*, one of his Highneſs's Phyſicians.

SATURDAY, 5.

This Afternoon his ſaid Highneſs arriv'd at *Bath*, at his Lodgings at *Weſt-Gate-Houſe*, midſt the Acclamations of a vaſt Number of Spectators.

TUESDAY, 8.

The Ballot of the *York-Buildings* Company, Whether the Company ſhould apply to Parliament this next Seſſion, for obtaining Relief to the Company, and for a Bill to enable them to ſettle Matters with their Creditors in ſuch a Manner as the Wiſdom of Parliament ſhall think proper? was caſt up, and found to be in the Affirmative, for the Queſtion 342, againſt it 234.

The States-General of the United Provinces, about this Time, ordered Mr. *Hop*, their Miniſter at this Court, to notify their Concluſion of a Neutrality with *France*, and to propoſe at the ſame Time to his Majeſty, to undertake, in Conjunction with their High-Mightineſſes, the Mediation of the Diſputes of *Europe*, in order to prevent the fatal Conſequences of a War between the moſt *Chriſtian* King and the Emperor.

TUESDAY, 15.

This Night there was a great Meeting of the Druggiſts, and other Dealers in Coffee, Tea, and Chocolate, when after a long Debate, they came to a Reſolution for chuſing a Committee to attend the *Eaſt-India* Company, and deſire them to join in a Petition to Parliament for taking off the Exciſe-Duty upon thoſe Commodities.

WEDNESDAY, 16.

The Lords of the Admiralty ordered 18 Sail of Ships to be got ready for Sea-Service as expeditiouſly as poſſible; among which, are the *Britannia*, a 100 Gun Ship, two 90 Gun Ships, and 15 other Ships of the Line.

The Ships before put in Commiſſion received Orders to get mann'd as ſoon as poſſible, and to receive all Hands that come to enter on board.

THURSDAY, 17.

This Day his Majeſty went to the Houſe of Peers, and open'd the Seſſion of Parliament with the following moſt gracious *Speech* to both Houſes.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THE War, which is now begun, and carried on, againſt the Emperor, with ſo much Vigour, by the united Powers of *France*, *Spain*, and *Sardinia*, is become the Object of the Care and Attention of all *Europe*; and though I am no Ways engaged in it, and have had no Part, except by My good Offices, in thoſe Tranſactions, which have been declared to be the principal Cauſes and Motives of it, I cannot ſit regardleſs of the preſent Events, or be unconcerned for the future Conſequences of a War, undertaken and ſupported by ſo powerful an Alliance.

If ever any Occaſion required more than ordinary Prudence and Circumſpection, the preſent calls upon Us to uſe Our utmoſt Precaution, not to determine too haſtily upon ſo critical and important a Conjuncture, but to conſider thoroughly what the Honour and Dignity of My Crown and Kingdoms, the true Intereſt of My People, and the Engagements We are under, to the ſeveral Powers We are in Alliance with, may in Juſtice and Prudence require of Us.

I have therefore thought it proper to take Time to examine the Facts alledged on both Sides, and to wait the Reſult of the Councils of thoſe Powers, that are more nearly and immediately intereſted in the Conſequences of the War, and to concert with thoſe Allies, who are under the ſame Engagements with Me, and have not taken Part in the War (more particularly the States General of the United Provinces) ſuch Meaſures as ſhall be thought moſt adviſeable for Our common Safety, and for reſtoring the Peace of *Europe*.

The Reſolutions of the *Britiſh* Parliament, in ſo nice a Juncture, are of too great Moment not to be carefully attended to, and impatiently expected, by all, and not leaſt by thoſe, who will hope to take Advantage from your Determinations, whatever they ſhall be, and to turn them to the Prejudice of this Kingdom. It muſt therefore be thought moſt ſafe and prudent thoroughly to weigh and conſider all Circumſtances, before we come to a final Determination.

As I ſhall have, in all My Conſiderations upon this great and important Affair, the ſtricteſt Regard to the Honour of My Crown, and the Good of My People, and be governed by no other Views, I can make no Doubt, but that I may entirely depend on the Support and Aſſiſtance of My Parliament, without expoſing My ſelf, by any precipitate Declarations, to ſuch Inconveniences, as ought, as far as poſſible, to be avoided.

In the mean Time, I am perſuaded, you will make ſuch Proviſions, as ſhall ſecure My Kingdoms, Rights, and Poſſeſſions, from all Dangers and Inſults, and maintain the Reſpect due to the *Britiſh* Nation: Whatever Part, it may, in the End, be moſt reaſonable for Us to act, it will, in all Views, be neceſſary, when all *Europe* is preparing for Arms, to put Ourſelves in a proper Poſture of Defence. As this will beſt preſerve the Peace of the Kingdom, ſo it will give Us a due Weight and Influence in whatever Meaſures We ſhall take in Conjunction with Our Allies: But ſhould the Defence of the Nation not be ſufficiently provided for, it will make Us diſregarded abroad, and may prove a Temptation and Encouragement to the deſperate Views of thoſe, who never fail to flatter themſelves with the Hopes of great Advantages from Publick Troubles and Diſorders.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

I ſhall order the Eſtimates to be laid before you of ſuch Services, as require your preſent and immediate Care. The Augmentation, which will be propoſed for the Sea Service, will be very conſiderable; but I am confident it will be thought by you reaſonable and neceſſary. I muſt particularly recommend to your Care the Debt of the Navy, which has every Year been laid before you; but, from the preſent Circumſtances of the Times, I believe you will think it now requires ſome Proviſion to be made for it, which cannot well be longer poſtponed, without manifeſt Detriment to the Publick Service.

As theſe extraordinary Charges and Expences are unavoidable, I make no Doubt but you will effectually raiſe the Supplies neceſſary for defraying of them with that Readineſs and Diſpatch, and with that juſt Regard to the true Intereſt of My People, which this Parliament has hitherto ſhewn upon all Occaſions.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

It is at all Times to be wiſhed, that the Buſineſs of Parliament might be carried on free from Heats and Animoſities, and with that Temper, which becomes the Juſtice and Wiſdom of the Nation: At this Time it is more particularly to be deſired, that this Seſſion may not be protracted by unneceſſary Delays, when the whole Kingdom ſeems prepared for the Election of a new Parliament; an Event which imploys the Attention of all *Europe:* And I am very well pleaſed, that this Opportunity offers of taking again the Senſe of My People in the Choice of a new Repreſentative, that the World may ſee how much their true Sentiments have been miſtaken, or miſrepreſented. Thoſe who ſee and hear only at a Diſtance, may eaſily be impoſed on, and from thence conceive falſe Hopes or Fears; but I am confident a little Time will effectually remove all groundleſs Surmiſes, and it will be found that *Great Britain* is always ready to act that Part, which the Honour and Intereſt of the Nation calls upon them to undertake.

The Hon. *John Poulet*, Eſq; commonly call'd Lord *Hinton*, eldeſt Son to the Right Hon. the Earl *Poulet*, was called up by Writ to the Houſe of Peers, by the Stile and Title of *John* Lord *Poulet* of *Hinton St. George*; and was introduced into the Houſe of Peers accordingly; as were alſo the Lord *Talbot* of *Henſell*, Lord Chancellor, and the Lord *Hardwicke*, Lord Chief Juſtice of the *King's Bench*; alſo his Grace the Duke of *Marlborough*, and his Grace the Duke of *Athol*, one of the 16 Peers for *Scotland*.

FRIDAY, 18.

The Right Hon. the Houſe of Lords waited on his Majeſty at St. *James's*, with a moſt dutiful and loyal Addreſs of Thanks for his moſt gracious Speech from the Throne; to which his Majeſty was pleaſed to return the following Anſwer:

My Lords,

I thank you for this dutiful and loyal Addreſs. The Satisfaction you expreſs in my conſtant Attention and Endeavours for preſerving the publick Peace and Tranquillity, and promoting the Intereſts of my People, is extreamly acceptable to me; and as the Honour and Dignity of my Crown, and the Good of my Kingdoms,

are my ſole View, you may be aſſured of the Continuance of my Care and Vigilance, for theſe deſirable Ends, and of my firm Reſolution in all Events, to take ſuch Meaſures as may beſt anſwer the Confidence you repoſe in me, and ſecure the Safety and Happineſs of the Nation.

Count *Kinſki*, his *Imperial* Majeſty's Ambaſſador at this Court, as likewiſe the Count *de Montijo*, the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, and the *Ruſſian* and *Saxon* Miniſters, diſpatched Expreſſes to their reſpective Courts, with Copies of his Majeſty's Speech to both Houſes of Parliament; as did alſo the *Dutch* Envoy to the *Hague*, and Mr. *Chauvigni* to *Paris*.

The Seſſions ended at the *Old Bailey*, when the ten following Malefactors received Sentence of Death, *viz. William Symonds* and *Samuel Steel*, for a Robbery on the Highway near *Kenſington*, on the Information of *William Fridzar*, one of their Accomplices. *George Peters* and *William Symonds*, for a Robbery on the Highway, on the Evidence of *Ralph Mitchell*, formerly an Evidence againſt *Brown*, *Whitlock*, and others, for robbing Col. *Des Romain* at *Paddington*. *George Cottrell*, for Burglary; *James Belford*, for a Street-Robbery; *Henry Tilſon* and *Henry Worral*, for Burglary; *James Macdonald*, for a Robbery on the Highway; and *John Trevers*, a Youth about 13 Years of Age, for Burglary.

About this Time we had an Account from *Bath*, that the Sheriffs of the City of *Briſtol*, with *Abraham Elton*, Eſq; having been deputed by the Corporation, to pay the Compliments of the Body to his Highneſs the Prince of *Orange*, on his Arrival at the firſt mentioned Place, and to give him an Invitation to *Briſtol*, had an Audience of his Highneſs, to which they were introduced by Sir *Clement Cotterell*; on which Occaſion *Michael Pope*, Eſq; Senior Sheriff, addreſs'd himſelf to his Highneſs in the following Manner.

May it pleaſe your Highneſs,

We have the Honour to attend your Highneſs from the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council of the City of Briſtol. —— *We have it in Command from them, to congratulate your Highneſs on your Arrival at this Place, where they hope your Health will be happily confirmed. They long for an Opportunity of paying their Duty in Perſon to a Prince of the illuſtrious Houſe of* Orange, *and therefore beg your Highneſs will be pleaſed to honour the City of* Briſtol *with your Preſence before you leave this Part of the Kingdom.*

His Highneſs receiv'd the Meſſage in a moſt gracious Manner, and was pleaſed to ſignify his Intention of viſiting *Briſtol*, before his Return to *London*, if his Health ſhould permit, (which we have had frequent Accounts was very much mended.)

SATURDAY, 19.

The Hon. the Houſe of Commons waited on his Majeſty with a dutiful and loyal Addreſs, to which his Majeſty return'd the following moſt gracious Anſwer.

Gentlemen,

I return you my Thanks for this very dutiful, affectionate, and loyal Addreſs; and for the Confidence you repoſe in me, which, you may be aſſured, ſhall always be employed for the Honour of my Crown, and the true Intereſt of my People.

MONDAY, 21.

The Ballot taken by the *York-Buildings* Company, upon the Queſtion for making a Call of one Half *per Cent.* on the Proprietors, in order to proſecute the Company's Application to Parliament, and to carry on their other Affairs, was cloſed, when upon caſting up the Votes, they ſtood

For the Queſtion	386
Againſt it	216

WEDNESDAY, 23.

A moſt barbarous Murder was perpetrated at *Coventry*, on the Bodies of *Mary Starkey* and *Anne* her Neice, by a Relation, who being out of Buſineſs for ſome Time, lodged in the Houſe with them, and not being ſupplied with Money as uſual, took the Opportunity of plundering the Houſe, and afterwards to murder the two unhappy Women; which being noiſed abroad, he was taken on Suſpicion, and being carried before a Magiſtrate, to whom he made a Confeſſion of the Fact, he was committed to the County Gaol.

THURSDAY, 24.

This Evening one *Sarah Barnard*, who lodged at a Chandler's Shop, in *Creed Lane*, was barbarouſly murdered, as 'tis ſaid by her Landlord's giving her ſeveral Blows, the Wife ſtopping her Mouth in the mean Time with a Handkerchief, to prevent her crying out; whereupon they were carried before the Lord Mayor, and by him committed to *Newgate*, as were two other Perſons who were in the Houſe when the Murder was committed, to the *Compter*.

FRIDAY, 25.

Was held a general Court of the *S. S.* Company when a Dividend of One and a Quarter *per Cent.* was agreed on; as alſo to pay off great Part of the Company's Bonds.

At the Seſſions of the Peace for the City and Liberty of *Weſtminſter*, Sir *John Gonſon* the Chairman, recommended it to the Conſtables to take up all Carmen, Draymen, &c. who ride on their Carts or Drays, and drive furiouſly thro' the Streets, not having another on Foot to guide the Horſe; which by an Act of 1 *Geo.* I. is a forfeiture of 10*s.* for every Offence, and in Default of Payment, the Offender to be committed to the Houſe of Correction to hard Labour for three Days.

The

The following is a Copy of the Declaration of the *Proteſtant Diſſenters* in *Briſtol* and *Glouceſterſhire*, now carrying thro' that County, where it is already ſigned by the leading Diſſenters in General.

As the Time is now approaching for a new Election of Repreſentatives to ſerve in the enſuing Parliament, we cannot but apprehend the Iſſue of ſuch a Choice to be, in the preſent Conjuncture of Affairs, of the utmoſt Importance to the Nation in general, and to ourſelves in particular, as Proteſtant Diſſenters.

And that we may purſue what is both our Duty and Intereſt, as we have always uniformly done, in Connexion with a ſtrict Regard to the Welfare of our Country, we think fit to declare our unanimous Reſolution, to employ all the Intereſt and Influence we have, in a juſt and proper Manner, that ſuch Gentlemen may be choſen to repreſent us, as are heartily well affected to his Majeſty's Perſon and Government, and to the Proteſtant Succeſſion in his illuſtrious Family, which we eſteem our great Security, under God, as to all that is deareſt to us in this World, and whoſe known Principles lead them to aſſert and maintain both our Religious and Civil Liberties.

The Bounty Money on the Exportation of Corn, paid by the Government in the Year 1733, amounted,

At the Port of *London*, to	108,000*l.*
At the out Ports, to	22,000*l.*
In all	130,000*l.*

MARRIAGES and BIRTHS.

MR. *John Forbill*, an eminent Attorney at Law in *Chicheſter*, married to Miſs *Norman* of the ſame Place, a 10,000*l.* Fortune.

Samuel Hall, of *Cobham* in *Surrey*, Eſq; to the only Daughter of *Thomas Patterſon*, Eſq; of *Wandſworth*, a 5000*l.* Fortune.

Capt. *Brett*, of the Hon. General *Biſſett*'s Regiment of Foot, to Miſs *Thompſon*, of *Glouceſter-ſtreet*, a 7000*l.* Fortune.

The Lady of his Excellency Gen. *Diemar*, Envoy from the Prince of *Heſſe-Caſſel*, ſafely delivered of a Daughter.

—— *Knapper*, Eſq; married to Miſs *Atkinſon*, a conſiderable Fortune.

John Barnard, of *Maidenhead*, Eſq; to Miſs *Gale*, Daughter of *James Gale*, of *Reading*, Eſq;

Tho. Thornton, of *Kenſington-ſquare*, Eſq; to Miſs *Farington*, of *Spring-Gardens*, a 10,000*l.* Fortune.

The Lady of Sir *Joſeph Hutchens* ſafely delivered of a Son.

Wm. Stapleton, Eſq; married to Miſs *Hawley* of *Dorſet-Court*, a 10,000*l.* Fortune.

Mr. *Marſh* of *Hendon*, to Miſs *Sophia Meredith*, of *Warwick-Street*, St. *James*'s.

Mr. *Sherwood*, of *Cliſton*'s-*Inn*, to Mrs. *Clark*, Widow of Major *Clark*, a 10,000*l.* Fortune.

Manſell Powell, Eſq; High Sheriff for the County of *Hereford*, to Miſs *Hoar*, Grandaughter of the late Sir *Richd. Hoar*, Knt. formerly Lord Mayor of *London*, a young Lady of 100,000*l.* Fortune.

Sir *John Bennet*, of *Kirby* in *Yorkſhire*, and *Francis Egleſtone*, Eſq; of *York*, to two Daughters of *James Spragg*, Eſq; of *Malton* in the ſame County.

Lancelot Tolſon Tilly, Eſq; of the *Middle-Temple*, to Miſs *Beſtman*, Daughter and only Child of *Gabriel Beſtman*, of *Ranſted-Place-Houſe* in *Surrey*, Eſq;

James Phillips, jun. Eſq; Son of *James Phillips*, of *Pentipark* in *Carmarthenſhire*, Eſq; to Miſs *Price*, Siſter to the Wife of *John Campbell*, Eſq; Member of Parliament for *Pembrokeſhire*.

Counſellor *Ayloffe*, Son of Sir *Joſeph Ayloffe*, to Mrs. *Railton*, Relict of the late Juſtice *Railton*, of *Weſtminſter*; with whom he had a Fortune of 12,000*l.*

The Lady of *Samuel Sandys*, Eſq; Member of Parliament for *Worceſter*, ſafely delivered of a Daughter.

The Lady of the Lord *Harvey*, Vice-Chamberlain of his Majeſty's Houſhold, delivered of a Daughter.

The Lady of the Hon. *Edw. Digby*, Eſq; Son of the Lord *Digby*, alſo brought to Bed of a Daughter.

DEATHS.

DEC. *John Innes*, M. D. Phyſician to *Heriot*'s Hoſpital, *Edinburgh*.

Samuel Leland, Eſq; near *Grimsby*, *Lincolnſhire*.

George Preſtouſe, of *Great Ormond-Street* Eſq;

Sir *Solomon Swale*, Bart.

Jan. Dr. *Welbore Ellis*, Lord Biſhop of *Meath* in *Ireland*.

Miſs *Jane Villars*, a near Relation to the Earl of *Jerſey*.

Mr. *Weſton*, Steward to *Bethlem* Hoſpital.

The Rev. Dr. *Sam. Harris*, Regius Profeſſor of Modern Hiſtory at *Cambridge*.

The Rev. Mr. *Ford*, Vicar of *Priſtly*, *Hertfordſhire*.

The Rev. Mr. *Dean Jones*, at *Cundé*, near *Shrewsbury*.

Major *John Jenkins*, of the City Train-Bands.

The Rev. Mr. *Slingar*, Rector of *Eaſt Donyland*, near *Colcheſter*.

Gilbert Boſtock, Eſq; aged 90.

—— *Humerſtone*, Eſq; at *Walthamſtow*.

Major *Edw. Pidgeon*, an Officer on Half-Pay.

Joſeph Pilgrim, Eſq; at *Lewiſham* in *Kent*.

The

The celebrated Critick, Mr. *John Dennis*, who may be call'd, *The laſt Claſſick Wit of* K. Charles's *Reign*. He had certainly great Merit in the Commonwealth of Learning, but was unhappy for ſome Peculiarities that his Diſappointments in the World had ſeemed to make almoſt natural to his Temper, at leaſt as ſome were of Opinion, who made but ſmall Allowances for his unhappy Circumſtances. (See the Poem on him, p. 36.)

Edward Newnham, Eſq; at *Hummerton* near *Hackney*.

Samuel Morton, Eſq; at *Batterſea*.

The Rev. Mr. *Macquan*, Miniſter of St. *Mary's* at *Dover*.

Capt. *Kirke*, of General *Sabine*'s Regiment.

Mrs. *Elizabeth Cole*, Matron of the *Charter-Houſe*, in the 69th Year of her Age.

John Gunter, Eſq; at *Hummerton*.

Capt. *Swale*, an old *Weſt-India* Commander.

James Oughton, Eſq; at *Weymouth* in *Dorſetſhire*.

The Rev. Mr. *Thomas Cox*, Rector of *Stock*, and Vicar, for upwards of 40 Years, of *Bromfield*, *Eſſex*.

Edwyn Sandys, Eſq; ſecond Examinator of the High Court of *Chancery*.

William Peyto, Eſq; Knight of the Shire for the County of *Warwick*.

Thomas Hamilton, Eſq; at *Newcaſtle* in *Staffordſhire*, aged 96.

Rev. Mr. *Dally*, of *Sutton* near *Abingdon*, *Berks*.

Mr. *John Deacon*, Purſer of the *Elizabeth*, at *Portſmouth*.

Jacob Morland, Eſq; in new *Bond-ſtreet*.

Joſeph Taylor, Eſq; at *Rumford*.

Thomas Skirret, Eſq; in *Piccadilly*.

Thomas Sexton of *Cheſhire*, Eſq;

Thomas Hatton, Eſq; at *Barnes*, *Surrey*.

Dr. *Matthew Gape*, Fellow of *All-Souls*, *Oxford*.

The Right Hon. the Ld. Viſcount *Micklethwait*, who was created Viſcount *Micklethwait* of *Longford*, and Baron *Micklethwait* of *Portarlington* in the Kingdom of *Ireland*, by his late Majeſty King *George*; but his Lordſhip dying a Batchelor, his Titles are extinct.

About this Time we had an Account from *France* of the Death of the Right Hon. *William Stafford Howard*, Earl, Viſcount, and Baron of *Stafford*, a *Roman Catholick*.

Lady *Anne Carew*, Wife to Sir *William Carew*, Bart. Knight of the Shire for *Cornwal*.

Capt. *Tho. Graham* of *Pearce*'s Regiment.

Rev. Dr. *Evans*, Senior Fellow of *Eton* College.

Mrs. *Cibber*, Wife of *Colley Cibber*, Eſq; Poet-Laureat to his Majeſty.

Jacob Fletcher, Eſq; at *Roehampton*, *Surrey*.

Joſhua Cooper, Eſq; at *Kenſington* Gravel Pits.

Sir *John Harman Whitfield*, at *Buckland*, *Dorſet*.

Rev. Mr. *William Eberſon*, M. A. Rector of *Cole Kerby*, in *Yorkſhire*.

Colonel *James Cunningham*, Lieutenant Governor of Fort *George* and *Inverneſs*. He was an old experienced Officer, having receiv'd his firſt Commiſſion from the P. of *Orange* (the late King *William*) before he embarked from *Holland*: He ſerved under his Majeſty during the whole War of *Ireland*, and under the Duke of *Marlborough*, all the Campaigns in *Flanders*, in both which Wars he receiv'd ſeveral dangerous Wounds.

Edw. Hughes, Eſq; Judge Advoc. of his Majeſty's Land Forces, and Member of Parliament for *Saltaſh* in *Cornwal*.

Mr. *Boot*, Attorney at Law, reputed worth 20,000 l. at *Abingdon*, *Berks*.

Samuel Palmer, Eſq; at *Hackney*, in the Commiſſion of the Peace for *Middleſex*.

Michael Bridges, Eſq; in *Southwark*.

Mrs. *Elizabeth de Vaux*, ſole Daughter, and Heireſs of the late Sir *Theod. de Vaux*; of *Iſleworth*, Bart.

The Rev. Mr. *Hugh Lewis*, Vicar of *Llangrannog*, *Cardiganſhire*.

John Pottinger, Eſq; Comptroller of the Pipe in the Exchequer.

Lady *Millman*, in *Great Ormond-Street*.

Colonel *Charles Richards*, Commander of a Reg. of Foot on the *Iriſh* Eſtabliſhment.

George Lloyd, Eſq; in the Commiſſion of the Peace for the County of *Suſſex*.

John Thomas Woodhouſe, Eſq; (in the 82d Year of his Age,) F. R. S. Member of the Royal Academy of *Berlin* in *Pruſſia*, and of the Academies of the *Curious of Nature* in *Germany*, and of the *Noble Inſtitute* of *Bologna*, in *Italy*, and ſometime Groom of the Chambers, and Oculiſt to the late K. *James* IId.

Mr. *John Wilks*, ſen. an eminent Wholeſale Diſtiller in *Turnmill-ſtreet*, who had acquired a large Fortune by Trade, with a fair Character, and is ſaid to have died worth upwards of 100,000 l.

Hon. Mrs. *Anne Douglaſs*, Relict of the late *James Douglaſs*, Eſq;

Philip Langdell, Eſq; in the Commiſſion of the Peace for *Middleſex*; at *Barnet*.

John Slow, Eſq; an old experienc'd Officer.

Hon. Colonel *Charles Byng*, Uncle to the preſent Lord Viſcount *Torrington*.

Miſs *Green*, eldeſt Daughter to the Lord Biſhop of *Ely*.

The Lady of the Hon. *John King*, Eſq; Son of the Right Hon. the Lord *King*; of the Small Pox, in the 23d Year of her Age.

Mr. *Chriſtopher Manners*, who had been Steward and Butler to the ſeveral Lord Mayors, and Sheriffs of this City for 30 Years paſt, and thereby acquired a Fortune of 20,000 l.

Eccle-

Eccleſiaſtical PREFERMENTS.

MR. *Harris* inſtituted to the Rectory of *Weſt Ogwell*, *Exon.* Mr. *John Pope* inducted into the Rectory of *Stoke Debernon*, *Surrey*. Dr. *Donne*, made Prebendary of *Canterbury*, in the room of Dr. *Lynch*, made Dean. Mr. *Frederick Peer-Williams* preſented to the Rectory of *Rebeſton*, *Pembrokeſhire*. Dr. *Bignall* to the Rectory of *Aſton-le-Wall*, *Northamptonſhire*. Mr. *Philip Lewis* collated to the Vicarage of *Llan-Byſter*, *Radnorſhire*. Mr. *James Griffiths* preſented to the Rectory of *Jordanſton*, *Pembrokeſhire*. Mr. *W. Goſling* to the Vicarage of *Littleborn*, *Kent*. Mr. *Colman* to the Rectory of *Shadingfield*, *Suffolk*. Mr. *Timothy Gilbert* to the Living of *Banbury*, *Oxfordſhire*. Mr. *John Hayward* to the Rectory of *Whitington*, *Gloucesterſhire*. *Arthur* Lord Biſhop of *Leighlin* and *Fernes*, made Biſhop of *Meath*. *Edward* Lord Biſhop of *Cloyne* tranſlated to *Leighlin*, &c. Dr. *George Berkeley*, Dean of *Derry*, promoted to the See of *Cloyne*. Mr. *George Stone*, Dean of St. *Edan*, made Dean of *Derry*. Rev. Mr. *Joſeph Storey*, made Dean of St. *Edan*. Dr. *Rundall*, Prebendary of *Durham*, made Biſhop of *Gloucester*, in room of the late Dr. *Sydall*. Mr. *Griffith*, Rector of *Eckington*, *Derby*, made Chaplain to the Prince. Mr. *Lancaſter*, Chaplain to his Royal Highneſs, created by the Archbiſhop of *York* Doctor of Laws. Mr. *Philip Morant*, collated to the Living of *Bromfield*, *Eſſex*, vacant by the Death of the Rev. Mr. *Cox*. Rev. Mr. *John Wilcox*, preſented to the Vicarage of *Collumpton* in the County of *Devon*, worth 500*l. per Ann.* Mr. *Timothy Gilbert*, B. A. to the Living of *Banbury* in *Oxfordſhire*, worth upwards of 200*l. per Ann.* Mr. *Seddon*, by Mr. *Terry*, the Impropriator, to the Vicarage of *Warfield* in *Berkſhire*.

PROMOTIONS *Civil* and *Military*.

THE Hon. *Henry Bridges*, Eſq; a Relation to the Duke of *Chandos*, appointed Enſign in a Company in the Regiment of Foot commanded by Colonel *James Tyrrel*. *Thomas Curſoy*, Gent. made a Lieutenant in the Regiment of Foot commanded by the Hon. *Stephen Cornwallis*, Eſq; Mr. *Roger Royden*, made Surveyor of Houſes for *Cheſhire*, in the room of Mr. *Anthony Pennenare*, deceas'd. Mr. *Richard Standiſh*, Surveyor of Houſes for *Eſſex*, in the room of Mr. *Malding*. *Samuel Wilmot*, of *Oxford*, Eſq; made Receiver-General for that County, in the room of *Garrard Cocker*, Eſq; deceaſed. *Francis Sorrel*, Eſq; appointed Secretary to the Commiſſioners of Taxes, in the room of *Robert Manning*, Eſq; who reſigned. Sheriffs appointed, *viz.* for *Cambridge* and *Huntingdon*, William Thompſon, jun. Eſq; *Derby*, George More, Eſq; *Lincoln*, John Buiſſere, Eſq; *Oxon*, Francis Heywood, Eſq; *Somerſet*, Thomas Welman, Eſq; *Stafford*, Craven Kinnerſly, Eſq; *Brecon*, Charles Vaughan, Eſq; *Pembroke*, James Phillipps, Eſq; *Henry Fane*, Eſq; one of the Under Clerks of the Treaſury, made Clerk of the Eſtreats in his Majeſty's Exchequer, in the room of *John Cooke*, Eſq; deceaſed.

His Majeſty was choſen Governor, Sir *Bybil Lake*, Bart. Sub-Governor, and *Charles Hayes*, Eſq; Deputy-Governor of the Royal *African* Company: And the following Gentlemen to be the Court of Aſſiſtants, *viz.* Sam. Aſhley, Eſq; Mr. Peter Aſſelin, Thomas Bradſhaw, Eſq; John Baker, Eſq; Mr. Tho. Bird, Tho. Bodicoate, Eſq; John Bodicoate, Eſq; Francis Boteler, Eſq; Mr. John Carr, Chriſtian Cole, Eſq; Robert Cruikſhank, Eſq; Mr. John Dale, Daniel Finch, Eſq; John Gaſcoyne, Eſq; Mr. John Goddard, Mr, John Hickman, John Laroch, Eſq; Charles Lloyde, Eſq; Henry Parſons, Eſq; Benj. Periam, Eſq; Tho. Revel, Eſq; Mr. Joſ. Sedgwick, John Thompſon, Eſq; Philip Wilkinſon, Eſq; (See Vol II. p. 43.) Mr. *Birch* choſen Steward of *Bethlehem-Hoſpital*, in the room of Mr. *Weſton*, deceas'd. His Majeſty has appointed the Hon. *Robert Mac Cartney*, Eſq; a Relation of the preſent Duke of *Marlborough*, and a Captain in the Royal Navy, to be Governor and Commander in Chief of *Newfoundland*, and of the Fort and Garriſon of *Placentia*. *Walter Campbell*, Eſq; made Receiver-General and Caſhier for the Cuſtoms of *Scotland*, in the room of *Mungo Graham*, Eſq; deceaſed. *James Tillie*, Eſq; appointed by the P. of *Wales* to be Sheriff of *Cornwal*.

Perſons declared BANKRUPTS.

ANDREW Lavington, late of St. *Leonard's* in *Devon*, Merchant. *Robert Elphinſton*, of *Shear-Lane*, *London*, Chapman. *Edmund Ford*, late of *Whitchurch*, in *Hants*, Miller and Chapman. *Charles Keech*, of *Rumford* in *Eſſex*, Chapman. *Roger Ryland*, of *Warwick-Lane*, *London*, Diſtiller. *John Winnington*, now or late of *Tyburn-Road*, Brewer. *Joſeph Sheppard*, of St. *Swithin's-Lane*, Packer. *William Archer*, of the Liberty of *Norton-Falgate*, Weaver. *Ralph Forſter*, of *Berwick upon Tweed*, Butcher. *John Hall*, of the Pariſh of St. *Clement Danes*, in *Middleſex*, Draper and Taylor. *Samuel Lane*, of *Bradford* in *Wilts*, Clothier. *Jeffery Whitaker*, of *Doncaſter*, in *Yorkſhire*, Cornfactor and Chapman. *William Marſland*, of *Cornhill*, *London*, Hard-wareman. *John King*, of the Pariſh of *Chriſt-Church* in *Spittle-Fields*, Dyer. *James Daniel*, of St. *Andrews*, *Holborn*, Victualler. *John Moulſon*, *Coleman-ſtreet*, *London*, Victualler.

FROM

ROM *Paris*. The *Te Deum* was ſung in our Cathedral of *Notre Dame*, for the aking of the Caſtle of *Milan*. The Mar- *de Timarcon* arrived, being diſpatched by Marſhal *de Villars*, to bring the King the ws of the Surrender of *Novarra* and Fort *Arona*.

From *Legborn*. Our laſt Accounts from *rcelona* are full of the mighty Preparations king there to ſupply *Italy* with Men, Am- nition, and Proviſions. Five thouſand Men to be tranſported thence out of hand, and ,000, next Spring.

From *Vienna*. By our laſt Letters from *Con- rimple*, of the 12th of *December*, this Court ſeveral of the foreign Miniſters reſiding e received a Confirmation of the Victory ed by the *Perſians* over the *Ottoman* Ar- ; with the following Particulars, *viz.* t the *Perſian* General *Kouli-Kan*, in Or- to deceive the *Turks*, ſent a Detachment bout 12,000 Men from his Gamp, to *re- nitre* the *Ottoman* Army: That there- n the *Turks* marched to meet the ſaid tachment: That the *Perſians* retreated ting till they came to a Place where they Retrenchments: That here the famous *li-Kan* had an Opportunity of putting his tagem in Execution, to wit, by convey- a forged Letter to *Topal Oſman*, General the *Turks*, to acquaint him, that there e great Diſſenſions in the *Perſian* Army; a certain Nation among them was ſo diſ- ed, that he had nothing to do, but to rch directly againſt the *Perſians* and at- them, and that Nation would immedi- y join him, and render the Victory ſecure; des that the *Perſian* Generals were ſo di- d, that they were ready to ſheathe their rds in each others Bodies, *&c.* That the *kiſh* General being thus [*eaſily*] impoſed n, marched againſt the *Perſians*: That *li-Kan* made an Opening in the Center of Army, dividing it into two Wings, be- en which he received the *Turks*, and fell them with ſo great Fury, that he gained ompleat Victory over them, their Gene- *Topal Oſman* being of the Number of the n.

ccording to all Accounts, the *Turks* had e 50,000 Men killed or wounded, and *Perſians* about 30,000, in this Action. Body that marched to attack the Left , was joined in the Nick of Time by e other *Perſians*, who hewed down all be- them, and made no Priſoners, except a few e principal Officers. The Run-aways of Right Wing eſcaped for the moſt Part; almoſt 3000 of them were found dead the Roads, who being wounded, had avoured to get off.

rom *Thorn*. On the 17th at Six in the Morning, General *Laſcy*, at the Head of 1,500 *Muſcovites*, advanc'd to the principal Gate of this City, and ſummon'd the Magiſtrates to open it; he acquainted them, that if they obey'd readily, he would treat them as Friends, but if they refus'd, he ſhould be oblig'd to make Uſe of military Rigour; whereupon the Gates were opened without Heſitation: The *Poliſh* Garriſon had quitted the Place about three Days before, upon News of the *Ruſſians* approaching.

Fron *Dantzick*. The moſt Chriſtian King has written the following Letter to the Magiſtracy of this City;

Right Dear and Good Friends,

'WE received with Pleaſure, as well by
' your Letter of the 18th of laſt
' Month, as by the Report of our Ambaſ-
' ſador the Marquis *de Monti*, the ſeveral
' Marks you give us of your Fidelity and
' Zeal for the King of *Poland*. We per-
' ceive that the Threats of our Enemies
' have not been able to change in you thoſe
' Sentiments which ſhall tranſmit your Glory
' to future Ages, and render you eternally
' dear to us.

' Several Powers have already ſhewn their
' great Concern for your Preſervation, but
' none can give ſuch Proofs as we are deſirous
' of doing, of the Part we take in it, ſee-
' ing we look upon your Intereſts as our own,
' and are reſolv'd to omit nothing that may
' promote them to the fartheſt Extent of
' our Power and Good-Will. Whereupon
' we pray God, the Protect r of Innocence
' and Fidelity, to take you into his Care.
' Done at *Verſailles* the 15th of *December*, 1733.

Sign'd *LOUIS*.

From *Cracow*. That on the 17th Inſtant was perform'd there the Coronation of King *Auguſtus* and his Queen; and that the Medals ſtruck on this Occaſion have on one Side, *Auguſtus* III. *Rex Poloniorum, Magn. Dux Lith. Electus* V. *Octob.* MDCCXXXIII. *Coronat.* XVII. *Januar.* MDCCXXXIV. And on the Reverſe, the Regal Crown, with this Inſcription, *Meruit & Tuebitur*.

From *Amſterdam*. They write from *Milan*, that the Allies have taken Poſſeſſion of *Bazula*, *Pomponeſa*, *Viadana*, and *Sabionetta*, and have alſo put Troops into *Guaſtalla*, *Novalara*, *Regiola*, and *Luzara*, and ſtill talk of beſieging *Mantua* before the Imperial Troops are arrived.

From the *Hague*. That the States-General have ordered their Troops to be augmented with 10,000 Men; and have likewiſe order'd 12 Men of War to be fitted out with all proper Expedition.

Towards the End of the Month.

STOCKS.

S. Sea	77 ½ a ¾	*Afric.*	23
—Bonds	4 a 5*s.*	*Royal Aſſ.*	91 ¾
—Annu.	101 ¼ a ½	*Lon. ditto*	11 ¼
Bank	133 ¾, 133 a ¼	*Y. Build.*	
—Circ.	3*l.* 15*s.*	*3 p. C. An.*	90 ¼
Mil. Bank	118	*Eng. Copper*	1*l.* 15*s.*
India	136 ¼ a ½	*Welſh dit.*	21*s.*
—Bonas	22*s*		

The Courſe of EXCHANGE.

Amſt.	35 11	*Bilboa*	40
D. Sight	35 8	*Leghorn*	50 ⅛ a ¼
Rotter.	36 a 1	*Genoa*	52 ⅞ a ¾
Hamb.	35 5 a 6	*Venice*	49 ¾
P. Sight	30 ⅜	*Lisb.*	5 4 ½ a ⅝
Bourd.	30 ⅛	*Oport.*	5 3 ⅜ a ½
Cadiz	40 ⅝ a ¾	*Antw.*	37 a 1
Madrid	40 ¼ a ⅜	*Dublin*	11 ⅞

Prices of Goods at *Bear-Key*.

Wheat	27 30	*Oates*	10 14
Rye	17 18	*Tares*	18 23
Barley	14 18	*Peaſe*	22 24
H. Beans	16 20	*H. Peaſe*	16 19
P. Malt	17 20	*B. Malt*	16 19

Abſtract of the *London* WEEKLY BILL, from *Dec.* 25 to *Jan.* 22

Chriſtned	Males	788	1529
	Females	741	
Buried	Males	994	2008
	Females	1014	

Died under 2 Years old			
Between	2	and	5
	5		10
	10		20
	20		30
	30		40
	40		50
	50		60
	60		70
	70		80
	80		90
	90	and upwards	

Prices of Goods, &c. in *London*. Hay 36*s. to* 42*s.* a Load.

Coals per Chaldron 24 *to* 25
New Hops per Hun. 4*l. a* 5*l.*
Old Hops 3*l.* 10*s. to* 4*l.*
Rape Seed 10 *a* 11
Lead the Fodder 19 *Hun.* 1 *half on board*, 14 *a* 14*l.* 10*s.*
Tin in Blocks 3*l.* 18
Ditto in Bars 4*l.*
Copper Eng. beſt cl. cs.
Ditto ordinary 4*l.* 16*s. a* 5*l.*
Ditto Barbary 85 *a* 9*l.*
Iron of Bilboa 15*l.* 5*s. per Ton.*
Ditto of Sweden 16*l.* 10*s.*
Tallow 30*s. a* 31
Country Tallow 30*s.*
Cochineal 19*s.*

Grocery Wares by the C.

Raiſins of the S. 30*s.*
Ditto Malaga Frailes 28*s.*
Ditto Smirna new 24*s.*
Ditto Alicant 20*s.*
Ditto Lipra new 21*s*
Ditto Belvedera 22*s.*
Currants 42*s.*
Prunes French none
Figs 20*s.*

Sugar Powder beſt 54 *a* 59*s.*
Ditto ſecond Sort 46*s.* 50
Loaf Sugar double ref. 8*d. half a* 9*d.*
Ditto ſingle refine 56*s. a* 64*s.*

Grocery Wares by the lb.

Cinamon 7*s.* 8*d.*
Cloves 9*s.* 1*d.*
Mace 15*s.* 0*d.*
Nutmegs 8*s.* 7*d.*
Sugar Candy white 14*d. a* 18*d.*
Ditto brown 6*d.*
Pepper for home conſump. 16*d.*
Ditto for Exportation 12*d.*
Tea Bohea fine 10*s. a* 12*s.*
Ditto ordinary 9*a*10*s.*
Ditto Congo 10 *a* 14*s.*
Ditto Pekoe 14*a* 16*s.*
Ditto Green fine 9 *a* 12*s.*
Ditto Imperial 9 *a* 12*s.*
Ditto Hyſon 25 *a* 30*s.*

Drugs by the lb.

Balſam Peru 14*s.*
Cardamoms 3*s.* 6*d.*
Camphire refin'd 14*s.*
Crabs Eyes 1*s* 8*d.*
Jallop 2*s.* 6*d.*

Manna 2*s.* 6*d. a* 4*s*
Maſtick white 4*s.* 0*d.*
Opium 9*s.*
Quickſilver 4*s.* 0*d.*
Rhubarb 18 *a* 24*s.*
Sarſaparilla 3*s.* 0*d.*
Saffron Engliſh 22*s.* 6*d*
Wormſeeds none
Balſam Copaiva 3*s.* 0*d*
Balſam of Gilead 20*s.*
Hypocacuanæ 5*s. a* 6
Ambergreece per oz. 8*s.*

Wine, Brandy, and Rum

Oporto red per Pipe 32*l. a* 3[illegible]
Ditto white none
Lisbon red 35 *a* 40*l.*
Ditto white 26 *a* 28*l.*
Sherry 26*l.*
Canary new 25 *a* 28*l.*
Ditto old 32 *a* 34*l.*
Florence 3*l.*
French red 30*l. a* 40*l.*
Ditto white 20*l.*
Mountain Malaga old 24*l.*
Ditto new 20*l. a* 21
Brandy Fr. per Gal. 7*s. a* 8[illegible]
Rum of Jam. 6 *a* 7*s.*
Ditto Leew. Iſlands 6*s.*4*d.* [illegible]

BUILDING and FARRIERY.

THE Builders Dictionary; or Gentleman and Architects Companion. Explaining not only the Terms of Art in all the several Parts of Architecture, but also containing the Theory and Practice of the various Branches thereof. Printed for *L. Bettesworth* and *C. Hitch*; and *S. Austen*, 2 Vols, 8vo, price 12*s*.

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THE LONDON MAGAZINE.

FEBRUARY, 1734.

A View of the Weekly ESSAYS *and* DISPUTES *in this Month.*

Craftſman, Feb. 2. N° 396.

me Remarks on a Letter to the Craftſmen, *&c. humbly inſcrib'd to the* Author, *by* Caleb D'Anvers, *of* Gray's Inn, *Eſq;*

Moſt honourable Sir,



HERE is ſuch an agreeable Mixture of the *Horatian Salt*, and the *Sauce de Robert* in your late Epiſtle, that nobody can doubt concerning the *Authors* of it; but from ſome circumſtances, I am inclined to think that *your Honour* had the chief Hand in *this Performance*, and that *your Brother* only ſtept in now and then with your Aſſiſtance.

You addreſs yourſelf, in this inimitable Piece, to the *Craftſmen* in general; that is, all Perſons, who have diſtinguiſhed themſelves, either within Doors, or without, in the Cauſe of *Liberty*. I wiſh there may not be ſome deep Fetch of Policy in this; for as the old Diſtinctions of *Whig* and *Tory* are growing out of Date with all ſenſible Men, you ſeem to have a Deſign of dividing the Nation again into two new Parties, under the Denomination of the *Craftſmen* and the * *Robertſmen*. You may think, perhaps, that ſuch a Diſtinction will be of more Service to you, than that of a *Court* and a *Country Party*, which now prevails in all Parts of the Kingdom. But tho' the Clan of the *Robertſmen* hath grown to a prodigious Height of late Years, and ſeems to require another Act of Parliament to ſuppreſs them; yet you cannot ſurely want to be informed that the *Craftſmen*, according to your Interpretation, are infinitely ſuperior in Number, and, if we except all Officers eccleſiaſtical, civil, and military, may be computed to amount at leaſt to 99 Parts in an 100 of the whole Kingdom.

Who can forbear admiring *your Honour*'s great Skill and Dexterity, in dreſſing up an *Admirer of the Craftſmen* in your own Coat, and bringing him upon the Stage to utter a Jargon of ridiculous Trumpery, which

* A Gang of bold and impudent Thieves, who took their Name from *Robin Hood*, their Leader, and infeſted the Frontiers of *England* and *Scotland*, in the Reign of K. *Richard* II. There are ſeveral old Statutes againſt theſe Men. See *Coke's Inſtitutes*.

which Nobody but *you* could put into his Mouth? I am quite at a Loss to guess where he could possibly drop into such Company; for I know but *one Place* in the whole Kingdom, where the *Majority* is on your Side.

Your Honour begins with some warm Expostulations to the *Craftsmen*, for continuing silent upon so *critical a Conjuncture*, and with asking the Reason, *why such* able Politicians *and* Patriots, *as we pretend to be, do not assist our Country with some good Advice, and correct the Blunders of the Ministry?* This Question is reasonable enough of itself; but it is very improperly urged to the *Craftsmen*, whom *you* and your *noble Brother* have used so ungratefully for their past Services. You know that we have often assisted you with *good Advice*; that we have actually corrected some of your *Blunders*, and done all in our Power to prevent your being guilty of *others*. How generously did we interpose our Advice with Relation to the *Irish Recruits*; and how did you behave on that Occasion? Why, *your Brother* took our Advice and followed it; *You* snivell'd at the Disappointment of your Friends in *France*; and *both of You* abused us at the same Time. But let us come a little nearer to the present Case. Did not we turn your Eyes towards *Vienna*, after you had been blundering thro' all Parts of *Europe*; and when we found you groping in the Dark about the House, did not we point out the right Way, and tell you the Consequences of creeping in by any other? Instead of returning us Thanks for this, as you ought to have done, you employ'd a Band of *Mercenaries* to prove that no *private Man* ought to intermeddle in *publick Affairs*, particularly with Relation to *foreign Transactions*. Nay, you cannot forget that the *Bloodhounds of the Press* were halloo'd upon us; and I leave your own Conscience to supply the rest.

I shall only observe that the *Hague Letter*, which hath been adjudged a Libel by a *Special Jury*, and the next Dissertation in this Paper, which was presented as such by *another Middlesex Jury*, were published almost two Months before the last Treaty of *Vienna* was signed. How unreasonable therefore is it to reproach us with declining to give you our Advice, upon the present Conjuncture, when you had before employed your *Advocates* to prove such Advice *contrary to Law*, and have even punished us for it, in a very severe Manner, *according to Law?*

Your next Charge against the *Craftsmen* is equally ridiculous, and (pardon the Expression) utterly false; I mean, *that we have changed Sides, and taken the Part of* France, *or* Spain, *or the* Emperor, *as we thought would most embarrass Affairs.* You know, Sir, we have steadily adhered to one Set of Principles, or System of Policy; whilst *You* and *your Brother* have been sneaking about from Court to Court, till you have gone thro' them all, and I am afraid will find it very difficult to begin the Tour again.

You observe, with great Sagacity, that there are but *three Ways*, which the Government can take in the present Conjuncture, *viz. either to observe a* Neutrality *between the contending Powers; or to enter briskly into the* War, *in Support of the* Emperor; *or to* suspend *a little, and remain for some Time in a State of* Inaction. Now, which ever of these Ways the *Government* shall take, you acknowledge very frankly *that the* Craftsmen *may easily say many specious Things against it*, and have actually put some of them into our Mouths. You might think yourself, perhaps, very cunning in this Method of Reasoning, and hope that it would anticipate all our Objections to your future Conduct; but, as it commonly happens to over-wise People, I cannot help thinking that you have overshot the Mark.

You

You afterwards diſcover a *fourth Way*, which may be taken; and that is, the Part of an *Acceſſory*; or a *middle Way between a Neutrality and a vigorous War*. Here again you furniſh the *Craftſmen* with ſome very good Objections, and treat the Suppoſition of taking *ſuch a Part* with ſo much Contempt, that it ſeems to be the laſt in your Thoughts; but you illuſtrate the Folly of it by a Method of Reaſoning, which I can by no Means approve. You put the Caſe that *twenty Degrees of Strength are neceſſary to ſupport the* Emperor, *in the preſent War*; upon which you ſuppoſe that the *Powers we would join with can together make up* fourteen Parts; *and that* England, *either in Purſuance of* Treaties, *or upon a Proportion of* Intereſts *in the War, ought to furniſh only* three Parts; *ſo that in the Whole here will be* ſeventeen. You then obſerve *that* three Degrees of Strength *are wanting to carry on the War with Vigour, and reaſonable Hopes of Succeſs*. In this Caſe you aſk, *what we ſhall do*, and reſolve the Queſtion yourſelf, by a very plain Intimation that *England* ought to ſupply the *three deficient Parts*. Now this, methinks, is a very odd Way of forming a Confederacy. If I may take the Liberty of putting a Caſe, in my Turn, let us ſuppoſe that you, Sir, are concerned with ſeveral others in an Eſtate of 20,000l. *a Year*, and that you are involv'd in a *Law-Suit* by a ſham Title, which ſomebody trumps up againſt it. Let us likewiſe ſuppoſe that your Share in this Eſtate is no more than 3000l. *a Year*, and that your Copartners ſhould deſire you to bear a *double Proportion of the Expence*, for carrying on the *Suit*; that is, *ſix Twentieths*, inſtead of *three*. In this Caſe, I believe even your liberal Heart would grumble a little. Perhaps, you will ſay, that however hard the Terms may appear, you would certainly comply, if you found it neceſſary to preſerve your own Property. But if you had an undoubted Title to the Eſtate, and were fully convinced it was brought into Diſpute by the Ignorance, or Knavery of your *own Attorney*, you would certainly turn him off, and employ *another*, who bore the Character of being more *able*, or more *honeſt*.

I am far from deſigning to inſinuate that *Great Britain* ought not to exert herſelf, when her own Intereſts, or the Liberties of *Europe* are in real Danger; but we have been too often the Dupes of *other Courts*; and notwithſtanding the glorious Succeſſes of the laſt War, as well as the Expence of above 200 *Millions*, we have the Misfortune to find the *Balance of Power* in a worſe Condition, at this Time, than it was when the *grand Alliance* was form'd. About 50 *Millions* of this Money was left a Debt upon the Nation, with Parliamentary Security, and ſtill continues ſo, tho' we have been above 20 Years in *Peace*, and paid almoſt the ſame Taxes as in Time of *War*; nay, tho' a very large *Fund* hath been ſet apart, under the moſt ſolemn Appropriations, for paying it off. It would be impertinent to tell *your Honour* how this hath come to paſs; but ſince it is certainly our Caſe, you muſt admit that we are leſs able to pay any extraordinary Quotas towards a *new War*. Give me Leave to mention another Particular, which I believe will have ſome Weight with the Publick, tho' it ſeems to have none with *You* and *your Brother*. In former Times, when our Kings enjoy'd an *hereditary Revenue*, the chief Burthen of a *War* fell upon the *Crown*, and the *People* granted an *Aid* only, upon extraordinary Occaſions; but as Things ſtand at preſent, the whole Weight falls upon the *Subject*, and the *King* is the only Perſon, who pays nothing towards the Defence of the Nation. Nay, he is ſo far from being a Sufferer by *Wars*, that he is

a conſiderable Gainer by them; ſince the great Increaſe of *Officers*, which a War creates, muſt cauſe a proportionable Addition to the Power of the *Crown*, which hath the Diſpoſition of all *military Employments*, and even give it an Influence in *ſome Places*, where it is moſt dangerous; for we ſee that Men of the moſt undoubted Affection to the preſent Settlement, and Abilities in their reſpective Profeſſions, are not ſecure, if they happen to incur the *Miniſter*'s Diſpleaſure, in *another Capacity*.

It is true, indeed, that Q. *Anne* relieved her People from ſome Part of the Burden, which the laſt War brought upon them, by a voluntary Deduction from her *civil Liſt*; and it is probable that his preſent Majeſty will follow ſo gracious an Example. But I doubt very much whether you, Sir, would ſhew any great Eagerneſs to ſupport a Propoſition for *taxing Employments*, or *retrenching their Salaries*, in Order to give your Fellow-Subjects ſome Eaſe, and make up thoſe *additional three Parts*, which are ſtill wanting to compleat the *projected Alliance*.

You allow *that there is too much Truth in the Plea of not being able to carry on a vigorous War; but you believe that the* Craftſmen *would treat it as a very ridiculous Pretence, and that they would argue from the* Luxury *of the Nation, and the extravagant, expenſive Way we are run into, in Buildings, Gardenings, Pictures, Jewels, Plate, Equipage and Tables*, &c. One would think, Sir, you were deſcribing your *Brother*'s Grandeur and Magnificence in this Paragraph; but ſuch an Argument is very improperly put into the Mouths of the *Craftſmen*, who have always inveighed againſt *Luxury* as the very Thing which would diſable us to carry on a *vigorous War*, in Time of Neceſſity, by making us *poor*.

Your own Conſcience foretold you that the *preſent War* would be laid to your Charge; and therefore you make an awkard Attempt to ridicule all Enquiries into the *Cauſes* and *Occaſion* of it. But, for God's Sake, ought the People of *England* to be loaded with new Burdens, without knowing why or wherefore, merely becauſe it is your Intereſt to keep them in the Dark? No, Sir, they have a Right to be informed, and will be informed, notwithſtanding all your Artifices to divert them from ſuch Enquiries.

They know very well that the preſent War in *Italy* is not owing to the *Quadruple Alliance*, as you make the *Craftſmen* argue, but to the Treaty of *Seville* and the laſt Treaty of *Vienna*, which have abſolutely reunited *France* and *Spain*, and made them an Overmatch for the *Emperor* in thoſe Parts. Indeed, the Succeſſion of *Don Carlos* to the Dominions of *Tuſcany* and *Parma* was firſt eſtabliſhed by the *Quadruple Alliance*, and *England* had engaged to ſecure it for him; but how? By *neutral Gariſons* only; which were certainly moſt likely to preſerve the *Peace*; and *Spain* could not have reproach'd us with Breach of Treaty, as the *Emperor* did afterwards, if we had refus'd to go any farther. But the Introduction of *Spaniſh Garriſons* was ſo material an Alteration, that nobody, I think, can be ſurprized at the Effects of it. *Your Honour* ſeems to be quite in a joking Humour, when you ask us, *How is this the Cauſe of the War in* Italy? *Did* France *enter* Italy *by* Parma *or* Florence? *No*, ſay you, *it is the King of* Sardinia *hath let* France *in, to ſwallow up* Italy, *without the leaſt Aſſiſtance from the* Spaniſh *Gariſons in* Tuſcany, *or any Forces, that came that Way.* What a pretty Prevarication is this, in Order to ſhift off the Occaſion of the War from your *own Shoulders?* I grant you that the *French* Troops did not enter *Italy* thro' the Dominions of *Don Carlos*; but will you pretend to ſay,

y, with that grave Face, that *rance* did not act in *Concert* with *pain*; or that this War was not the ffect of an Union between them? our Queſtions about the King of *ardinia* have juſt as much Weight; or you will not ſurely aſſert that his *ardinian Majeſty* would have venturd to attack the *Emperor* by himſelf, whatever *ill Uſage* he might have reeived; and therefore if the Court of *rance* had not been provoked to join im, there would have been no Occaſion to give him either *Subſidies*, or *erritories*, to keep him within due ounds.

You make Uſe of another pretty Device to ſcreen your *own Conduct*, y running into a long Defence of he *Revolution*, concerning the *natial Debts*. But here again, Sir, ou have quite miſrepreſented the aſe; for the *Craftſmen* do not imute the *preſent Debt* to the *Revolutin*, but have often inſiſted that moſt f the *original Debt*, contracted upon at Account, would have been paid ff by this Time, if proper Meaures had been purſued, and Care ken that *new Debts* ſhould not be curred, as faſt as the *old ones* were iſcharged.

After this Apology for the *Revolu-on*, we are entertained for ten or a ozen Pages more, with an Invecve on the Treaty of *Utrecht*, which juſt as much to the preſent Purſe: But that is a Topick, which u and your *Zanies* can never omit your *anniverſary Packets*; and I ve often conſider'd within myſelf hat you would have been able to y for all your Blunders, if the eace of *Utrecht* had not been ready Hand to father them upon. It as certainly a very lucky Treaty r *You* and *your Brother*, whatever it ight be for the Nation, and hath ne you many a good Job. But I ink it is grown a little too obſolete preſent, when all the Defects of it ve been ſupply'd by ſo many *glorious Treaties* of your own making; particularly thoſe of *Hanover*, *Seville* and *Vienna*, by which the *Plan of Power was ſo well deſign'd, the Limits ſo well bounded, and ſo ſtrongly fenced, that no Seaſon ever beheld a* Peace *more univerſal, nor did any Conjuncture of Affairs ever promiſe a Peace more eſtabliſh'd and laſting*. After this, I ſay, it may look a little ridiculous to recal the *Treaty of Utrecht* to your Aſſiſtance, and ſeems not unlike the Conceit of a whimſical Fellow I once knew, who, having drunk *three Bottles of Wine* over Night, was very much ſurpriz'd to find himſelf ſick the next Morning, till he happen'd to recollect that he had eat ſomething, that diſagreed with his Stomach, about *twenty Years before*.

I ſhall conclude with adviſing you that, if your Affairs ſhould render it expedient to take the *Heſſian Troops* once more into Pay, you would call them *Suabians*, *Caſſelians*, or any Thing elſe rather than *Heſſians*, which are grown almoſt as odious to an *Engliſh Ear*, as an *Exciſeman*, or a *Robertſman*.

I am,
May it pleaſe your Honour,
Your Honour's moſt dutiful
And devoted Servant,
CALEB D'ANVERS.

Fog's Journal, Feb. 2. N° 274.

Remarks on a Pamphlet, entitled, The Politicks on both Sides, with Regard to Foreign Affairs, *&c.*

THE Author firſt obſerves, that the Empire and *Spain* being at Variance, offered the ſole Mediation to *England*, which we thought fit to refuſe, wherefore they were under a Neceſſity of making it up betwixt themſelves. I take it (ſays *Fog*) this is mentioned in order to inſinuate, as if great Honour and Advantages might have accrued to *England*, by being the ſole Umpire of the Quarrel of two ſuch great Powers, and

and therefore the refuſing it could not be a very wiſe Meaſure.

In Anſwer to this, (ſays he) I ſhall put this Author in Mind, that we were at that Time upon Terms of the ſtricteſt Amity with *France*; and if it be the Intereſt of *France*, that *Spain* and the Empire ſhou'd never be ſtrictly united, might not that be a good Reaſon for us not to uſe any Endeavours to bring them together? I know ſome People have been ſo malicious as to look back to the Impeachment of the late E. of *Oxford*, where it is charg'd as a high Crime upon him, that Peace was made with *France*, while ſhe was ſtill in a Condition to diſturb *Europe* by her Ambition; but thoſe, who think to pick a Hole in the Coat of our excellent Miniſters from this Circumſtance, ſhou'd firſt examine, whether *France* was not grown ſo formidable juſt at the Time of the Treaty of *Utrecht*, by the Battles of *Schulenberg*, *Hochſtadt*, *Ramelies*, *Audinard*, *Malplacat*, and by being eas'd of the Expence of maintaining many large Towns in *Flanders*; but if ſhe is reduc'd ſince, and run into Debt, by a long lazy Peace, the Caſe is alter'd.

But ſays our Author; *inſtead of our acceding to this Treaty, we form'd a counter Alliance in Oppoſition to it.* That is true, and I think it was right, for that Treaty was the Cauſe of many other Treaties, and if it furniſh'd ſome Perſons amongſt us with ſufficient Occaſions to ſhew the World their fine Addreſs in Negotiating, that is Reaſon good enough for me to juſtify it.

The Treaty this Gentleman means is the Treaty of *Hanover*; but let us ſee what he has to ſay againſt it. *The firſt contracting Parties in this Treaty (ſays he) were the Crowns of* Great Britain, France, *and* Pruſſia, *who invited the States General, by an expreſs Article to accede to it, and agreed to invite others; but the* Dutch, *who had this particular Compliment paid them in the Treaty itſelf, did not accede to it till about* 11 *Months after it had been ſign'd at* Hanover, *and even then under very large Reſtrictions.*

About the ſame Time his Majeſty of Pruſſia *took an Opportunity of detaching himſelf from this Alliance, in which he was an original Party.*

Firſt (ſays *Fog*) it is pretty well known, that the *Dutch* are a People that don't underſtand Compliments; next, as to the Reſtrictions, it is no Secret, that they alſo love to have ſome particular Advantages in every Thing they tranſact. As to the King of *Pruſſia*'s withdrawing himſelf, the King of *Pruſſia* is his own Maſter, and Princes have their Humours as well as other Men. I hope Nobody will preſume to imagine, that his going off cou'd be owing to any Behaviour of our polite and well bred Miniſters.

Our Author himſelf is forced to own, that we ſoon made ourſelves Amends for the Loſs of *Pruſſia*; for firſt we gain'd over the Court of *Sweden*, with certain Reſtrictions for ſo ſmall a Price as 50,000 l. Sterling a Year to be paid by *England* and *France*, for no more than three Years certain.

Next the King of *Denmark* was prevail'd on to accede in Conſideration of a Subſidy to be paid only for four Years, which Subſidy was to be paid by *France*. It is true indeed, a Diſpute afterwards aroſe concerning the Difference betwixt *Hamburgh* and *Daniſh* Money; but this Diſpute was ſoon adjuſted, by the Addreſs of our Miniſters, by paying the Difference with *Engliſh* Money.

The Landgrave of *Heſſe* was alſo ſo good to keep 12,000 Men in Readineſs for our Service, which did not coſt the People of *England* above a Million and a half Sterling. As to the Service which they actually did, or might poſſibly have done to *Great Britain*, I hope that is not to be call'd in Queſtion at this Time of Day;

y: Nor was the great Duke of *Wol-*
battle backward upon this Occa-
n; but generouſly offered to gua-
ntee all his Majeſty's Dominions in
eat Britain, *Ireland*, and *Germany*,
d to keep 5,000 Men in Readineſs
ot to ſtir out of *Germany* or *Hol-*
d) for 25,000 l. a Year, for four
ears certain.

All this our Author is forced to
wn, as much as he diſlikes this Trea-
; and here a Queſtion will ariſe,
hich I wonder he has not asked,
d that is, what Occaſion cou'd there
for paying Subſidies for three and
ur Years certain, upon the Appre-
nſion only of a Rupture, which
erhaps, might be adjuſted in three
onths? This is eaſily anſwer'd;
en know, becauſe it was for our
ood, and that's a peremptory Re-
y.

But to return to our Subject. Be-
es our being ſtrengthen'd with
h advantageous Alliances, our
nd Forces were conſiderably aug-
ented at Home; three very large
uadrons were alſo ſent to diffe-
nt Parts of the World: One to the
eſt Indies, under the Command of
dmiral *Hoſier* to block up the Gal-
ons. Yes; but, ſays our Author,
ere moſt of our gallant Seamen pe-
h'd, as well as a great many brave Of-
ers. What then? Can a Conta-
on, that is natural to the Climate,
imputed to our excellent Mini-
rs? But, ſays he again, the *Spani-*
ds underſtood it to be a high In-
lt, and let looſe their Privateers,
d *Guarda de Coſtas*, upon our de-
nceleſs Merchants, and took great
umbers of them, to the Ruin of
ny Families. To this I anſwer,
the *Spaniards* are wrong-headed,
n we help that? Another of theſe
uadrons viſited the Coaſt of *Spain*;
is hoſtile Appearance was alſo taken
an Affront by theſe wrong-headed
aniards, who iſſued out of their
rts in Purſuit of our Merchants
ding up the *Mediterranean*, many
of which had the Misfortune of fal-
ling into their rapacious Hands; but
can this Author ſay, that the *Spa-*
niards can alledge any juſt Excuſe
for uſing this Violence; ſince our
Men of War ſailed quietly along their
Coaſts without moleſting their Trade;
it is true, indeed, they might have
been put into a little Fright, becauſe
of their *Flotilla*, which was expected
Home; but this Fright cou'd not
laſt long, for the *Flotilla* arrived rich-
ly laden in their own Ports without
loſing one Ship, at the Time that
Sir *Charles Wager* (who is now the
worthy Candidate for *Weſtminſter*)
was cruizing with his Squadron
under his Command in their Way.

The next Thing that our Author
takes Notice of is, the Suppoſition
that this Fleet was ſent to prevent an
Expedition which was preparing in
Spain to invade ſome of his Majeſty's
Dominions; which Suſpicion, he
thinks was very ill grounded, becauſe
when our Squadron arriv'd upon their
Coaſt, there was no Proviſion made
of Shipping, nor any Army aſſembled
in thoſe Parts, or indeed any where
elſe in *Spain* for an Expedition. But
begging this Author's Pardon, might
not the *Spaniards* ſome Way or other
conceal their Ships, and hide their
Army upon the Appearance of our
Fleet? I have heard of an Army
that was to lie *Incog.* at *Brentford*,
and it is ſaid, that it was very eaſy
to be done, becauſe the Inn-keepers
were their Friends. And pray why
might not an Army be conceal'd in
Spain as well as at *Brentford*?

Concerning the third Squadron,
which was ſent to the *Baltick*, our
Author takes Notice, that it was ac-
counted for by a certain Reverend
Miniſterial Writer in the following
Manner: That it was ſent to preſerve
the Balance of Power in the North,
and to hinder the *Muſcovites* from
making a Deſcent upon *Sweden*. But
it happen'd a little untowardly, (ſays
our Author) that *Sweden* had juſt be-
fore

fore made Peace with the *Muſcovites*, and was under no Apprehenſion from them, as they acquainted Sir *Charles Wager*, when he came before *Stockholm*, and made them a voluntary Offer of his Service. —To which I anſwer this Gentleman, How the D—l ſhould we know that?

I remember very well, our Fleet did go into the *Baltick*, and thereby hangs a Tale. It is ſaid, that the Admiral diſpatch'd a Frigate to *Petersburgh* with a Letter to the Czarina, I preſume from the late King. This Princeſs, upon receiving the Letter, enquired of what Number of Ships the Squadron might conſiſt. She was told two and twenty Sail; upon which ſhe was a little jocoſe: How (ſays ſhe) two and twenty Sail of Men of War to carry one Letter, it is the deareſt Poſtage I ever heard of in my Life; I hope it is not expected that the Anſwer ſhall be ſent back at the ſame Charge. But notwithſtanding this Lady's Joking, this Squadron did the People of *England* vaſt Service; if any body deſires to know the Particulars, I deſire to be excuſed at this Time.

But if it be ask'd, What was it to us, that the Empire and *Spain* made up their particular Differences? Why ſhould we ſcatter our Treaſure all over *Germany*, and make ſuch expenſive Armaments, only becauſe two Princes had made up that Quarrel without us, which we had refus'd to act in as Mediators and Umpires? To that an Anſwer has been given long ago by the honeſt Gentleman who writ the *Enquiry*; for he tells us, there were ſome ſecret Articles in the ſaid Treaty which threaten'd the Ruin of *England*. As firſt, That they had enter'd into Engagements to endeavour to overturn the preſent happy Eſtabliſhment in Favour of a Gentleman Abroad; next the Emperor had ingaged to aſſiſt *Spain* in the Recovery of *Gibraltar*, and *Spain* to ſupport the Emperor in maintaining the *Oſtend* Company. I very well remember, that notwithſtanding the Author's eſtabliſh'd Character for Veracity and true Orthodoxy, at the Time theſe Things were publiſh'd, nobody believ'd a Word of the Matter—ſuch is the Infidelity of Man, and yet the very Nature of the Thing ſpeaks for it --- I ſay, it amounts to a Demonſtration, that there muſt be ſome ſuch Articles in this Treaty, for this Reaſon, becauſe we were invited to accede to it. But tho' the Emperor and *Spain* had not at that Time enter'd into any ſuch Engagements, who can anſwer for it, but that they might ſome Time hereafter do it? and as for my own Part, I think it was well worth the Expence of four or five Millions only to ſhew the World that we did not want Money.

Let no Man therefore ſay that all theſe Meaſures were the Effects of *French* Counſels; that a Conjunction betwixt thoſe two Powers could never hurt the Intereſt of the People of *England* -- that our Miniſters were led by the Noſe by thoſe of *France*, and that the Wealth and Power of the *Engliſh* Nation were made ſubſervient to the Intrigues of *Verſailles*.--Such Things muſt be meer Calumnies invented by diſaffected Perſons, for it is well known there was a Perſon at that Time reſiding at the Court of *France*, who was not to be led by the Noſe—a Perſon the greateſt Genius in the World—in the World did I ſay? Nor will I confine myſelf to this old World of ours, I will even take in the new World diſcover'd by *Chriſtopher Columbus*, and I will challenge any Man to find his Equal in the different Capacities of a pretty Fellow and a conſummate Politician, even amongſt the *Irequois*.

The next Thing which I object to this Author, is his ſly Strokes at a certain Reverend Gentleman, for his frequent Slips in Point of Veracity; but is it like a Man of Senſe to make a Rout about a few bold Aſſertions, which

hich are thrown in, meerly for the
upport of an Argument? And this
an Age when ſo many People are
me to a true Senſe of the Value
at ſhould be put upon Wealth and
referment — Who can ſay what he
ight be promis'd for acting this Part?
hould a Man loſe his Preferment or
at of his Sons for a few Words?
et us put the Thing in the worſt
ight, What is a Falſhood or a L--
t Words? And what are Words but
Wind? But a good fat B--e or a Pa-
nt Place, with nothing to do, or a
enſion, will ſtick to the Ribs.

Weekly Miſcellany, Feb. 2. N° 60.

om a Book publiſh'd at Liege, *enti-
tled, Reflections, Moral, Satirical,
and Humourous, on the Manners of
the Age, are extracted the following
Paſſages.*

FIRST, The Character of *a Man, whoſe Merit is leſs ſhin-
, than ſolid, and who ſuffers in the
orld by his Modeſty, and Simplicity
Manners.*

The Man who is regardleſs of
ſhions, who goes plainly clad,
thout Affectation, and extremely
deſt, apt to muſe a little, ſerious,
aking to the Purpoſe, and willing
her to hear; who is careleſs of his
it and Air; who penetrates into
Faults of others, and ſometimes
h a Sincerity a little too moroſe;
o never plays, or ſings, appears
ly in a Circle, if not invited;
o is a little troubleſome to his
ends; diſcreet; timorous thro'
deſty, not Want of Wit; who reads
Inſtruction, but never boaſts of
Reading; with this, tractable, and
plaiſant, rather thro' an Unwil-
gneſs to contradict, than an Ina-
y to reply.—Such a Man we may
oft venture to call a *Fool*.

The Picture of *a Man, whoſe Vir-
free from all Affectation, pleaſes
ſelf.*

uſebius is open, civil, complai-
ſant, and gay; he rallies, and di-
verts himſelf; if he attacks any one,
it is without Moroſeneſs; he every
Day tells himſelf, that He likewiſe
is a Man: He appears neither too
modeſt, nor too reſerved, tho' every
A one ſees he is both: He prays, and
examines himſelf in his Cloſet; but
Nobody knows it, Nobody hears
him. After privately cenſuring his
own Actions, he comes out prepared,
ſees the Irregularities of Men, and
bears with them: The Faults of
B thoſe, he converſes with, he reproves
with Mildneſs, not proudly ſaying to
himſelf, *I am exempt from them.* Vir-
tue he admires, without boaſting that
he has it; he ever diſtruſts his own
Prudence, becauſe he knows his own
Weakneſs; he chuſes rather to de-
C pend on the Virtues of another, be-
cauſe he judges charitably; he diſtin-
guiſhes himſelf, neither by his Ha-
bit, nor his Looks, his Manner of
Life, nor by a publick Devotion.
He is an honeſt Man: Every one
ſees, and muſt confeſs it; he alone
D neither ſays it, nor believes it with
Vanity.

Reflections on Government.

Reaſon is the Soul of Govern-
ment: And this ſame Reaſon, which
guides Men, or which they abuſe,
deſtroys Government, or changes it.
E It would be more fix'd, if we were
to govern Beaſts.

If all Men were Philoſophers, I
mean, if they all reaſon'd right, the
Great would be much embaraſſed to
govern the State. It is neceſſary for
the Sovereign, that the Maſon, the
F Shoemaker, the Soldier, and the La-
bourer, ſhould each have, in his
Head, a Doſe of Folly.

States have a Revolution, which
is not eaſily comprehended. They
ſeem to deſtroy themſelves by Ac-
cident, and without Deſign. But
G they proceed to it thro' a very com-
mon Road; Ambition.

The Uſurpations of Princes, the
Rights, which Some ſet up to the

Prejudice of Others, are the neceſſary Cauſes of the Fall of Worldly States. After all, the Victory of the Ambitious is but an happy Crime, which God makes uſe of to chaſtiſe the Faults of others.

To the Deputies *of the ſeveral Congregations of* Proteſtant Diſſenters *of the three Denominations, in and about the City of* London.

GENTLEMEN,

ONE great Debate among the Diſſenters at preſent is, whether the *Committee* of Gentlemen choſen in *Silver-Street* is now ſubſiſting? To determine this, it will be neceſſary to ſettle ſome Facts.

There were two Meetings in *Silver-Street* on the Queſtion, *When and in what Manner to apply for the Repeal of the Corporation and Teſt Acts.* At the firſt, a *Committee* was appointed to *Report their Opinion* to the next general Meeting. At the Second, they reported their Opinion, *That if an Application ſhould be made at this Time, it is not likely to be attended with Succeſs.* This Opinion was then diſagreed to; and after all the Gentlemen of the Committee, except three, had reſigned their Truſt, they were re-choſen by that Meeting, and four more Gentlemen being added to their Number, it was reſolved, that the Queſtion ſhould be re-committed; and whereas it appear'd that ſuch general Meetings were on many Accounts inconvenient, it was farther reſolv'd, *that an Inſtruction be given to the Committee to report their Opinion to two Deputies choſen out of every Congregation in* London *and ten Miles about it.* On Summons from Mr. *Holden* the Deputies met, received *the Report of the Committee,* and agreed to it.

From theſe Facts it appears that the Committee act only in Virtue of the Truſt repoſed in them by this ſecond Meeting. —— That they were choſen for a particular Purpoſe, and on a ſpecial Affair, and conſequently their Truſt ceas'd upon making their Report to the Deputies, and by all the Rules of Society can have no longer poſſible Subſiſtence. —— That the Choice of Deputies was not by Virtue of any Authority from the Gentlemen of the *Committee,* but by a general Vote of the Body. —— That therefore the *Committee* can have no Right to direct the Choice of new Deputies upon the Expiration of the Former; for as they received no ſuch Inſtructions from the Body in *Silver-Street,* ſo it could not poſſibly be any Part of their Truſt; and conſequently their interpoſing in the Choice or Summoning of new Deputies, is aſſuming a Power never given them by the general Body, inconſiſtent with the Rights of every particular Congregation, and is erecting themſelves into a Body ſuperior to, and independent of the Deputation, and is treating the whole Body of Diſſenters in the moſt imperious Manner.

The Right of chooſing Deputies is naturally inherent in every particular Congregation, and their Deputies being regularly choſen, any ſufficient Number of them have a natural Right to invite the reſt to a general Meeting, to conſider of the Reaſons and Deſign of their being choſen.

In Virtue of this Right a ſufficient Number of the preſent Deputies did deſire and procure by regular Summons a general Meeting, and form themſelves into a regular Body by the Choice of a Chairman, and by adjourning to another Time; the Attempt therefore of the Committee to procure an intervening Meeting of the Deputies is an Act of Violence, and is chargeable with all the Inconveniencies which may follow upon it. Had Sentiments of Union and Peace prevailed, had no Scheme of Power been in Purſuit, it is very unaccountable that the Committee ſhould [illegible]

ave waited a few Days for the Meet-
g of the Deputies at *Pinners Hall*
y their own Adjournment, when
y ſpecial Affairs might have been
ropoſed, debated and determined.
No.

The Power of the Committee muſt be eſtabliſhed AS A NECESSARY PRELI-
INARY. Tho' it is proper here to
bſerve, that they ſeem ſomewhat
uſpicious of their own Right to ſub-
ſt, ſince they have not been once
alled together on any Occaſion for
welve Months paſt till *Thurſday* laſt,
hen ſeventeen met, and ſeven of
hem declared their Opinion, that
*he Committee did not ſubſiſt, and could
o longer act in that Character*, and
our of the Seven, after having
ade their Proteſt, actually left them.
o little Candor, Gentlemen, doth
here appear upon the Face of the
Committee's Summons, that it was,
an. 31. 1733. UNANIMOUSLY
RESOLVED *at a Meeting of the Gen-
lemen of the Committee, that the De-
ties of the ſeveral Congregations of
he Proteſtant Diſſenters of the three
Denominations, be deſir'd to meet at*
alters Hall, *on* Wedneſday, *the 6th
inſtant.*

But did not the Deputies when
ey met at *Salters Hall*, to receive
he ſecond Report of the Committee,
efer the Affair of the Repeals to the
Care of the *Committee?* How does it
ppear that the Chairman regularly
ut this Queſtion, or that there was
y Vote of the Body upon it? Nor
o the Gentlemen of the *Committee*
aim under ſuch a Vote. Their
ummons run in a different Strain,
iz. *The Gentlemen of the Committee
oſen in* Silver-Street. But ſuppoſe
ch a Vote had paſſed, it only re-
r'd to the Queſtion about the Re-
eals re-committed to them: Whereas
he preſent Deputies are choſen *to
anage all the Civil Concerns relating
the Proteſtant Diſſenters.* 'Tis a
ew and extended Authority with
hich your Congregations have en-
truſted you, and which conſequently
you could not delegate. —— Or if
this Truſt had been committed to
you, it was impoſſible you could de-
legate it for a longer Time than that
for which you were choſen. When
that ended all Powers derived from
you muſt ceaſe alſo. The Claim
therefore of the Committee, how-
ever founded, ſubjects you to their
Pleaſure, on the Ruins of your
Rights, as the Regular Repreſenta-
tive Body of the *London* Diſſenters.

Should it be asked, may not the
preſent Deputies chooſe theſe Gen-
tlemen, and entruſt them with the
Management of their Civil Con-
cerns? It is anſwer'd: No. This
would be to make a new Repreſenta-
tive, and create another Body of Men,
whom your Congregations never de-
ſign'd, a Body of Men independent
of, and diſtinct from yourſelves. If
you can enlarge your Number, you
may alſo leſſen it, which would
ſubvert the very Deſign of your
Deputation. None but Deputies
can be regularly choſen your
Committee. The very Attempt of
the *Old Committee* to impoſe them-
ſelves upon you, is a Suggeſtion that
they are the only wiſe Men among
the Diſſenters, and that none of you,
Gentlemen, have Honeſty or Abilities
fit to be entruſted. Will you by
your Submiſſion to them give your
Congregations, and the whole World,
Reaſon to think the Suggeſtion true?

Well! but are not theſe Gentle-
men moſt regarded at —— and there-
fore moſt likely to do us Service?

It muſt be granted, that the
M——y have a commanding Intere-
reſt in ſome of them, and have evident-
ly made Uſe of it as they thought fit:
But what has been done for the Diſ-
ſenters by their Intereſt? If we may
form a Jugment of their Capacity,
diſintereſted Zeal, and Significance in
their Negotations for the Diſſenters,
from the Succeſs of the Repeals in *Ire-
land*; it won't be difficult to determine

what will be the Iſſue of their Conduct, with reſpect to ourſelves. The Appeal is made to Mr. *Holden* himſelf, whether that Affair is iſſued as he was made to believe? Has not Credulity to certain Promiſes, and a ready Submiſſion to certain Directions, been A ſhamefully diſappointed? Were not theſe Managers told, that the Repeal there ſhould be attempted at all Events, and have the whole Miniſterial Intereſt to ſupport it? Was it not ſaid, this ſhould be done for the Satisfaction of the Diſſenters in *England*, B and made a Teſt of future Favours to be granted them? Were not Aſſurances made that full and peremptory Inſtructions ſhould be given to the L. L——t, and that nothing ſhould prevent the Attempt, unleſs the Diſſenters in *Ireland*, in an C authentick Manner, ſhould deſire it to be laid aſide? Let the Event ſhew what Intereſt *thoſe Managers* have, and how well skill'd to conduct ſuch Affairs. Every one knows the Diſappointment, tho' all Accounts agree, Accounts which they themſelves allow to be genuine, and to be depended upon, that the Repeal might have been eaſily carried, had it not been affectedly delayed from Time to Time; had the Dependents on the —— been properly engag'd, had there been any full and peremptory E Office or written Inſtructions, or had it not been greatly diſcountenanced by a certain Secretary; and ——. Did not the Diſſenters in *Ireland*, brought on this Occaſion from all Parts of the Kingdom, ſtill inſiſt on the Attempt? Did they not fulfil all F their Engagements of getting ſixty or ſeventy independent Members to vote for it, and who conſented their Names ſhould be in a Liſt, and ſhown to ——? Was it ever known that a Queſtion thus ſupported was loſt, where it had the —— Intereſt? Let the whole Body of Diſſenters judge of theſe Mens Intereſt. This Defeat as well as the former one, muſt recommend them to your Vote, and engage your Submiſſion to their Claims beyond all Doubt, to be your future Committee, as it is a Demonſtration of what you may expect from their Management.

The Whole is ſubmitted to your ſerious Thoughts, that you may act as a free Body, ſupport your own Rights as the Repreſentatives of the Diſſenters, diſcountenance and defeat every unreaſonable Claim of Power, which muſt end in dividing and ruining the wiſeſt and beſt Scheme which ever obtained among the Diſſenters, the Choice of Deputies to manage their civil Concerns; a Deſign which would cultivate a ſteady Friendſhip in the whole Intereſt, collect its whole Strength on every proper Occaſion, make our Meaſures of Conduct concerted, ſecure our Intereſts from every Attempt to betray and give it up, make our Applications more regarded and ſignificant, and our Body thus united, more uſeful to the Government, and the Proteſtant Intereſt.

Feb. 6. 173[3].

AT a General Meeting this Day at *Salters-Hall*, of the Committee and Deputies of the ſeveral Congregations of Proteſtant Diſſenters, *Samuel Holden*, Eſq; their Chairman, made the following Speech.

Gentlemen,

I have, upon former Occaſions, recommended Unity and a good Agreement among ourſelves, as eſſential to the making us uſeful or ſignificant in the Eſteem of the Publick; or, to ſpeak plainly, to prevent us from falling into Contempt and Reproach. And whoever conſiders our preſent Temper, or the State of the Nation, will ſoon be ſenſible the ſame Advice was never more needful to be repeated.

When we parted laſt, it was with that mutual Satisfaction, as did not ſeem

n to forebode those Misunderstand-
s which have since arisen, either
o' the Weakness or Artifice of
ne on the one Hand, or the Mis-
duct of the Committee on the
er. Whether the Behaviour of
latter has given just Occasion for
em, you have now an Opportu-
y to enquire; and, if it be found
no Censure can be too severe;
otherwise, we desire it may rest
re, and the Means for remedying
great an Evil be only attended to.
The Committee have been repre-
ted as designing to perpetuate
emselves in Opposition to your
pinion, whether their subsisting
s for our common Interest, or not;
hich, were it true, they must sure
ve something very singular in their
ake, to be so tenacious of an Of-
e, attended with some Expence,
uch Trouble, and Ill-will. No,
was with a View to the Publick
general, and your Interest in par-
ular, that after many Instances they
cepted this Trust, have continued
it, and shall now be thankful to
discharged from it: But this was
Design so improbable, that to give
me Countenance to it, it was found
cessary to accuse them of intend-
g their own, and betraying your
terest, against which they can ap-
al to God and their own Consci-
ces; but as Appeals are of no avail
gainst Facts, they are here to justify
emselves, and to abide your Judg-
ent. Again, it has been said they
e Ministerial Men; which, if it has
y Meaning, must be, that they
ve neglected or betrayed your In-
terest, in Deference to Gentlemen in
ower; to which they answer, that
e small Acquaintance or Interest
ey have with such, has been im-
roved wholly for your Service.
ne Instance of which is, the Rev.
r. *Doddridge*, of *Northampton*, hav-
g wrote to another Gentleman and
yself, of his being under Prosecu-
n for Teaching Academical Learn-
ing, we made a Representation of that Affair, and put it into a Gentleman's Hands, who has so far succeeded, that a Prohibition is obtained to stop further Proceedings.

Let us now turn our Eyes to the Publick: None can be ignorant with what Art and Industry, Disaffection and Disloyalty to his Majesty and his Administration, have been propagated thro' the Kingdom, I fear with but too much Success, tho' never with less Cause; seeing we enjoy our Liberties, both Civil and Religious, in so full and ample a Manner, as neither this nor any other Nation ever knew: And, if we in particular have not all that we might justly expect, yet sure it ill becomes us to be unthankful to God or Man for the many Blessings we do enjoy, or to neglect the Securing them. Give me leave to call to mind some of the wholesome Severities practised on our Forefathers in former Reigns, when many fled their Native Country; the Prisons were filled with others, where Multitudes perished, and thousands of Families were brought to Distress and Ruin; and no longer than the late Queen's Reign, severe Laws were enacted, even by those very Persons who are now cajoling and flattering us into Distraction; but I hope in vain the Net is spread in the Sight of any Bird.

If, to the Disaffection spread abroad, we add the present State of *Popery* in the Kingdom, which not only swarms with Missionaries, but the *Papists* have moulded themselves into an Ecclesiastical Polity, and canton'd out the Nation, under the Direction of their Bishops and Vicar-Generals, well instructed in the Arts of Deceit of every Kind, and unwearied in working out our Ruin, and their own Establishment: And not without Success, if their own Boasts of numerous Conversions are to be credited.

These Things, duly weighed, will,

I doubt not, effectually perſuade the not only laying aſide our ill-grounded Miſunderſtandings; but alſo tend firmly to unite us in a ſteady Adherence to the true Intereſt of our King and Country, eſpecially in the enſuing Elections, to prevent our falling into thoſe Hands who are Enemies to both: Whereby it will appear to the whole Nation, that we have well deſerved what we have ſo long deſired, the Repeal of the Teſt and Corporation Acts (our Enemies themſelves being Judges) not only as unchriſtian Reſtraints on us, but alſo as an Infringement on the Common Rights of *Engliſhmen*; towards which we ſhall heartily concur, when the Attempt may be made, without an apparent Hazard of the Liberties of our Country, which ought, above all Things, to be dear to us.

After which, the Deputies unanimouſly returned Thanks to the Committee for their paſt Services, and ordered that the ſaid Committee doth ſubſiſt, and be deſired to continue for the enſuing Year; and ordered this Reſolution, and others which they then made, to be printed, and to be ſent to all the Deputies.

Univerſal Spectator, Feb. 9. N°. 279.

Of Good-Breeding.

THE Character of a *well-bred Man* cannot be drawn to Perfection by any but *Dramatick Writers*; becauſe they only have the Power of placing him to Advantage in particular Circumſtances and Relations.

Other Writers muſt be content with general Deſcriptions, it being as great a Difficulty to define Good-Breeding in the Abſtract, as Moral Virtue, which depends upon Circumſtances, and the Relations in which one Man ſtands to another; but like Virtue too, it conſiſts in a happy *Mediocrity* between two Extremes, of which *Bluntneſs* is the one and fawning *Servility* the other.

A *well-bred Man* hath in his Behaviour an equal Mixture of *Modeſty* and *Boldneſs*, of *Loquacity* and *Taciturnity*, of *Freedom* and *Reſerve*, of every other Quality, *that* Degree which is uſeful or commendable, but whoſe Extremes are either *criminal* or *ridiculous*. Such a Man is always *condeſcending*, without falling into the Meanneſs of *Adoration*: He is not backward in *profeſſing*, but more licitous in *doing* Acts of Beneficence. He is not ſcrupulous of owning the Regard for Merit, and of giving due *Praiſe*, for Fear of being thought a *Flatterer*; nor of expreſſing a just *Diſlike* of *Vice* however *dignify'd*, to avoid the Imputation of *Rigidneſs*. In ſhort, all his Actions flow from a *good Heart*, and are noble, generous, ſincere, uniform, and graceful.

If theſe Obſervations be true, *Good-Breeding* is a *Social Virtue*: It is *Benevolence* brought into Action with all the Advantages and Beauty of Proportion and Symmetry. *Complaiſance* is indeed its Reſemblance, but a Shadow is of a Subſtance; but *Complaiſance* is only the *Varniſh*, Good-Breeding is the *real Beauty* of the Soul, made viſible and ſet in the faireſt Point of Light. The only Difference therefore between the virtuous and the well bred Man is, that the latter ſeems to *act* his Part in Life with a ſuperior Grace.

Weekly Miſcellany, Feb. 9. N° 61.

Rules of Behaviour, of general Uſe tho' much diſregarded in this populous City.

1. TO be more ready to give the Wall, than to aſſert it; for Fear of a dirty Quarrel in a trifling Cauſe.

2. Not to walk Arm in Arm as if the Street were made for us only, as we had no Concern for any Body's Conveniency but our own.

3. When

When we meet a Friend we
d talk with, take him aſide,
the Paſſage may be unintere-
ed.

Not to walk the Streets with a
e or Stick under one's Arm,
ch may be very offenſive to the
s or Face of thoſe who follow us:
ractice no leſs frequent than in-
ſiderate, to ſay the beſt of it.

Not to uſe the ſauntering Gait
lazy *Spaniard* in this buſy Town
Trade and Hurry; for tho' we
be ſo idle or inſignificant as to
in no Haſte, yet Multitudes are
ell behind as before us.

To be cautious of Staring in
Faces of thoſe that paſs by us,
an Inquiſitor General; for an
r-bearing Look has the Air of a
y, and a prying one that of a
ley. If we do it by Miſtake for
iend, ask Pardon.

Paſſing in Haſte thro' a Crowd,
us make Way with our Elbows,
with our Hands; for laying hold
Perſons ſeems contemptuous, and
n gives Offence; and call not out
your Companion to take Care of
Pocket, for that is a random Im-
ation, and unmannerly Suſpicion
thoſe next you.

Not to faſten your Eyes upon
Perſon entring into a publick
om, for Fear (by ſuch a broad
e) of Shocking his Modeſty, and
mounting his Aſſurance; yet
s is the common Behaviour of the
rks of the Town, (out of an Air)
' they look for no particular
ſon.

At Eating-Houſes, *&c.* not to
officiouſly forward in our Diſ-
rſe or Ceremonies to Strangers,
o perhaps deſire to be unobſerv'd,
incog.

Not to affect a Diſregard of
Perſon, tho' never ſo mean, by
iſtling or humming a Tune, as
no Body were preſent; the Dig-
y of human Nature, in any Cir-
mſtance, is conſiderable.

11. Never to force *French* Complaiſance upon mere *Engliſh* Men; but conſider that making People eaſy is the End of Good-Breeding.

12. In a Coffee-houſe, never to uſe that unjuſt and provoking Practice of keeping more Papers than one in Hand; for that is an arrogant Encroachment upon the common Right of all the Company.

13. In a Pew at Church to go to the further End, and not choak up the Entrance, but leave it obvious to ſuch *Chriſtian* Brethren as would be glad of the ſame Eaſe and Accommodation with ourſelves.

To conclude,

Quod tibi fieri non vis, alteri ne feceris.

Weekly Regiſter, Feb. 9. N° 205.

Continuation of the Review of the publick Buildings, &c. (See p. 29.)

DOCTOR *Buſby*'s Tomb is in a good Taſte, and well executed; the Figure is bold and free; in a proper Action, and very expreſſive of the Character it repreſents: But that of Dr. *South*'s is altogether as bad.

Of each Side of the collateral Iſles of the Choir, are three diſtinct Spaces, which, if I miſtake not, were formerly us'd as Chapels, and conſecrated to particular Saints, but now are only Repoſitories of the Dead.

In the firſt of theſe, on the right Hand, you have a Sample of the antient *Gothique* Magnificence, *viz.* a Monument which ſpreads over a vaſt Extent of Space, contains a prodigious Quantity of the fineſt Marble, is adorn'd with a vaſt Variety of Decorations, dazzles your Eyes with a Profuſion of Gildings, is animated with abundance of Inſcriptions, and yet, upon the Whole, appears an inſignificant Heap, without Form, or Order, Beauty, or Underſtanding.

One

One Abſurdity common to all the Tombs in this Stile, is, the graving their Inſcriptions in ſo ſmall a Character, and placing them at ſuch a Diſtance from the Eye, that they were ever as ineffectual, as if Time had effac'd them from the very firſt.

In the laſt of the Chapels on the right Hand, is a ſingle Statue in Honour of one of the *Holleſes*; which expreſſes more juvenile Sweetneſs, and Beauty, than any Thing I ever ſaw of the Kind in my Life: If this Figure has any Fault, 'tis in its being in a languid ſedentary Poſture, tho' clad in Armour, and deſcrib'd as a Hero in his Bloom.

Oppoſite to the Door of this Chapel, is a brazen Buſt of Sir *Robert Stapleton*, an Author of ſome Repute in the Time of K. *Charles* I. which has ſomething in it very lively, and pleaſing; tho' a judicious Eye will eaſily find it incorrect.

Much in the ſame Situation, in the other Iſle, is a Bas Relief, in Honour of one of the *La Tours*, a Family from *France*, which has a Degree of Delicacy, both in the Tale and Expreſſion, which is very entertaining: 'Tis a Mother lamenting over her dead, or dying Daughter; and the Artiſt has been very happy in the Execution.

On the other Side of the ſame Iſle, a little lower down, is another Piece of the ſame Nature with this. The Story is, a Lady dying, and her Husband, and ſeveral Children weeping round her: I can't ſay that the Scene is not well enough diſpos'd, and the Paſſions naturally and properly expreſs'd; but ſtill I think ſuch little Tablatures, as theſe, are fitter for a Medal than a Monument.

I muſt now go back again to the firſt Chapel on the right Hand, coming down the Iſle, where we ſhall ſee, at the Entrance, a Figure leaning on a Mattreſs, which is admirably well executed, but in the worſt Stile almoſt of any Thing in the *Abbey:* In a Word, 'tis an exact Copy of the Dreſs, and Character of the Times, at the Beginning of the Reign of K. *Charles* I. The ſprucing Hair, curl'd Whiskers, pointed Beard, ſtarch'd Ruff, formal Cloak, and long Buttons, are as carefully preſerved as if they were a fit Standard of Beauty for all future Ages.

Juſt oppoſite to the Entrance, is a Statue that is diſpos'd with the most Eaſe and Freedom of any Thing I ever ſaw, and indeed has no other Beauty to recommend it. I don't recollect any Thing elſe remarkable in either of theſe Chapels to take further Notice of; for tho' they are crowded with Monuments, they are all ſo execrably ill, as to be even beneath Cenſure.

Some would perhaps take it ill, if in this Place, I ſhould not ſay ſomething in Honour of the fine Wax-Work-Figures which are plac'd curiouſly, up and down this venerable Building; particularly the K. *William* and Q. *Mary*, which have been lately ſo amicably ſhut up together in the ſame Box. To oblige them therefore, and in Compliment to the Rev. *Dean* and *Chapter*, who permit theſe noble Decorations, I will give my Opinion of them: In the firſt Place, with all Submiſſion to better Judgments, I think they are ridiculous, and unnatural in themſelves; expreſſing neither Figure like Statuary, nor Colour like Painting. Secondly, I am of Opinion that they would become a Puppet-Shew better than a Church, as making a mere Farce of what ſhould be great and ſolemn: And thirdly, I think them highly injurious to the Characters they repreſent, as ſhewing them like jointed Babies, to the ſtupid Admiration of the Vulgar, and the Contempt of Men of Senſe; inſtead of characterizing their Perſons, and perpetuating their Virtues.

London

London Journal, Feb. 9. N° 763.

borne *making ſome Reflections on a late* Craftſman, (See p. 34.) *concerning an* Army *and* corrupt Parliaments; *ſays:*

T hath been carried to Demonſtration, by Speeches in the ouſe, and by Papers and Pamphs out of the Houſe, that our *Seity* demands a *regular Body* of oops; that ſome Army is abſolute- neceſſary, conſidering the *armed te* of all the World around us, *the rcumſtances* of Affairs Abroad, and own *fatal Diviſions* at Home. he Army we have at preſent, is an my raiſed by the *Legiſlature*, (the *Conſtitution* we know) to defend rſelves againſt any unforeſeen Acents, or ſudden Attacks. It is an Army raiſed as King *James*'s s, by his own *ſole Will* and *Plea-*, without the Conſent of the *Le-lature*, againſt the *Conſtitution*; *Officer'd* too by Gentlemen *diſlified* by Law.

The next Thing the *Craftſman* rs is *a corrupt* Parliament. To ich we anſwer: That Parliaments e not, for ſeveral Years paſt, given *any Signs* of Corruption, by com- into Meaſures againſt *Liberty* or *Conſtitution*; and therefore, we ght not to *ſuppoſe* them corrupt, ch leſs *affirm* it. It muſt be a very *rupt Minority* indeed that calls out *a rupt Majority*, when there are *no* s made, nor *publick Actions* done, what appear to be calculated for *blick Good*: A *corrupt Minority*, I ; for Perſons may be corrupted a uſand Ways, beſides Places and ſions. The very Want of Places, the Want of Penſions, may ow ſuch a *ſtrong Biaſs* upon the nd, as to make them ſee every ing *wrong* that is done by thoſe o enjoy them. *Jealouſy* is ſtubn and incurable; *poſſible Accidents* ever before People, when they are out *of Power*, and out of *Humour*; but, after all, we muſt truſt *England* to a *Houſe of Commons*, that is, *to itſelf*: And when the fatal Time comes, that *this Nation* grows weary of Liberty, and hath neither the *Wiſdom*, the *Virtue*, nor the *Courage* to preſerve its Conſtitution, it will deliver all up, tho' all the Laws poſſible and all the Bars imaginable be put in the Way. All the *Laws* in the World ſignify nothing againſt *Corruption*, without *Frugality* and *Induſtry*. And I'm afraid, that the *late Act* againſt Bribery and Corruption, will be ſo far from having the good Effects propoſed, that 'twill only be a Means of making Men more corrupt, by *weakening*, if not *deſtroying*, the laſt and great Support of Virtue, *Reverence for Deity*; which nothing tends ſo effectually to deſtroy, as *the Frequency of Oaths* in Caſes where Men's *own Intereſt* is concerned. For which Reaſon, I wiſh, that all the *Aſſertory* Oaths, and *all Oaths*, but what relate to *Evidence* between Man and Man, where the Swearer is no Ways intereſted, were abſolutely aboliſhed by Law.

Craftſman, Feb. 9. N° 397.

As a farther Anſwer to the Letter to the *Craftſmen*, *Mr.* D'Anvers *refers us to another* Piece, *lately publiſh'd, in which the Author undertakes to* ſtate the Politicks on both Sides from their own Writings, and to examine them by the Courſe of Events; (See p. 57.) *and gives us the following Remarks from that* Piece.

THE precedent Tranſactions are ſufficient to teach us how neceſſary it is for *Miniſters and Governors of Kingdoms*, which have any *main Intereſt* at Stake, or any *great Point* at Heart, to keep it conſtantly in View, aud to purſue it with inflexible Reſolution. By theſe Means, we ſee, the Court of *Spain* hath at

K length.

length effectuated the Succeſſion of *Don Carlos* to the *Tuſcan Dominions* thro' infinite Obſtacles; and, if we may believe the *miniſterial Writers*, againſt the Intereſts and Inclinations of all the Powers in *Europe*. By the ſame Means, his *Imperial Majeſty* hath, in a Manner, extorted our *Guaranty of the Pragmatick Sanction*, which his *late* and his *preſent Majeſty* thought fit to refuſe ſo long. I ſincerely wiſh that I had any Opportunity of congratulating my own Country on the ſame happy Iſſue of our Negotiations, with reſpect to thoſe *eſſential Points*, about which we have been contending for ſo many Years, and at ſo much Expence; but tho' the ſame Aſſiduity hath, no Doubt, been employed, and the ſame conſtant, invariable Regard hath been paid to *our Intereſts*, it does not yet appear that they have been crown'd with the ſame Succeſs. It is true, indeed, that his *Imperial Majeſty* hath at length conſented to aboliſh the *Oſtend Company*, and all Trade to the *Eaſt-Indies*, from the *Auſtrian Netherlands*; but this hath been confeſs'd, on *both Sides*, to be the *leaſt material Article*, with Regard to *Us*; and every Body knows that it might have been effectually ſuppreſs'd at firſt for a Trifle not worth mentioning, in Compariſon to thoſe immenſe Sums, which it hath ſince coſt us. Beſides, the Buſtle we have made about *this Trade* hath ſet almoſt every Nation upon Schemes of the *ſame Kind*; and even the *Emperor* himſelf is now purſuing a Plan for carrying it on in ſome other Part of the World, not prohibited by *Treaty*.— Our *principal Points* therefore are the undiſturb'd Poſſeſſion of *Gibraltar* and the Iſland of *Minorca*, the Freedom of *Commerce*, and Reparation to our *plunder'd Merchants*. As to the *firſt*, I cannot poſſibly conceive how *our Right to the Poſſeſſion of theſe Places* can be ſaid to be effectually aſcertain'd and ſecur'd, when the very *Treaty*, upon which the *Spaniards* ground their *Pretenſions* to them, is recall'd and confirm'd in all the *ſubſequent Treaties*, by which we are told they have renounc'd *thoſe Pretenſions*; eſpecially, when it is farther conſidered that they have conſtantly refuſed to renounce them *ſpecifically*, and have even given us the moſt ocular Demonſtration of their Intentions, by erecting *Forts* and other *military Works* to annoy our Garriſon, as well as our Ships in the Bay. The *Freedom of Commerce* and *Reparation to our Merchants* are ſo cloſely interwoven together, that they may be properly conſider'd under *one Head*; and what hath been done upon this? While the Time limited by the Treaty of *Seville*, for the Examination and Deciſion of *that Affair*, expired without any Thing being ſettled. Another Term of *Three Years* was then agreed upon; above *one Year* of which is already lapſed, and I do not hear that the *Merchants* have yet received any Satisfaction. But as the Commiſſaries, on our Part, are now returned, and the *Parliament* is upon the Point of meeting, we ſhall ſoon know what they have done; and I heartily wiſh that a *certain Gentleman*'s Prediction in the *Houſe of Commons*, when the Treaty of *Seville* came firſt under Deliberation there, may not be verify'd; *viz.* that the *Execution of* this Commiſſion would *coſt the Nation more than the Merchants would ever get by it*.— therefore we have not effectually inſiſted on either of theſe *great Points*, whilſt the *deareſt Intereſt* of *Spain* remain'd in Suſpence, and muſt have remain'd ſo without our Aſſiſtance; how can we expect to obtain them when we have given *that Pledge* out of our own Hands, and *Spain* is no longer in Need of us?

But it will be ſaid, perhaps, (for it hath been ſaid in Effect already) that we could not purchaſe *Peace* at too dear a Rate, as our Circum-

then ſtood; and that we had bet-
yield to any Terms than plunge
Nation into a *War*. If this was
Caſe, I ſhould be glad to know
the ſame Conſiderations did not
ail long before; for if we had
ertaken to effectuate the Intro-
tion of *Don Carlos* with *Spaniſh*
riſons into *Italy*, at the Congreſs
Cambray, inſtead of oppoſing it
ſo much Vigour, the Court of
n would have had no Occaſion
hrow themſelves into the Arms
e *Emperor*; and if we had been
y enough, at the ſame Time,
iſcover that *the Guaranty of the*
matick Sanction was only a Bug-
, that frighten'd us without any
ſon, there is no Room to ſuppoſe
the *Emperor* would not have com-
d with the Demands of the *Spani-*
, upon *that Condition*, as readily as
ath done ſince. In this Caſe, I ſay,
t Britain would not only have ſav-
ninfinite Expence in ſending out
any *naval Armaments* to all Parts
e World, keeping up *foreign*
ies, and paying *foreign Subſidies*,
all their *neceſſary Concomitants at*
; but might likewiſe have carried
er *Commerce* without Interrup-
, or ſuch a continued Series of
edations, as our *Merchants* have
'd for many Years paſt. Nay,
ur *Miniſters* had happened to
all theſe wiſe Diſcoveries at the
greſs of *Soiſſons*, or even when
Treaty of *Seville* was in Agita-
we might have avoided ſome
of theſe Expences and Calamities.
t our greateſt Misfortune is, that
very *Meaſures* we choſe to take,
btaining a *laſting Peace*, are like-
o involve us in a *general War*;
what is ſtill worſe, after we have
ſo many *Millions of Money*, ſuf-
ſo many grievous Loſſes in our
, and made ſuch *large Conceſſi-*
in order to avoid it. This is
the *Country Party* have long
oretold, and I am heartily ſorry
d their Predictions ſo nearly ac-
compliſh'd; for it appears very plain-
ly, from the foregoing Deduction, to what Cauſes the preſent Commotions in *Europe* are really owing: I mean to the Treaty of *Seville*, which opened a Way for the *Spaniards* into *Italy*, and to the laſt Treaty of *Vienna*, which compleated the Union between *France* and *Spain*, as the *other* laid a Foundation for it, by ſeparating *Spain* from the *Emperor*.

How ridiculous therefore is it to argue, as *ſome Men* do, that the preſent War in *Europe* was occaſioned meerly by the accidental Death of the late King of *Poland*, which *no human Wiſdom could foreſee?* It may be ſaid, indeed, that the Demiſe of *that Prince* was the immediate Occaſion of the Flame's burſting out; but the combuſtible Matter was laid long before, and the leaſt Spark was ſufficient to ſet Fire to the Train. The Vacancy of the Throne of *Poland* happened to come firſt in the Way; but any other Accident in *Europe* would have had juſt the ſame Effect. Beſides, we ought, at leaſt, to have been ſecured againſt ſuch a *Contingency* as the Death of King *Auguſtus*, which could not be very far off, according to the ordinary Courſe of Nature. But *Contingencies* are Things, which *ſome Men* ſeem intirely to neglect. They conſider only the *preſent Time*; and if they can but make a Shift to put off the Evil *for a Day*, they ſeldom *take any Thought for the Morrow*.

But it may be ſaid again, of what Uſe is it, at preſent, to tell us that *one Set of Gentlemen* had more Sagacity and Foreſight than *another?* The *Events* of our late Tranſactions are now viſible to every Body; the Nation is in Danger; and *what is to be done?* This, indeed, is a proper Queſtion; but the Anſwer is not ſo eaſy. Things ſeem to be brought to ſuch a Paſs, that I wiſh it may not puzzle the ableſt Heads in *Eng-*

land to extricate us with Honour out of that Labyrinth of *Engagements*, in which we are unhappily involved.

We find ourſelves obliged, by ſeveral *Treaties*, to aſſiſt the *Emperor*, if he ſhould be attack'd; and it is ſaid that we have been already call'd upon to perform *theſe Engagements*.

By the Treaty of *Seville*, we are ty'd down, in the ſtrongeſt Manner, to ſecure *Don Carlos* in the Poſſeſſion of his *Italian Dominions for ever, againſt* all Events. His *Catholick Majeſty* alludes very plainly to *this Engagement* in his late complaiſant Memorial to the King of *Great Britain:* Where he acknowledges the *generous Part*, which his Majeſty hath acted, with Regard to *Don Carlos*.

And if it ſhould be true, as a Rumour flies about, that the Plan of Operations, which the *French* are now purſuing in *Italy*, was firſt chalk'd out by *us*, in Caſe the *Emperor* ſhould not make good his Engagements to *Spain*; what Part can we poſſibly take in *theſe Diſputes*, without wounding our Honour, or betraying our Intereſt?

If it ſhould be likewiſe true, as I have heard it whiſper'd, that we promis'd *France* our Aſſiſtance, about *four Years ago*, to reſtore King *Staniſlaus* to the Throne of *Poland*, whenever *Auguſtus* ſhould die, and that our *Miniſter* was even ordered to co-operate with the *French Miniſter* for that Purpoſe; if this, I ſay, is true, and we ſhould have ſince given the *Emperor* any Encouragement to oppoſe the Election of *that Prince*, how are we to act upon the preſent Occaſion?

In ſhort, which ever Way we turn ourſelves, or whatever Side we take, if we take any, we ſhall not only involve ourſelves in a dangerous and expenſive War, but likewiſe incur the Reproach and Reſentment of *one Side*, or the *other*; ſince *both* of them think themſelves intitled to our Aſſiſtance.

If, to avoid theſe Difficulties, we chuſe a State of *abſolute Neutrality*, and leave the *oppoſite Powers* to diſpute their own Quarrel among themſelves, the Conſequence may be fatal to *Europe*, and at length involve *us* in the common Calamity.

The Queſtion therefore recurs, *What is to be done?*—— *Or is any Thing to be done?*—— Ought we to involve ourſelves in a *War*, in which we have *no particular Intereſt* concerned?— Or ſhall we ſit down in Quiet, and run the Hazard of ſeeing *Europe* become a Prey to the Arms of the *Conqueror?*—— For my Part, I cannot pretend to anſwer theſe Queſtions; and the preſent Situation of Affairs is ſurrounded with ſo many Difficulties on every Side, that I believe the wiſeſt Man in *England*, as I ſaid before, would be at a Loſs to judge what is moſt expedient in *ſuch a Criſis*. But one Thing ſeems to be very obvious; that *thoſe Perſons*, who have intangled us in the *preſent Difficulties*, are the moſt unlikely to work us out of them again; for how can *they* ſpeak to *foreign Courts* with that *Dignity* and *Authority*, which are neceſſary upon ſuch an Occaſion, when they have already dealt with every one of them, and diſoblig'd them all in their Turns?

I ſhould not have made even theſe ſhort Remarks, had I not accidentally met with a * *Pamphlet* juſt publiſhed; in which the *Author* diſcovers all the Marks of *Timidity* under the Diſguiſe of *bluſtering Language*, and exhibits to us the ridiculous Image of *natural Inſolence* ſtruggling with *Conſciouſneſs of Guilt.*

Fog's Journal, Feb. 9. N° 275.

Continuation of the former. (*See p.* 57

THE Matter this Writer (viz. the Author of *Politicks*

* *A Letter to the* Craftſman, printed for *J. Roberts*

h Sides, &c.) lays the greateſt reſs upon, is, that the Conſequences certain Meaſures were plainly inted out, and foretold at the Time ey were firſt entered upon, by the rſons in the Oppoſition; while rtain great Men, with their Adhe- nts, aſſured the Nation they would ve quite contrary Effects; ſo that e former had not only the Advan- ge in Point of Argument, but they ve been juſtified ſince by the E- nts.

In the firſt Place, I muſt tell this entleman, (ſays *Fog*) that I cannot ow that he had the better of the rgument. There are two Ways of ding out the Truth of Things, eing and feeling: A wiſe Man ſaid ng ago *ſeeing is believing, but feel- g is the Truth.* Obſerve that; feel- g is the Truth, ay, the whole ruth, and therefore the Side which m'd their Judgment of theſe hings upon feeling the Merits of e Cauſe, that is, touching, or be- g touch'd, went upon more infalli- e Grounds, than thoſe, who gave eir Opinions, by ſeeing, (that is, dging) therefore, unleſs this Gen- man can prove, that he and his iends were *obſequious to the Touch*, d found it out that Way, I would t give a Pin for his Triumph.

Next, as to his boaſting that they ve been ſince fully juſtified by the vents; I look upon that to be as eak as the other. What can he an by their being juſtified by the vents? Has not a Miniſterial Writer d theſe Gentlemen already, that a dgment by Events, is not the Judg- nt of Reaſon? My Memory fails ſtrangely, if he has not; ay, and Reverend Writer too, who him- f is ſuppoſed not to be inſenſible of *Touch*. But allowing, that all Events have fallen out exactly as y had foretold, perhaps it may be more than good Luck at gueſſing, d good Luck happens to Fools as en as to wiſe Men, of which I could produce Inſtances, but that I am reſolv'd to give no Offence; or it might proceed from ſomething worſe, as a Familiarity with Demons and evil Spirits. If the Perſons, whom this Author juſtifies for their Oppoſitions have ſold themſelves to the Devil, in order to know the Events of Things, is it expected that the great Men on the other Side muſt alſo ſell themſelves to the Devil, to appear as wiſe as they? no, it is a Matter that ought to recommend them to all good Chriſtians, that their Enemies in all their Malice have not been able to ſay there is one Conjurer amongſt them.

But to come nearer to our Point. We have already anſwer'd all the Objections made by this Writer to the Treaty of *Hanover*, (See p. 58.) and if it would not look a little vain, I might ſay, that I have been told by Perſons of very good Underſtanding, that Nobody has yet defended that Treaty better. We have alſo made Remarks on what he has urged againſt our ſeveral Naval Expeditions; but we muſt not ſtop here, I think it neceſſary to call him a little to an Account for his Flings at Sir *Charles Wager*, for ſuffering Supplies to paſs by Sea, for the Uſe of the *Spaniards* before *Gibraltar*. What did that ſignify, if we knew all the While the Town was impregnable? And ſince this Author has put the Gentlemen on the other Side, in Mind of the Events of Things, his own Argument may juſtly be turn'd upon him, and he may be told, that Sir *Charles*'s Conduct is ſufficiently juſtified by the Event, for the Town was not taken.

As to our Allies not ſtirring a Man to our Aſſiſtance, when we were ſo attack'd by the *Spaniards*, I underſtand that as a high Compliment to us. Our great King *Edward* the Third, if I am not out in my Hiſtory, being in a Battle, wherein his Son the black Prince, who command-

ed

ed a Wing of the Army, ſeem'd to to be in ſome Diſtreſs, thoſe, who were about the King, deſired him to go with a Body of Men to the Aſſiſtance of his Son; but the King refuſed, ſaying, if I move to my Son's Aſſiſtance, the World will attribute the Victory to me, and I will not ſnatch that Honour out of his Hands which is his Due; and why might not this Conduct of our Allies be owing to a nice and tender Regard to our Honour? for had they moved in our Defence, the World, perhaps, would have given to them the Glory of having defended us, whereas now 'tis all our own.

As to our not bombarding any of their Ports, or ravaging their Coaſts, a very good Reaſon may be given for it; the Conſumption of the Ammunition, and all Kinds of military Stores, which muſt have been uſed upon ſuch Occaſions, muſt have put the Nation to great Expence, and we know very well how apt this Gentleman and his Friends are to cry out at any unneceſſary Expence, which is brought upon the Publick; and if Things were ſo prudently managed, that all the Powder, except what was uſed in Salutes or Signals, as well as the Ball, Bombs, Grenades, *&c.* which were carried out by our Men of War, were fairly returned again to the Stores, methinks ſo great a Saving to the Publick ſhould rather have merited this Gentleman's Thanks than his Cenſure.

As to the Capture of our Ships, and the Mortality among the Sailors in the *Weſt Indies*, I have anſwer'd it already in my Former, (See p. 59.) to which I ſhall only add, that if we loſt our Men, we ſaved our Powder.

As to the preliminary Articles for a general Pacification, tho' the dark and ambiguous Manner of wording them might occaſion Cavils and Diſputes, yet if we enjoy'd Peace during thoſe Cavils and Diſputes, we were happy; for we have been often told of late Years, that any Thing is to be endured rather than go to War. And tho' the Expreſſion in one of the Articles, of *Things alter'd* and not *executed*, may ſeem a little to threaten the Loſs of *Gibraltar*, yet that Fear is removed by what follows ſoon after; for there it is to be referr'd to a Congreſs, which, as I take it, makes it all ſafe again, becauſe we are always ſure of getting the better in a Congreſs, by the ſuperiour Skill and Addreſs of our Plenipotentiaries; for we have the Happineſs of ſeeing our Great M——r at home always make Choice of Perſons even as knowing as himſelf, to negotiate for us abroad.

Our Author next ſeems to make a Jeſt of the Triumph of the Miniſterial Writers, who about this Time brag'd that nothing but the Form of a Congreſs was wanting to make this a laſting Peace; but I ſee no Reaſon why they might not make Uſe of the Term laſting; a Peace that continues a Year, or even half a Year, I think, is a laſting Peace; and they were not obliged to tell how long it would laſt.

He comes next to the Congreſs of *Soiſſons*, where, after all the Boaſting of the Miniſterial Writers, not one material Point was ſettled, but the Plenipotentiaries ſpent about ſeven or eight Months in Ceremonies and Diverſions, and then parted. —— But why ſhould not the Plenipotentiaries divert themſelves? They had Allowances to enable them to do ſo, and therefore this is mere cavilling at the Congreſs.

I muſt paſs over ſome of the Meaſures leading to the Treaty of *Seville*, and particularly the glorious Expedition to *Spithead*, which not only produced this Treaty, and preſerv'd the Iſland of *Jamaica*, and maintain'd our Sovereignty over the Ocean, but alſo gave ſuch Pleaſure to our People at Home, by the fine Shew they made, and afforded the

Officers

fficers an Opportunity of ſhewing
eir Gallantry to the Ladies, by
tertaining them with Balls on board
eir Ships, that I could dwell a
onth upon it; for of all Expediti-
s it is my Favourite.

I don't doubt but what he ſays of A
e Treaty of *Seville*, is in order to
ake the World believe, that Giddi-
ſs and Inconſiſtency make up the
haracter of our wiſe and ſteady Mi-
ſters; but alas how eaſy it is to re-
ncile all to Reaſon, if Men would
t hear impartially! For Example,
is aſſerted to Day, that the intro-
cing *Don Carlos* into *Italy* may
ove dangerous to the Liberties of
rope, and therefore it is to be op-
s'd: It is maintain'd that the Prag-
atick Sanction is a dangerous Settle-
ent to the Peace of *Europe*, and
at it would be wrong to accede to
—a Year or two hence *Don Car-*
is introduc'd into *Italy* by the
e Perſons, and the Pragmatick
nction is acceded to, and they
both proved as clear as the Sun at
oon-Day, to be the wiſeſt Meaſures
ſettling a laſting Tranquillity.
hus, as the Art of Phyſick changes
e rankeſt Poiſon into wholeſom Me-
cines, the Art of Politicks turns
e moſt pernicious Things to be the
eateſt national Benefits; but I con-
s this may be a Stroke a little above
e Comprehenſion of our Author,
d his Friends, and he cannot ſpeak
it without Envy, becauſe he is
nſcious they were never able to
in ſuch a Manner; and if they
d, I would defy him to find Writ-
with Courage enough to juſtify

Weekly Regiſter, Feb. 16. N° 206.

ntinuation of the Former. (*See p.* 67.)

THE Incloſure behind the Altar, G
commonly known by the
me of St. *Edward*'s Chapel, has
thing remarkable in it but certain
bique Antiquities, which are made
ſacred by Tradition only, and ſerve to excite a ſtupid Admiration in the Vulgar.

There is indeed, at the End of this Place, a Sort of Gate to the Tomb of *Henry* V. which was intended for a Piece of Magnificence, and no Coſt was ſpared to make it anſwer that Deſign; but the Taſte of it is ſo unhappy, and the Execution ſo wretched, that it has not the leaſt Claim to that Character.

One Thing, 'tis true, we meet B with in this Place, which merits a peculiar Regard; that is, a wooden Cheſt of the Bones ſaid to be the Remains of *Catherine*, Daughter of the King of *France*, and Conſort of *Henry* V. If this Account is authentick, I think nothing can be a greater C Violation of Decency, or more injurious to the Memory of ſuch illuſtrious Perſonages, than to expoſe their Reliques in ſo licentious a Manner, and make a Shew of what once commanded Reſpect, and Adoration. There is ſomething extremely ſhocking in this Violence to the Secrets D of Mortality: The *Antients* had even a ſuperſtitious Regard for the Duſt of their Anceſtors; and ſurely we are under ſome Obligation to treat ours with Good Manners.

The Arch at the Entrance of *Hen-* E *ry* VIIth's Chapel, is exceeding grand and ornamental: The Steps underneath are a fine Preparation for the Scene at Landing, and the three Doors an admirable Expedient to favour the Perſpective within: But this, and ſeveral other Beauties are F utterly ſpoil'd by the Stalls which cut off the collateral Iſles of the Chapel intirely, and thereby ſpoil the Beauty and Symmetry of the Whole.

The Roof of this Structure is certainly one of the fineſt Things in the World, I mean in the *Gothique* Stile: Nothing can be in a better Form, or more richly decorated: Perhaps had it been more ſimple it had ſhew'd to greater Advantage; but

but ſtill 'tis a Wonder that one continued Cluſter of Ornament could be contriv'd to pleaſe ſo much, and anſwer ſo well.

There are few Tombs in *Europe* more famous than that of *Henry* VII. The Undertaking in itſelf was vaſt and ſurprizing, the Coſt prodigious, and the Execution exceedingly difficult and laborious; and yet the Artiſt has ſucceeded in it to Admiration. The Statues of the King and Queen are grand and noble, and the Baſs Reliefs on the Sides below beautiful and expreſſive. I am of Opinion the Workman, whoever he was, was equal to the nobleſt Scheme of this Nature, and would have made a Figure even amongſt the *Antients*. What a Pity is it therefore that ſuch a Genius and ſo much Art ſhould be laviſh'd away on a Thing intirely out of Taſte! Nothing can be more ſtupid than the laying Statues on their Backs, in ſuch a Situation that 'tis impoſſible they ſhould ever be ſeen to Advantage. The brazen Incloſure which ſurrounds this Tomb, wonderful as it may be, conſider'd by itſelf, is a monſtrous Blemiſh with Regard to the Thing it was intended to preſerve and adorn; becauſe it riſes abundantly too high, and intercepts the View intirely from the principal Objects.

Yet, erroneous as the Taſte of this fine Monument may be, it may be called excellent to that which prevail'd ſeveral Years after in the Reign of King *James* I. as may be ſeen by thoſe wretched Things which were erected at his Command, to the Memory of Q. *Elizabeth*, and his Mother *Mary* Q. of *Scotland*: In theſe all the Blunders that can be imagin'd are collected together.

But theſe ſeem to be again reformed in Part, in the Reign of his Son, as appears by the Monuments of the Dukes of *Richmond* and *Buckingham*: In theſe are ſeveral fine Figures in Braſs, and ſomething like Meaning, and Deſign; tho' even then they had not learn'd to diſtinguiſh the principal Characters, and place them in ſuch Attitudes, as ſhould command the Spectator's firſt and laſt Attention, and Regard.

Both theſe Faults are avoided by *Rysbrack*, in the Monument of the late Duke of *Buckingham*: There the Duke himſelf is the principal Figure in the Groupe, and tho' he is in a cumbent Poſture, and his Lady, in the moſt beautiful Manner, ſitting at his Feet, yet her Figure is characteriſed in ſuch a Manner, as only to be a Guide to his, and both reflect back a Beauty on each other. The Decorations are exceedingly pictureſque and elegant: The Trophy at the Head; the Figure of Time above with the Medals of his Children, filling up all the Spaces with great Propriety. In a Word, I have yet ſeen no Ornament, that has pleas'd me better, and very few ſo well.

London Journal, Feb. 16. N° 764.

OSBORNE, in this Paper makes ſome Remarks on the *Politicks on both Sides*. (See p. 60.) The Gentlemen in the *Oppoſition*, ſays he, are guilty of a notorious Piece of Injuſtice to the *Miniſtry* by aſſerting, that the '*preſent War* 'is *cauſed by the Treaties of* Seville 'and Vienna.' No: Theſe *Treaties* are not *the Cauſe*: But whatever *the true Cauſe* (which we won't now enquire into) the *Occaſion* is certainly *the Death* of one Prince, and the *ſurpriſing Conduct* of another; until *the firſt* had happened, there could not have been *a Pretence* of going to War; (for the *French* lay it wholly *on the Oppoſition* about *Poland*;) nor without the other, had it been poſſible to begin the War in the *Milaneſe*. And yet, I believe, no Man is hardy enough to affirm, that the Conduct of the King of *Sardinia* is owing to the *Treaties* of *Seville* and *Vienna*.

The Gentleman who wrote

Letter to the Craftſmen, hath very
liciouſly expoſed their Way of
riting, and ſhewn, that 'tis held
a Maxim inviolable with them,
to oppoſe what the Miniſtry do:
here have appeared, indeed, *two*
aftſmen in Anſwer to it; the firſt
made up of *Puerile* Witticiſms,
h as *Horatian Salt*, *Sauce de Ro-*
t, *Robertſmen*, and *Craftſmen*, *&c.*
e p. 69.) And the *laſt* is an Ab-
ct of *the Politicks on both Sides*,
ich hath not the *leaſt Relation* to
Thing ſaid in the Pamphlet to
ich it pretends to be an Anſwer.
e p. 53.)

Upon the Whole, not the *Treaties*,
other Things (not yet, perhaps,
er to mention) are the *Cauſe* of
preſent War; concerning which
have no Reaſon to doubt but the
vernment will act ſuch a Part, and
a Part only, as becomes *Engliſh-*
.

England can never be under an
igation to go to War but for one
theſe two Reaſons, either to *pro-*
our Trade, or *preſerve the Ba-*
e of Power in Europe: When ei-
of theſe *two Caſes* happens,
ll be a *proper Time* to engage;
tho' we ought to be always
y and in a *Condition* to do our-
s Juſtice; yet I think we ought
to ſtrike till we have *good Reaſon*
pprehend, that we ſhall *ſuffer* by
ſtriking.

Craftſman, Feb. 16. N° 398.

Coalition of Parties, and who are Enemies to it.

Writer in the *Courant* hath
the Modeſty to call the pre-
Conjuncture an *happy Situation*,
Reſpect to *us*; but even the
r-writer to the Craftſmen is
ned of ſuch profligate Aſſerti-
and ſeems to acknowledge that
re brought, by ſome Means or
, into a terrible Complication
iſtreſſes; tho' he is very un-
willing we ſhould make any Enquiries into the *Cauſes* of it. Indeed, the Caſe is too evident, and needs no farther Explanation. The great Increaſe of our *Seamen*, the Augmentation of our *Land-Forces*, &c. are ſufficient Proofs that *our Court* do not think themſelves intirely unconcern'd in the *preſent War*, nor free from all Apprehenſions of being engaged in it. This, perhaps, is an *happy Situation* for ſome Perſons, who may hope to amaſs Wealth, or ſcreen themſelves by publick Confuſions; but it affords a very melancholy Proſpect to the People in general, who are already burthen'd with heavy *Debts*, and a Multiplicity of *Taxes*.

But if it ſhould be neceſſary for our own Preſervation to take a Part in *this War*, we muſt ſubmit to it, whatever may be the Conſequence; and nothing ſurely can be more requiſite, in ſuch a Criſis, than an hearty *Union*, or *Coalition* amongſt ourſelves; which tends moſt effectually to render the Adminiſtration eaſy at home, and give Weight to their Counſels abroad. The Neceſſity of an *Union*, or *Coalition*, is acknowledged on both Sides; but I am afraid there is a very material Difference between us about the Nature of it. The *miniſterial Writers* ſeem to mean nothing farther by a *Coalition* than an abject Surrender of our Intereſts and Underſtandings, at the Diſcretion of *Men in Power*, without any Capitulation. But a *Coalition*, in the proper Senſe of the Word, means an Abolition of all former Animoſities, a mutual Accommodation of Differences, and an Agreement upon ſome *general Points*, in which *both Parties* ought to give Way a little to the Prejudices of *each other*. The Body of the People have ſhewn a ſtrong Inclination to *ſuch an Union*. The *Tories* have not been aſhamed to renounce thoſe ridiculous Principles of *Government*, which ſome of

their Party have formerly maintained; and the *Whigs* have confeſs'd, with the ſame Frankneſs, that the Practices of their Party have often been a Scandal to their Principles. Both of them have declared their Affection for the *preſent Eſtabliſhment*, and acted in a friendly Concert with each other, for the Preſervation of our *common Liberties*.

Such a Diſpoſition as this, and at ſuch a Time as this, is a very happy Circumſtance for the Nation, and Nobody will endeavour to prevent the Fruits of it but thoſe, whoſe Intereſt it is that honeſt Men of all Parties ſhould not agree. The Marquis of *Halliſax* deſcribes ſuch Men very well in his *Character of a Trimmer*.—— *What do angry Men ail*, ſays he, *to rail ſo againſt* Moderation? *Does it not look as if they were going to ſome very ſcurvy Extreme, that is too ſtrong to be digeſted by the more conſidering Part of Mankind? Theſe arbitrary Methods, beſides the Injuſtice of them, are (God be thanked) very unskilful too; for they fright the Birds, by talking ſo loud, from coming into the Nets; and when Men agree to rifle an Houſe, they ſeldom give Warning, or blow a Trumpet; but there are ſome* ſmall Stateſmen, *who are ſo full charged with their own Expectations, that they cannot contain. And kind Heaven, by ſending ſuch a ſeaſonable Curſe upon their* Undertakings, *hath made their Ignorance an Antidote againſt their Malice. Some of theſe cannot treat peaceably. Yielding will not ſatisfy them. They will have Men by Storm. There are others, that muſt have* Plots, *to make their Service more neceſſary, and have an Intereſt to keep them alive, ſince they are to live upon them; and perſuade the* King *to retrench his own Greatneſs, ſo as to ſhrink into the* Head of a Party, *which is the betraying him into ſuch an unprincely Miſtake, and to ſuch a wilful Diminution of himſelf, that they are the laſt Enemies he ought to allow himſelf to forgive. Such Men, if they could, would prevail with the Sun to ſhine only upon them and their Friends. This is a very unuſual Monopoly, and may come within the Equity of the Law, which makes it Treaſon to* impriſon the King; *when ſuch unfitting Bounds are put to his Power, and he is confin'd to the narrow Limits of a* particular Set of Men, *that would incloſe him. Beſides theſe, there is a* flying Squadron on both Sides, *that are afraid the World ſhould agree. ſmall Dabblers in Conjuring, that raiſe angry Apparitions to keep Men from being reconciled, like Waſps, that fly up and down, buz, and ſting, to keep Men unquiet; but* theſe Inſects *are commonly ſhort-liv'd Creatures, and no Doubt in a little Time Mankind will be rid of them.*

This is a lively Picture (ſays the Writer) of *ſome Perſons* at preſent whoſe Guilt makes them endeavour to revive our former Animoſities, and ſow new Diviſions amongſt us. They leave no Arts untry'd to blow up the dying Embers of Faction, and fright en well-meaning People with Deſigns againſt the *preſent Eſtabliſhment*.

For this Purpoſe, the News-Papers have been lately fill'd with wild Accounts from *Rome*, about the *Pretender* and his *Son*, as well as broad Hints that ſome Enterprize, in his Favour, is now in Agitation, and that he is actually preparing for a Journey. There may, perhaps, be ſome Truth in the latter Part of this Intelligence; for if we ſhould think fit to take Part with the *Emperor*, it is probable that *France* will play her old Game over again, by ſending the *Pretender* over the *Alps*, and making uſe of him as a Tool to alarm People here, and make a Flutter in *Change-Alley*. *France* will always have this Advantage againſt us, as long as *Stockjobbing* continues, and there are any Diſturbances in *Europe*.— Such are the bleſſed Effects of that fictitious *Paper Wealth*, which our Do-

e created, and is liable to be blown
ay by every Puff of Wind!

The *ſame Gentlemen* have likewiſe
de a Diſcovery that there are great
mbers of *Popiſh Miſſionaries* now
England, who exerciſe a Sort of *ec-*
ſiaſtical Juriſdiction amongſt them-
ves. What a notable Diſcovery is
s, and how ſeaſonably tim'd, to
ve a double Purpoſe at the *enſuing*
ections, by alarming the *Proteſtants*
th the Danger of the *Pretender*, and
rifying the *Roman Catholicks* with
pprehenſions of having the *penal*
ws put in Force againſt them? ſith this View a * *ſilly Pamphlet*
th been diſpers'd thro' the King-
m, and made uſe of in a late Speech
Salters-Hall, to influence the *Pro-*
ſant Diſſenters; (See p. 64.) but ſo
ſe a Body of Men will never ſuffer
emſelves to be impos'd upon by
ch Artifices, nor to be made the
roperty of *Perſons*, who have a vi-
le Intereſt in miſleading them.

Fog's Journal, Feb. 16. N° 276.

f Bribery and Corruption, Influen-
cing Elections, &c.

THERE happen'd once in the City of *Rome* a very great arcity of Proviſion. At this Time e *Spurius Melius*, a very rich Man, ught up a great Quantity of Corn, and der Pretence of Charity, diſtribut- it *gratis* among ſeveral of the poor- Families in the City. This com- to the Ears of the Senate, they lg'd it a Matter of ſo great Impor- nce, that they appointed a Dictator hich was never done but where e Safety of the State was concern-) to enquire into the Reaſon of this oceeding; the Dictator ſummon'd urius *Melius* to anſwer, and diſco- ring that he had a Deſign upon blick Offices, and took this Me- od of inſinuating himſelf with the eople, before he would declare mſelf; he was by the Dictator con-demn'd to die, and was executed accordingly.

What brought this Piece of Hiſtory into my Memory, (ſays *Fog*) was reading a Paragraph of News in ſeveral of our Daily Papers. The A News Writers told us from *Dover*, that ſeveral hundred Oxen were to be ſlaughter'd there, for the Uſe of the Royal Navy. I own I did not believe the News, becauſe I knew that no Men of War had ever been fitted out at that Port, that there are no B Docks there for that Purpoſe, and that the little Harbour is not capable of receiving Ships of Burthen. I cannot indeed charge the News Writers with aſſerting any of theſe Things, they only tell us that ſo many Head of Cattle are to be ſlaughter'd there, and they account for it, C by giving us to underſtand, that a Commiſſioner of the Victualling Office has declared himſelf a Candidate for the ſaid Town, for the next Parliament; that he buys, or begs, or —— all the Offal of the ſaid 800 Oxen, in order to give amongſt the D Poor; ſo that you are left to judge whether it is done out of Charity, or (I muſt not ſay to bribe the Town, but) to gain the Favour of the Town, for one, who probably has no natural Intereſt amongſt them, and E whom, perhaps, they would not give a Shilling to ſave from h——.

This Manner of accounting for it made me believe it leſs; for it did not appear credible to me, that in a Country ſo happy in the Enjoyment of all its antient Liberties, a F Man ſhould have the Boldneſs to make an Attempt, for which he would have ſuffer'd Death in any of thoſe free Governments of old, whoſe Hiſtory we ſo much admire, and whoſe Example we think it an Honour to imitate.

G I am ſince confirm'd in my Opinion, that this News cannot be true, becauſe I have not heard of this Per-

* *The preſent State of Popery in* England, &c.

ſon's being diſmiſs'd from his Employment; for I am confident our excellent Miniſters would have ſhewn a juſt Abhorrence of ſuch a pernicious Attempt, not only in Regard to their own Honour, but to preſerve our Conſtitution pure and uncorrupt; a Point we know they have ſo much at Heart, that it is their only Study Night and Day.

We differ in many Circumſtances from the old *Romans*, yet their Liberties ſeem to have been built upon as ſure a Foundation even as ours; but I hope ours will laſt much longer. With them the Election of all the great Officers of the State was in the People, with us they are appointed by the Prince; with them they were chang'd annually, with us they are to continue as long as the Prince ſhall like them. With all theſe wiſe Cautions of the *Romans*, as ſoon as Bribery was employed in the Election of Magiſtrates they were undone, and continued ſome Ages Slaves to a vicious effeminate Succeſſion of Emperors, to their rapacious Favourites, to their Pimps and Panders.

If a vicious Miniſter, with us, in order to ſecure his Plunder, or for other Reaſons, ſhould have a Deſign of making the Crown arbitrary, perhaps it may be brought about with leſs Difficulty; he need only contrive to impoveriſh the People by a Load of Taxes, and when they are in this low Condition, to bribe them with Scraps and Offals, to give up their Liberties, that is to ſay, to return his Minions, who will be as ſervile to him as a *Roman* Senate was to *Sejanus*. The very Reflection that there may be a Poſſibility of ſuch a miſerable Scene, is enough to make a Man melancholy.

When Men arrive at ſuch Favour and Intereſt amongſt the People, as to be appointed their Law-Givers, and elected into their great Offices, by having given ſome wiſe Counſel, or performed ſome great Action for the Honour and Advantage of [illegible] Nation, Things go well; and wher[e] ever Corruption has not found En[trance], the People will fix their Ey[es] upon ſuch, and diſtinguiſh them w[ith] Dignities and Offices; but where [a] contrary Courſe is taken to acquire [the] Intereſt —— if little Knaves wit[h]out Wiſdom to give good Counſ[el] without Spirit or Addreſs to perfor[m] any great Action, ſhould, by ſcreen[ing] ſome from the Puniſhment d[ue] to their Crimes, by promiſing Pla[ces] and Preferments to others, by bribi[ng] others with Money, and by throw[ing] Scraps and Offals to the P[eo]ple (made ſo, perhaps, by their own in[i]quitous Conduct) find Means of gi[v]ing Laws to a Nation, if ſomethi[ng] as bad as an *Egyptian* Bondage ſho[uld] not follow it, would be ſtrange in[-]deed.

If I ſhould once hear that an Ad[-]miral or Captain of a Man of Wa[r] ſhould ſignify to a Sea Port Tow[n] that unleſs they choſe him to repr[e]ſent them, the Docks ſhou'd be r[e]moved, and no more Ships fitted o[ut] there: If a General Officer, or Col[o]nel of a Regiment ſhould give the Bu[r]ghers of a City or Corporation t[o] underſtand, that if he was not elec[t]ed to repreſent them, they ſhould b[e] harraſs'd with the Quartering o[f] Troops: I ſhould begin to think w[e] were in a deplorable Way; but I am entering upon a Task which i[s] much fitter for thoſe two ingeni[ous] Perſons Meſſieurs *Oſborne* and *Wa[l]ſingham*. To them therefore I [re]leave it, and ſhall at preſent confi[ne] the Folly and Wickedneſs of tho[ſe] who forſake the publick Intereſt [of] their Country, in order to attac[h] themſelves to the private Intereſt [of] a Miniſter of State.

I think fit to premiſe, that I d[o] not addreſs myſelf to thoſe who l[a]bour to work themſelves into a cer[-]tain Place, with no other View th[an] to make it inſtrumental to their Pr[e]ferment, ſuch as your Mr. *W. Y.* wh[o]

tes Letters to Mr. *S*—— in *De-*
ſhire, and another little Gentle-
n who is turn'd *Corniſh* Under-
er or Broker (for I don't know
ich to call it.) I apply only to
h as have ſome Reputation left,
l are not deaf to the Voice of their
untrymen.

A Nation that is not ripe for De-
ction will never be repreſented by
ligent, weak, and unknown Men,
by thoſe, who upon all Occaſions
endeavouring to corrupt their
rals. He that buys will ſell, and
haps at exorbitant Uſury. While
People are in their Senſes, they
l always elect Gentlemen of plen-
l Fortunes, who live amongſt
m, and whoſe Principles they are
uainted with. Such Men are moſt
ly to be Proof againſt Bribery,
auſe if they conſider right, they
l find they muſt be Loſers by Cor-
tion. A Country Gentleman will
eſt, that out of every hundred
nd he ſpends, thirty of it muſt
various Ways go to the Publick,
Debts, Exciſes, Taxes, Cuſtoms,
. If then he has an Eſtate of
ol. a Year, and accepts of a Place
a Penſion of 500l. a Year, he
l find that the 30 *per Cent.* he
s the Publick, will within a Tri-
ſwallow up his five hundred
nds Penſion, and that his own
ol. a Year will enable him to live
ell, when the publick Debts are
off, as the 1500l. will do, by
ing them continued; but when
conſiders the Precarioufneſs of
Penſion, the Load he is acceſſary
ying upon his Relations, Friends,
ghbours, nay, his Poſterity, and
mortal Wound theſe Taxes give
Trade; I ſay, if he would but ſe-
ſly conſider all this, he would
heſitate a Moment to refuſe this
ſion with Contempt.

rance was once upon a right
t in Regard to its Liberties; and
rary Power did not ſo much
g in high Taxes as high Taxes
oduc'd arbitrary Power; for
when once that Golden Idol of an
immenſe Revenue was ſet up, the
Lazy, the Effeminate, the Ambiti-
ous, the Mercenary, and the Servile,
who will make a conſiderable Body
in all Nations, immediately bow
down to it. Even in a Common-
wealth it is dangerous to Liberty to
have one Part of the People indebt-
ed to the reſt; in *Rome* it was the
Occaſion of great Diſcontents.

When the State has borrow'd great
Sums, and iſſued out Securities upon
different Funds, it is commonly ſaid
the Publick is ſo much in Debt; but
the Truth is, theſe Sorts of Funds
divide the Country into two Ranks
of Men, of which one are Credi-
tors, the other Debtors. The Cre-
ditors are all ſuch as deal with the
Publick for Stores of all Kinds, and
all Sorts of Lenders, whether Na-
tives or Foreigners; and alſo another
who are of a worſe Kind than either
of the former, theſe are Place-Men
and Penſioners.

The Debtors are the Landed Men,
a great Part of whoſe Rents are pawn-
ed for the publick Service, and ſub-
jected to Calls from Year to Year:
All Merchants who pay Cuſtoms,
Shopkeepers, Retailers, as well as
the whole Body of the labouring
Poor, who pay Taxes, are likewiſe
Debtors. Thus all *Great Britain*
may not improperly be divided into
Debtors and Creditors. Some ſay,
that in a long and expenſive War
this was not to be avoided — others
are of a different Opinion; but be
that as it will, it is certain ſome par-
ticular Families found their Account
in it, while the Nation ſmarts for it
to this Day; therefore it can be nei-
ther wiſe nor honeſt to let it continue
ſo long; for tho' ſuch as receive
may like it well enough, yet ſuch as
muſt pay, who are vaſtly the Majo-
rity, cannot be very well contented,
eſpecially if they ſhould take it into
their Heads to think they have had
nothing for their Money.

Free

Free Briton, Feb. 21. N° 225.

THE Scheme (says *Walsingham*) which hath been advanced *to make all Regimental Officers subject to Removal by Judgment of Court-martial, or by Address of either House of Parliament* *, would so far alter the Constitution of this Kingdom, as it would make the *whole military Force*, which should at any Time subsist, for ever *independent of its Sovereign*. It would make the Officers Men of Property, in Respect of their Commissions, and the *Body of Officers* formidable to a dangerous Degree. It would in future Times, whenever Officers of *less Integrity* and *faithful Duty*, than those *brave Men* who now command in the Army, should be admitted into it, invite them to bear their Part in *civil Factions* and *Cabals*.

Several Schemes have been offered to the Publick, on the Pretence of securing an *independent Parliament*; but this, which is now before us, proposes to establish an *independent Army*. The Crown, by these Measures, would be depriv'd of those necessary Powers, which give it a real Weight in the Constitution; and the *King of Great Britain* could hardly be called the General of his own Troops, when he would not have *Power to remove an Ensign* without the Judgment of a Court-martial, or an Address from one of the Houses of Parliament.

If *Dependence* is one of the most natural Motives of *Duty*, and *military Obedience* ought to be the *strictest Kind of Duty*, whence wou'd this Duty arise, when the Source of it should be taken away? A Prince at the Head of an Army, without Power to change an Officer, but by the Judgment of a Court Martial, or the Address of Parliament, would want that *discretionary Power*, which the Nature of military Service makes most requisite to be vested in him, and frequently find himself almost as much mortified as the Duke of *Marlborough* was, when he could not fight without Leave *from the Dutch Deputies*, who were civil Magistrates joined in Commission with the General. I beg Leave to say, that as those Forms in their Government have made us value our Constitution, and esteem a *mixed Monarchy* so much beyond a *Commonwealth*, this Scheme of *introducing their Forms* amongst us, will too much *change* our Constitution, and introduce the Inconveniencies without the Advantages of theirs.

Neither should it be neglected, that no single Innovation ever satisfied its Authors. In any Design of pulling down a Building, one Step gives Rise to another, till there is a Scaffolding sufficient to reach the Top of the Pile. Look back on the several extraordinary Measures, which have been taken in the Progress of modern Patriotism, and consider how naturally one Scheme came in Succession to another: So that, if a Law should pass this Year, enacting, that no Officers should be *removed*, but by a Tryal of Court Martial or Address of either House of Parliament, we might next Year expect an Attempt for another Law, that no Officers should be *admitted*, or *promoted*, but by the same Power which may remove them; and then the King would be left *General and Commander in Chief* without Power to *dispose of one Command in his Army*.

See then the Extent of this Argument; for neither Removals, nor Promotions of Officers, should remain with the Crown, the Prerogative must reside somewhere; and if the Hopes of Promotion, or the Fears of Dismission, make Men dependent, then the prevailing Party of either House, to which this Prerogative should pass, would hold the Officers *absolutely dependent on their Faction*, and this would be the Result of the Scheme *for* securing *the Constitution*.

Grubstreet Journal, Feb. 21. N° 21[illegible]

Different Humours and Foibles of Mankind.

HAVING the other Evening [illegible] at an old Gentleman's in *Westminster*, as soon as Supper was over, and the Bottle and Glasses placed on the Table, I observed the Gentleman's Countenance to clear up of a sudden, and display a great deal of that usual Pleasantry. Whilst I was considering what should be the Cause, he with much Gayety, clapped me on the Shoulder, and in the following very friendly Manner broke Silence.—— 'Dear Sir, says he, there's a Fire,— Did you ever see a finer in all your Life?'—— Never indeed, answered I: [illegible] most charming Coal as ever I saw.—— 'Coal, Sir! Replied he angrily: Yes, 'Coal is well enough; but I am sure, 'were the Coal never so good, if it were 'well put together, you could never see 'a Fire.'

Upon my finding out, how much the Gentleman valued himself for making a Fire, I very, I was resolved not to incur his Displeasure, for Want of giving him all due Praise for so excellent and illustrious a Qualification. For I wisely considered, a Neglect of this Nature might have lost me many a good Meat before the Year went about. And do therefore now, from my own Experience inform the World of this most useful and important Piece of Knowledge, That every Person, who would be well received in another Man's House, must be fully apprized of whatsoever the Good

* *There was a Motion and Debate in the P——t to this Purpose.*

of the Manſion ſeems moſt to eſteem ſelf upon, or is more than ordinarily cap-ted with.

Upon this Conſideration, for the Improve-
A ment of my Carcaſs, I very prudently launch-ed out into a profound Admiration at the worthy Gentleman's ingenious Manner of poſing a Fire. From thence I took an caſion to expatiate on Art in general, ving, that Nature without her is a meer , a very Idiot. And hence I account-why all of that Denomination are called tural.— By this Method I ſoon reinſtated ſelf in the Gentleman's good Opinion; went home with an unlimited Invitation Dinner as often as I think proper.

As ſoon as I had retired to my own Lodg-, where in this cold Seaſon of the Year, ways find a good Fire when I come e at Night, it was almoſt impoſſible for to avoid calling to mind the Entertain-t I had met with abroad.—— This na-lly led me into an Animadverſion on the erent and oppoſite Affections by which find the greateſt Part of the World to guided.— Some Men's Appetites are di-ed by Ambition, an unbridled Luſt after er and Domination.-- Men, who, to attain r Ends, would not even be aſhamed to the moſt iniquitous Scheme, not ex-ing that of a General Exciſe.--- Some themſelves in accumulating Riches, ch among poor People, goes under the omination of Avarice.—— Some look big the pleaſing Reflection of having made Alderman a Cuckold, or an honeſt Gen-an's Daughter a Whore; whilſt others mph in the glorious Imagination of being to excel the reſt of their Neighbours in ing a coal Fire.

here is ſcarce a Man living but has ſome icular Foible, ſome diſtinguiſhing Inclina-, differing from all the World beſide; and hich any of us may be as well known, the different Shapes of our Bodies, or ing Features of our Faces. The Moral ll I have been ſaying, is, that as every alive has a Deſire of being known to in ſome one Thing or other, the only hod of becoming juſtly amiable, is to di-our Views to Matters of intrinſic and ble Value; and ſuch as are truly worthy neſt Men and *Chriſtians*.

Craftſman, Feb. 23. N° 399.

MR. *D'Anvers* gives us, in this Paper, the following Speech, which, he ſays, made by a Gentleman of the *Houſe of ons*, in the Reign of Q. *Anne*, and tak-en from his Mouth in Short-Hand. The Reader will immediately perceive, ſays he, that it was attended with a Motion for bring-ing in a Bill, *to limit the Number of* Place-
A Men *in the Houſe of Commons*; and as a *Bill* of the ſame Nature is now depending there, he hopes the Publication of *this Speech* may be of ſome Uſe.

Mr. Speaker,

What I riſe up for is to propoſe a *Bill*, which may remedy the Inconvenience, that the * *worthy Gentleman* complains of; a *Bill*,
B on which the Safety of the Nation ſeems to depend as much as on the Succeſs of the *War*, in which we are engaged. The carrying on the *War* would be throwing away ſo much Treaſure and ſo many Lives, unleſs at the ſame Time, that we ſecure our Liberties againſt a *foreign Enemy*, we can prevent the Danger of their being undermined *at home*.

C If every Gentleman's *Office* and *Employment* were added to his Name, as it is called over, every *Call of the Houſe* would put us on conſidering whether ſome new Law is not wanting to leſſen the Number of *ſuch Members*, as poſſeſs them; and I am afraid it would now appear to you that they are more numerous than ever, notwithſtanding the ſeveral *Bills*, that have paſſed *both Houſes*, and
D ſeveral others, that have paſſed only *this Houſe*; by which the Senſe of the *Commons* hath been ſo often declared; tho' perhaps, not ſo well as it might have been, had we obſerved the ſame Order, *when many Members are perſonally concerned*, that we do, when *one Member* is, by obliging them to *withdraw*. The Oppoſers of *theſe Bills* have often been
E ſo few, that they might be only ſuch as were *in Employment*; and if *they* had withdrawn, the *Bills* might have paſſed without a *ſingle Negative*.

Tho' the *civil Officers* ſhould not be increaſed, the Continuance of the *War* muſt make the *military Officers* more numerous and more powerful. Thoſe who have no other Fortune depending on the *War* than
F the Command of a *Regiment*, have nothing elſe to do but to make a proper Diſpoſition in the *Cloathing* of it; by which Means ſuch an Intereſt may be made in moſt of the *Corporations*, as no *Gentleman in the Country* is able to reſiſt. Promotions may be made every Day in the *old Regiments*, and *new ones* raiſed, and a very great Share of theſe Pre-
G ferments falls to *this Houſe*. The Number of *ſuch Members* is therefore ſo far from being reſtrain'd, that it ſeems likely to increaſe, as long as the *War* laſts. The heavier the *Debt* is upon the Nation, the more of *thoſe*, who receive the *publick Money*, will ſit here,

* *The Houſe had juſt come to the following Reſolution*; viz. *Reſolved*, that ſuch Members this Houſe, who do abſent themſelves, without the Leave of this Houſe, are to be re-Deſerters of their Truſt, and Neglectors of that Duty they owe to this Houſe and Country.

and

and impoſe the *Taxes*, out of which they are paid.

One of the wiſeſt and moſt flouriſhing * States does not allow any Town to chuſe a *military Officer* for its *Repreſentative*; and tho' there is no *Prerogative* in that Country, from which they can fear an Encroachment on their *Liberties*; yet *Officers* are thought to be improper Checks on *themſelves*, or on *thoſe*, who recommend them to their *Employments*.

The *Corruption of the Boroughs* is grown to ſuch an Height, it is ſo eaſy to procure a *Return*, and ſuch a Latitude is left by the Variety of *our own Determinations*, that whenever any Set of *Miniſters* think fit to exert themſelves, they may bring in ſo many *military Officers*, as together with thoſe, who have *civil Employments*, may make up a Majority.

I hope we ſhall be conſiſtent with ourſelves in what we did the † other Day, when we came to thoſe Reſolutions for preventing the Danger of *arbitrary Power*. When a *Majority* can be commanded here, *deſpotick Power* may be eſtabliſh'd by *Law*, and *Reſiſtance* be made *illegal*. To make it, at the ſame Time, lawful for the *Subject* to *reſiſt*, and eaſy for a *Prince* to become *abſolute*, is bringing the Nation into perpetual Danger of War between the *King* and the *People*. If ſo many Members ſhould be gained here, as to vote a ſufficient Army, *Reſiſtance* might be *impoſſible*, tho' it were *lawful*. But admitting the *People* would be always able to regain their *Freedom*, it cannot ſurely be thought more adviſeable to uſe the Remedy of *Arms* than to keep our *Liberties* ſafe in a *quiet Way*. If we take Care that there always be a ſufficient Number here to oppoſe the ill Deſigns of *Miniſters*, there will never be any Need of *Reſiſtance by Arms*.

It cannot be deny'd that in ill Times *Places* whether *civil*, or *military*, will have an Influence over ill Men. For a Member of this Houſe to receive a *private Penſion* hath been always eſteem'd a Breach of Truſt, and a Violation of our Conſtitution; and a *known Penſion*, during Pleaſure, excludes a Man from ſitting here. That a *Place*, of little Trouble, is as valuable as a *Penſion*, of the ſame yearly Income, we ſee by the great Crouds of Candidates, on every Vacancy, and the high Prices, that we hear are paid for them.

In a common Trial, all Perſons concern'd in *Intereſt* are not only excluded from being *Jurymen*, but even their Teſtimony as to *Matters of Fact* is not thought fit to be credited; and will an ill Man, in ill Times, gain nothing by his *voting?* —— When a *Place* makes up a conſiderable Part of a Man's Fortune, is it not plain that if the *Liberty of the Subject* comes in Competition with [illegible] *Prerogative*, it will be his *own Intereſt* to [illegible] poſe the Intereſt of *thoſe*, whom he [illegible] ſents? May it not eaſily happen that the [illegible] vate Advantage of almoſt every *Man in* [illegible] *fice* will be contrary to that of the *Publick*? And ſhould a *Prince* become abſolute, [illegible] not they ſhare amongſt them the Spoils [illegible] their Fellow-Subjects? Is it not *their Int*[illegible] more than *his*, that he ſhould have no C[illegible] troul? —— But allowing that it would not [illegible] for the Advantage of *ſome*, who have [illegible] Fortunes of their own, to go into [illegible] *Meaſures*; yet there may be ſeveral C[illegible] in which they may apprehend no great D[illegible] ger in paying a *Compliment*. —— I hope [illegible] Gentleman here is ſatisfy'd that, in Time [illegible] *Peace*, we ſhall want no greater Num[illegible] of Men for *Guards* and *Garriſons* than be[illegible] the *War*; but ſince that Eſtabliſhment ha[illegible] been increaſed, a Vote muſt paſs in order [illegible] reduce it; and muſt not many Gentlemen [illegible] that Caſe, vote away their *own Preferm*[illegible] I don't at all doubt that ſeveral will do [illegible] but if it ſhould be thought proper to incre[illegible] the Number of *Guards* and *Garriſons*, [illegible] hath been done in *this War*, and perh[illegible] without Damage to the Publick; (becauſe t[illegible] greateſt Part of them have been employed [illegible] broad; tho' indeed the Precedent ſeems da[illegible] gerous) would any Arguments be able to co[illegible] vince *ſuch Men*, as would have their Subſi[illegible] tence from the *Army*, that the Addition [illegible] a few more Troops than the *laſt Settlem*[illegible] would give us up into the Hands of the *Prin*[illegible] Or that, without ſuch an Addition, his *ci*[illegible] *Liſt* might enable him to compaſs our D[illegible] ſtruction? If a Propoſition for granting [illegible] *civil Liſt* were under Debate, and the Qu[illegible] tion ſhould be, whether it ought to be ſett[illegible] *for Life*, or even *increas'd*, would ſuch Pro[illegible] be properly decided by *thoſe*, whoſe Salar[illegible] were to be paid out of it? Could we depe[illegible] upon it that Men would deduct that P[illegible] out of their Calculation, which would be [illegible] aſide for their *own Wages?* When Men [illegible] *Places* are not above being govern'd by *Inte*[illegible] they will certainly be directed by *thoſe*, w[illegible] prefer them; ſo that it will be no Secur[illegible] to us, that the *Crown* can neither increa[illegible] no diminiſh the Number of *Members*; for [illegible] long as it hath the Power of raiſing *Re*[illegible] *ments*, and beſtowing *Places* and *Penſions*, [illegible] may at any Time take off from *thoſe*, w[illegible] ought to repreſent the *People*, and add [illegible] thoſe, who may be induced to repreſent t[illegible] *Court*.

But if we could ſuppoſe that *Places* w[illegible] never influence Men; that their ſitting h[illegible] would raiſe them to more generous Thoug[illegible] than we commonly ſee in others; I ſay, [illegible] we could be ſatisfy'd of this, yet we ought [illegible] take all poſſible Care to keep ourſelves fr[illegible]

* Holland. † *Alluding to the Proceedings againſt Dr.* Sacheverel.

Imputation of that Kind, and conſider the Honour, Dignity, and Power of *this* can only be ſupported by the Opinion those *without Doors* have of its Inte-; for it is not enough to be *uncorrupt*, un-e have the Reputation of being ſo too. to the unblemiſhed Conduct and Cha- of *thoſe*, who have ſate here before us, we owe all the Advantages we now en-by our *Conſtitution*. When the good of *Parliaments* hath declined, their ority hath always been diminiſhed in rtion; and what can be the Weight of *undred Gentlemen*, who are to ſtand by *ſelves*, as they always will, unleſs they onvince *others* that they are carrying on *Intereſt*, as well as *their own?*

e high Opinion which we all have of *reſent Sovereign* can be no Objection to ſing our Endeavours for obtaining a Se- againſt this Danger. Were ſhe not in-in the Intereſts of her People, it would vain to hope for any *ſuch Laws*. They ever ſo likely to be obtained, as when have the *leaſt Effect*. They are only ne- in a *bad Reign*; and when that comes, oo late to think of them.

I muſt take the Liberty to ſay, that thſtanding the great Confidence which ſo juſtly repoſe in the *preſent Sovereign*, never was more Reaſon than now to for our future Safety. —— If we had g elſe to ſink us, the *Debt of the Na-* heavier than it ever hath been, and the Nation was ever thought able to-

The *People* are extremely weakened and in Proportion as the *Commons* are ed, the *Crown* advances in its Power hem; ſo that altho' the Number of s here had not been encreaſed, the *Debt* ſuch as the People were never burthen-th before, it imports us more than ever ovide againſt the Danger of any En-ments from the *Crown*.

e *landed Men* are not only leſſened in , but every *particular Gentleman*, the e feels the Weight of *Taxes*, the more s of his Intereſt in the Country; and the f that Intereſt is transferr'd to the *Per-*ho receive their Pay out of *thoſe Taxes*. e would effectually put the *Proteſtant* on upon ſuch a Foot that it cannot be , we ought to convince Men that they *free*, when they are under it. They lways be moſt zealous in Defence of ſtabliſhment under which their *Liber-* moſt ſecure.

re are few Gentlemen here, who have t one Time or other, even ſince the tion, been ſenſible how neceſſary it is Safety to make ſome Proviſion in *this*. If every Man, who hath once been Opinion, ſhould be ſo now, a *Bill* would paſs more unanimouſly than hat was ever offered to the Houſe; and if there be ſome Perſons, who think our *Conſtitution* ſecure, for the Time to come, as well as the preſent, it is to be hoped that they will have ſo much Regard for thoſe, who are of a different Opinion, as to remove their Apprehenſions, and give them ſome convincing Proof that our *great Succeſſes abroad* will effectually prevent any Attempts upon our *Liberties at home*.

Fog's Journal, Feb. 23. N° 277.

For the Entertainment of this Day, Fog *gives us ſome Part of a Pamphlet, entitled,* The Exciſe Scheme diſſected, *&c. The Author having ſhewn by what Kind of Methods a Government that is free may be eaſily chang'd into Arbitrary, goes on as follows:*

FROM what I have ſaid it may appear, that our Kings neither ought to have a Revenue *ſufficient* to defray the Expence of the Government, nor a military Force *ſufficient* to ſupport their Government, either againſt Invaſions or Inſurrections, *without* applying to Parliament for that End. This was the ſtanding Maxim of our Anceſtors, and this ought always to be the Maxim of the Parliaments and People of this Nation.

The other Danger to which our Conſtitution lies expoſed, and which is *by much* the greateſt, is that of its being in the Power of the King to have *always* a Parliament that will do *as they are bid*. Since the Reſtoration, the *ſettled Revenues* of the Crown are prodigiouſly encreaſed; and the *Places* and *Preferments*, and *Pains* and *Penalties*, which are at the ſole *Diſpoſal* of the Crown, are vaſtly multiply'd and extended; ſo that it is much to be feared, that if any Addition ſhould be made, ſome future King may thereby be enabled to *influence* almoſt *every* County, City, and Borough, in ſuch a Manner, that no Man will be able to get himſelf elected a Member of *Parliament* in *Oppoſition* to the *Court* Intereſt.

There may be ſome Men in every Nation, I hope there are ſtill in this Nation a great many, who dare ſpeak, vote, and act in all Parts of Life, both publick and private, according to *Principle* only; but it is well known, that moſt Men who have either a Reward *to hope for*, or a Puniſhment *to fear*, will act according to their *Hopes* or their *Fears*, without any Regard to *Principle* or their Duty. This, I am ſorry to ſay it, is now, and has always been, the Nature of Mankind: Even in the Times of the greateſt *Liberty* moſt Men have had, and they always will have a *Regard* to their own private Intereſt, in their voting for Members of Parliament; but as long as the private Intereſt of the Generality of the Voters depends upon the great and rich Families in the ſeveral Counties, Cities, and Boroughs to which they belong, our *Liberty* will be ſafe; for the Crown, in order to ſecure a

Majority in the House of *Commons*, must always first secure a *Majority* of the great and rich Families of the Kingdom. And this they can never do, but by a just, prudent, and wise Administration. The only Way of establishing an *Arbitrary Government*, by having *always* a Parliament at their *Devotion*, is to procure that *Influence* to center into the Crown *only*, which was formerly *divided* among the great Families in *England*. Then, indeed, when the great Families see that they cannot force themselves into Parliament, or into the Administration, as they formerly did by their *Interest* in their several *Counties*, they will naturally fall into that Method which is practised in every absolute Government; they will think of nothing but of *fawning* upon those that have the good Luck to be the *Favourites* of their *arbitrary Monarch*.

Any future King therefore that shall aim at making himself absolute, must procure such an *Influence* as I have mentioned: And for this End he must endeavour to get into his Hands the *Disposal* of as much *Money*, and as many *Places* and *Preferments*, of all Sizes and Dimensions, as he can. But because it is impossible that the *Majority* of a whole People can be *rewarded* with *Money*, or with *Places* and *Preferments*, therefore his next Endeavour must be, by all Means, to get *penal* and *ensnaring* Laws enacted, by which most of the People may be rendered subject to incur great *Penalties* and *Forfeitures*; and in the forming of such Laws, he must take special Care that there shall be, with respect to every *Penalty* and *Forfeiture*, a *dispensing* Power reserved to himself, by which he may *remit* the Whole, or what part o it he pleases; and he must likewise endeavour that the Tryals for all such Mechanical Crimes shall be entirely *under his Direction*, and under the *Ultimate* and *Arbitrary Determination* of such Judges as he shall please, from Time to Time, to *appoint*.

If ever this should happen to be the Case, we may easily foresee how all the Elections in *England* would go: Let us but imagine a Gentleman of a *great* and an *antient* Family in the Country where he lives, and allied to most of the *illustrious* Families in the Kingdom; a Gentleman rever'd for his *Virtue* and *Publick Spirit*, and beloved for his *Good Nature* and *Hospitality*; let us, I say, imagine such a Gentleman setting up to serve his Country in Parliament, in *Opposition* to a Man, whose Name perhaps had been never heard of there, but strongly recommended by, and entirely depending upon the *Court Interest*. In such a Case we may believe that the Country Gentleman would have what is called the *Natural Interest* within his County, the People in general would be *praying* for his *Success*; but every Man in particular would be *engaged to vote against him*: He would find many of the great Families in the County engaged against him by *Posts* and *Pensions* in Possession or in Expectation: Of his own Family he would find perhaps one Brother joined against him by Reason of his being *a Colonel in the Army*, another, because of his being *a Captain in the Navy*; and a third, by Reason of his being in Expectation of some *Place* in the Revenue or in the Law: One Neighbour would tell him, that he could not give him his Vote, because he expected such a Post for one of his Sons: And another would tell him, that he could not appear against the Court, because it would obstruct the *Preferment* of his Brother-in-Law *in the Army*. This would be the Country Gentleman's Success among his Relations and neighbouring Gentlemen: But among those of an inferior Degree it would be the same; many would be in Expectation of some *Post* or *Preferment* in the Custom-House or Excise, either for themselves, their Children, their Brothers, or their Cousins; and all those who had no such Expectation, would be against him because of some *Informations*, *Prosecution*, or *Penalty* hanging over their Heads, for some Breach or Neglect of many *Penal* Laws contrived and enacted *that Purpose*. Thus the Gentleman would find himself every Way disappointed; after him, no Man of a free and generous Spirit could hope for Success in that County.

The only *successful* Candidates would be those who came with a *Recommendation* from the *Treasury*: Our *Writs* for electing Members of Parliament would soon come to be the same Nature with those famous Writs called *Conge d'Elires*; and the *electing* Member by the Freeholders, or the Freemen of a City or Borough, would become the *Farce* as that of the *Election* of a Bishop by the Chapter of the Cathedral: There would be *a Shew* of an Election, but they would always be obliged to elect the Man *recommended* to them *by the Court*; and if we may argue from a Parity of Reason, it is no difficult Matter to determine how *such Candidates* would *behave* upon their meeting in St. Stephen's *Chapel*.

By this Sort of Management, dexterously carried on for some Time, the Court would be able by Degrees to get their Power much *inlarged*, that at last all Sort of *Opposition* would be *vain*; the certain Consequence of which would be a most slavish Submission. For the Nature of Mankind is the same in that of other Creatures; we are generally apt to fall upon our Knees, and implore the Mercy or Protection of that Power which we think we cannot resist. Then would the Court-*Power* be *hors de Tutelage*; the Administration would then be above the Necessity of *Management* or *Disguise*; they would then openly and avowedly send their *Instructions* to the several Counties, Cities, and Boroughs of the Nation, *directing* them whom to chuse; and the greatest Favour which the best and bold-

…ſ could hope for, would be to have Leave …t at home, and refrain from intermedling …e *Electoral Farce.*

…om that Time we could never expect to …*Haughty and Rapacious Miniſter* pulled … by Parliament from the *Zenith* of his …r: We could never expect to ſee a *flat-…Favourite* torn *by Law* from the Boſom …is deluded Maſter: All the Attainders, …achments, and Bills of Pains and Penal-… would then be directed againſt thoſe … had the Misfortune of being *obnoxious* …e *Prime Miniſter:* In ſhort, that which …w the Glory of *England*, would then …ne its greateſt Grievance: Our Parlia-…ts would then ſerve only to varniſh the …es of *Favourites*, and to give a Handle …preſſing the *innocent Subject.*

…*between the Patentees and Players, …d particularly of Mr.* Harper.

HE Patentees of the Theatres Royal in *Drury-Lane* and *Covent Garden* being …ed to try whether they had an excluſive …t to the acting of Plays, they for that …oſe ſummoned the Revels Company, and …Company of *Goodman's-Fields* Play-Houſe …e a Bench of Juſtices, in the Veſtry of …*George's, Hanover-Square*, on the 5th of … laſt, before whom the Caſe was learn-…argued by Council on both Sides; but …Juſtices not being, it ſeems, ſatisfied as …e Formality of the Summons, they diſ-…d the Players for that Time. However, …Patentees ſoon after obtained a Warrant …t Mr. *Harper*, one of the Players be-…g to the Revels Company, for taking …p as a Rogue and Vagabond; whereupon …rs, on the 12th of *Nov.* carried before …*Clarges*, and other Juſtices, ſitting at …id Place; and the Caſe appearing a little …ful, he was ordered to attend again at …Clock, with Council, to be heard for …n Anſwer to what the Council of the …Side ſhould alledge againſt him: But …being upon the ſame Day a long Trial …ſminſter*, between the Patentees now in …ion of *Drury-Lane* Play-Houſe, and …evels Company, about the Right to that …Houſe, and Mr. *Harper's* Council being …aged in that Trial, they could not at-…with him at Five, and Sir *Thomas* …s being, it ſeems, of Opinion, that the …was clear'y againſt him, he committed … that Evening, to *Bridewell* as a Vaga-… in order for his being put to hard La-…g an Employment which, by his Bulk, …ms to be as little fit for, as he is for being …grant, he being a Man ſo corpulent, that …not poſſible for him, either to labour, …wander a great deal.

…Favour of the Players, and of Mr. …r in particular, the followin Piece was …ed by Way of Letter, *viz.*

Sir,

" There has not been ſince the Revolution an Inſtance of ſo dangerous an Act of Power, as the Commitment of Mr. *Harper* to *Bridewell*. If this Commitment is to be judged (as it is inſiſted on) a Commitment in Execution, within the Meaning of the *Habeas Corpus* Act, and therefore not bailable, nor ſubject to the Examination of the *ſuperior Courts*, notwithſtanding the Fact upon which the Conviction is founded be falſe, of what Avail is *Magna Charta* to Liberty; or, if an *honeſt* Man, a *good Subject*, and a *Freebolder*, ſhall on the Vagrant Act be ſent to *Bridewell* at the Pleaſure of a *Juſtice* of the *Peace*, and there be kept for ſix Weeks, or (at his Worſhip's Diſcretion) ſix Years, for ought I ſee to the contrary, under Pretence of his being a *Vagrant*, tho' he is a Perſon of unqueſtionable Ability, and perhaps has not ſtirred a Mile out of the Pariſh, where he has a Settlement, within 7 Years; if this Sort of Doctrine prevails, I do not doubt, but I ſhall live to ſee *wealthy* and *incorrigible Vagrants* conveyed, to ſave Charges, in *their own Coaches* to the *Houſe of Correction*, the *Work-houſe*, or (if the Juſtice is *charitably* inclin'd) perhaps to an *Alms-Houſe*. The Statute of the 12th of Q. *Anne*, upon which this extraordinary Proceeding is grounded, was made *apparently* with no other View, than to prevent thoſe, who want *Ability* to *maintain* themſelves, from *wandering* about the *Country*, and becoming *chargeable to Pariſhes*, where they have no Settlements, or having wandered from their Settlements, to convey them there again; for all the poſitive Direction which is given by the Statute is, that any Perſon apprehended as a *Vagrant*, ſhall be examined touching his Condition and Circumſtances, and Place of Abode or Birth; and if the Juſtice convicts him, he is to be conveyed to the Place of his Settlement in ſuch Manner as *other Perſons likely to be chargeable to the Pariſh are to be ſent.* The ordering a Vagrant to be whipped, or committed to *Bridewell*, is only *diſcretionary, before the Paſs is made.*

Plays were inſtituted to recommend Virtue, and expoſe Vice, therefore are not evil in their own Nature; and I believe acting of Plays is univerſally agreed on by all Lawyers to be *lawful in itſelf.* And altho' the Statute deſcribes *Common Players of Interludes*, as well as *Fencers*, *Minſtrels*, *&c.* to be *Rogues* and *Vagabonds*, yet ſuch Deſcription, unleſs it be attended with the Circumſtances of the Party's not being *able to maintain himſelf*, and *wandering about* to Play and Fence, *&c.* does not give the Juſtice any Juriſdiction; for if a *Man of Ability* is to be puniſhed, for what Purpoſe does the *Act of Parliament*, in the very firſt Inſtance, direct the Juſtice to examine into the Condition and Circumſtances of the Party apprehended? Or what then can be

the Meaning of *thoſe other Words*, that he ſhall be conveyed in ſuch Manner as by the Laws of this Realm *other Perſons likely to be chargeable to the Pariſh* are to be ſent? Or if a Man is taken in the Pariſh where he has a Settlement, to what Place is he to be conveyed? If then a Player, being in every other Circumſtance an *honeſt Man*, *having a Settlement*, *paying his Debts*, being a *good Subject*; and having the univerſal Benevolence of Mankind, is notwithſtanding to be whipt, or ſent to *Bridewell* at the Diſcretion of a Juſtice, *the Lord have Mercy on him*, for he may be ſaid to be *truly miſerable*: Nay, we ought not to confine our Prayers for Mercy on *Actors* only, but on the whole Nation; for if ſuch Commitments as theſe are to be juſtified, I would fain know the Man, who having the Misfortune to diſoblige a Juſtice of the Peace, can be ſure of not being whipt, or ſent to *Bridewell*: It is only proving him a *Fencer*, or his having played a Tune upon the Violin, and the *Buſineſs is done*. I would therefore (out of the Regard I have to my Countrymen) adviſe them *for their Safety* to leave off *wearing Swords*, for Fear they ſhould be adjudged *Fencers*; and to avoid *playing* upon the *Fiddle*, or other *Muſical Inſtrument*, leſt they be convicted for *Minſtrels*. As to my worthy Friends the *Muſicians*, ſome of whom have been at the Charge of taking a *Doctor's Degree* in the *Univerſity*, I cannot help heartily condoling; for their Caſe is at leaſt as bad as the Players of Interludes, eſpecially thoſe who have turned their Hands to playing the Organ, for they may be apprehended every *Sunday* committing Acts of Vagrancy in moſt of the Pariſh Churches about Town. There are ſeveral other *Deſcriptions* of Perſons, who by this Act are deemed *Rogues* and *Vagabonds*: And if *Deſcription* alone is ſufficient to warrant the Proceedings of *this worthy Juſtice*, it is ſo large, that I fear every Man in *England* will be within ſome Part of it: I will mention one *Deſcription* of *Perſons* in this Act, which will take in *whole Profeſſions*, ſuch as *Politicians*, *Lawyers*, *Phyſicians*, and *Traders*, namely, *all thoſe who uſe any ſubtle Craft*; and how many of the *Nobility* and *Gentry* may be included under the uſing *unlawful Games* or *Plays*, I cannot determine; but this I am ſure any one may determine, that all ſuch are equally liable to be whipped, or ſent to *Bridewell*, if a Juſtice of the Peace ſhall think fit, as any *Player*, being otherwiſe an *honeſt Man*, an *Houſholder*, or of *Ability to maintain himſelf*. I am, Sir,

Your Humble Servant, *A. B.*

The Facts which appeared in this Caſe in Favour of Mr. *Harper* were, That, tho' he was a Player, yet he did not wander about from Place to Place like a Vagrant, nor was there an Appearance of his becoming chargeable to any Pariſh; for that he was not only a Freeholder in *Surry*, but was a Houſe-K[eeper] in *Weſtminſter*, and rented a Houſe of [£]. Year: And further, that he was an [honeſt] Man, paid his Debts, did no Man any [Injury] and was well eſteemed by many Gent[lemen] of good Condition.

In Favour of the Commitment the follo[w]ing Reaſons were publiſhed, *viz.*

The Deſcription of Vagrants in the Act [of] the 12th of Q. *Anne*, for reducing the L[aw] relating to Rogues, Vagabonds, &c. into [one] Act of Parliament, is in the firſt Clauſe [of] the ſaid Act, which Clauſe does conſiſt [of] ſeveral diſtinct Sentences; by the firſt Sen[-] tence, in which Vagrants are deſcribed, [all] Perſons pretending themſelves to be Priſo[n]-gatherers, or Collectors for Priſons, Gu[ild]s or Hoſpitals, and wandering abroad for [the] Purpoſe, are deemed Rogues and Vagabon[ds] by the ſecond Sentence, all Fencers, Bea[r]-wards, common Players of Interludes, Mo[n]-ſtrels and Juglers, are alſo deemed Rogues [and] Vagabonds; which ſaid Sentence being gen[e]ral and without any Exception, all Perſons, who come under the ſeveral Denominations in [the] ſaid Sentence, are deemed Rogues and Vagabo[nds].

As it appears by the ſaid Act, That [the] common Players of Interludes are deem[ed] Vagrants, it is neceſſary to conſider who [are] common Players of Interludes.

Common Players are all Perſons who [act] Plays for Profit.

Players of Interludes are Players of Com[e]dy, for *Comœdia* being the *Latin* Word for [an] Interlude, every Comedy is an Interlude, [and] therefore the Word Interlude is only a ſy[no]nymous Term for a Comedy, &c.

By the ſaid Act there is a Saving to the Pr[e]rogative of the Queen, by which it appe[ars] that common Players of Interludes, who [act] by lawful Authority, are not Vagrants [and] in the Intent and Meaning of the ſaid Act, which was not the Caſe of Mr. *Harper*, [for] it did not appear that he acted under any [ſuch] ful Authority.

Tho' a Man have a certain Habitation, [yet] if he wander out of his own Pariſh, beg[ging] or otherwiſe miſordering himſelf, he may [be] puniſhed as a Vagabond. 2. *Rol*'s *Rep.* 172. *Rex* verſus *Hollingſworth*; which [was] the Caſe of Mr. *Harper*, for he miſord[ered] himſelf in the Pariſh of St. *Martin in the Fields*, and his Habitation is in the Pariſh of St. *Paul Covent-Garden*, where he ſwore [he] was a Houſe Keeper.

And further it was ſaid, that Mr. *Ha[rper]* did wander from Place to Place, for that [he] had formerly acted upon the Stage in *Dr[ury]-Lane*, and likewiſe had acted at *Bartholo[mew]* and *Southwark* Fairs.

To all which it was replied, That the Act of the 12th of Q. *Anne*, is a Ge[neral]

ence of the Act of the 39th of Q. *Elizabeth* againſt Vagabonds, the Words of which ſt Act are, "All Fencers, Bear-wards, Common Players and Minſtrels, *wandring Abroad*, &c." from whence it appears, at no Common Players are within the Deſcription of that Act, unleſs they wander broad, for it is their wandering, and not eir playing, that makes them criminal; which Reaſon it was ordered by Act 1ſt of *James* I. *cap.* 7. That even noble Perſonages ſhould authorize none to go *wandering broad*.

That Acts of Parliament are not to be read Sentences, but by Sections, becauſe it is the Parliament but the Printer that puts Points to them; and that if the firſt ction of the ſaid Act, 12th of Q. *Anne*, be d without any Stop, it is plain, that the ord *wandering* is connected to every Character there deſcribed; and that the Words *Vagant* and *Wanderer* being ſynonymous Terms, s as ridiculous to pretend, that a Man who er *wandered Abroad* is a *Vagrant*, as to , that a Man who never was a *Wanderer* is *Wanderer*.

And further it was ſaid, that the Word *ndring* being a general Word, and too apt be miſinterpreted, therefore by the ſecond ction of the ſaid Act, 12th of Q. *Anne*, hich is the impowering Clauſe; the ſaid ord, *wandering*, is confined by the Addiion of the Words, *and begging*; ſo that, by Clauſe, no Juſtice of Peace, or Conſtahas Power to take up even a *Vagabond* Wanderer, unleſs he be found *wandering begging*: And, that as to the 8th Section the ſaid Act, by which it is ordered that, If any Perſon, who hath a legal Settlement, be found wandering *and* begging, *and* miſordering himſelf, he, *as well as a Vagabond*, may be ordered by the Juſtice to be whipped until he is bloody, *&c.*" No ſtice has thereby Power to commit any ſon, unleſs he be found not only wandering begging, but *miſordering* himſelf, neither which Terms could be applied to Mr. *Harper*, for he never did beg in his Life-Time, no Man can be ſaid to wander who goes m one Pariſh to another about a lawful Emment; and, to ſay, that a Man's ng a Play is an unlawful Employ-, or a *miſordering* of himſelf, is a ſt begging of the Queſtion in Diſpute, ich is, whether or no the acting of Plays bout a Licence be contrary to Law. And y, that as to the ſaving Clauſe with Reto the Queen's Prerogative, or the Auity of the Lord Chancellor, it plainly reonly to the immediate preceding Clauſe t the Care of Lunaticks, who are by under the Guardianſhip of the Crown, in Purſuance thereof the Lord Chancellor erally appoints Guardians to take Care of their Perſons and Eſtates.

At firſt it was pretended, that the Commitment of Mr. *Harper* to *Bridewell* was a Commitment in Execution, and that therefore no Writ of *Habeas Corpus* could be granted, but this Point was at laſt waved, and a *Habeas Corpus* having been granted by the Court of *King's Bench*, he was accordingly brought up, on the 20th of *Nov.* and Counſel were heard on both Sides for ſeveral Hours, as to the Validity of the Commitment, when the Court order'd that Mr. *Harper* ſhould be bailed upon his own Recognizance to appear the laſt Day of that Term, and in the mean Time the Parties were to agree upon a feigned Iſſue, to try the Validity of the Commitment by a Jury, but that, if the Parties ſhould not agree upon ſuch Iſſue, then the Court was to give their Opinion. And upon the laſt Day of the ſaid Term, Mr. *Harper* did accordingly appear, but the Court not being then ready to give their Opinion, nor any Iſſue joined by the Parties, he was continued upon his Recognizance till the firſt Day of the then next Term.

Univerſal Spectator, Feb. 23. N° 281.

Female Rakes.

'*Squire* STONECASTLE,

THE *Degeneracy* of the preſent Age is much complain'd of, and I think nothing proves it more, than the *Humour* that of late has prevail'd among the *Women*, of imitating the moſt *worthleſs Part* of the *other Sex*. Half the young Ladies about Town, who are converſant in the *Beau Monde*, have long ſince commenc'd *Rakes*. They make their Parties for a rambling Scheme, drink their *Bottles*, and *toaſt* their *Fellows*; and 'tis now not uncommon to ſee a Lady of Faſhion carried home in a Chair at Two or Three in the Morning from a *Gaming Table*.

Nor is it only the *Softneſs* of their Mind that they would change, but they even put on the *Dreſs* of Men. I met a Party of theſe *Amazons* t'other Day, in *Hunting Habits*: Their Hats were pinch'd up fierce, with the military *Air* and *Cockades* in them; which with the Addition of ſmart *unpowder'd Bobs*, made them look like pretty rakiſh Fellows. Was one to ſpeak to a Female Rake thus equip'd, I know no Phraſe more proper than that of *Harry Frontly*'s to his *Thaleſtris*:

Sir, or *Madam*, chuſe you whether,
Since you're blended thus together.

I ſhould be partial, if I did not here take Notice of the *Effeminacy* of ſome of our *Male Beaus*. They *powder*, *perfume*, *paint*; and at the Play laſt Week I diſcover'd a *Cequet Patch* on the Cheek of a Right Hon. *Horſe Officer*, ſtuck on with a very pretty Grace.

If by publiſhing this, you ſhou'd make the *Women* leſs *Men*, or the *Men* leſs *Women*, you will vindicate the Rights of *Human Nature*, and oblige *Yours*, &c. MANLY.

The

The *OXONIAN*'s Trip to the Drawing-Room.

IF true, as Papiſts *hold, that there is giv'n*
Thro' purgatory *a ſure way to heav'n,*
Reach me my paſſing-cup; *for I have been*
Through a fierce fiery ordeal *for my ſin.*
Without petition, *and without a* fee,
Nor wiſhing to be ſeen, *nor yet to* ſee,
But juſt to kill *an idle hour in ſport,*
Careleſs of where I went,---I went to court:
When I had thruſt (by whom I firſt was barr'd)
Through the fat ſullen yeomen of the guard,
And at the outſide *of the* circle *ſtood,*
Unknowing *and* unknown, *in penſive mood,*
A thing more ſtrange came tripping with a ſmile,
More ſtrange than all the products of the Nile,
Than all Sir Hans' *antiquities more odd,*
Than Ægypt's *mummy, or its pagan god;*
A ſupple gentleman, 'yclep'd *a* beau,
Half *made of* this, half *of an* age ago;
Each part of's dreſs, *with which he ſeem'd elate,*
Told by an anno domini *its date;*
The frizzled toupee modernizd the coat,
Which at the revolution *turn'd about;*
An incoherence *from the top to toe;*
A Monmouth *beaver, and a* red-heel'd *ſhoe:*
This form amphibious caught me by the hand,
With---Sir, I am your ſervant to command;
Of *Yorkſhire,* Sir?---*No, Sir.* Of *Cornwall,*
then?
I ſhou'd be glad to ſerve my countrymen.
A *whig,* I hope?--*Of* Oxford, *and no party.*--
I ne'er ſaw ſoul more honeſt, or more hearty:
I know, I know what bus'neſs drew you here;
Well, Sir,--I'll gain you good Sir *Robert*'s ear.--
You're mighty kind, but quite miſtake my caſe:
I bring no project, *and I want no place.*--
Hah!--An amour, my dear,--nay, let me die
I ſee love baſking in your am'rous eye;
If ſo ——
There's none can help you ſooner, Sir, than I:
Say, Is it lady *Anne,* or lady *Betty?*
You ſigh.---Nay now I'm ſure, Sir, I have
hit ye.
No, Sir, I am a profeſs'd woman-hater,
And next to them, deteſt a courtling *prater.*---
Courtling!--I now perceive, for all your cunning,
Which way the biaſs of your mind is running.
Looſe me.- -Not now, my deareſt friend,--I ſee
You're no well-wiſher to the *miniſtry.*
What mean you?--Nay, I like your outward
ſhow,
'Tis my own maxim, Sir; for *entrez nous,*
I 'faith I hate 'em all as well as you.
Amaz'd why with ſuch impudence *he preſs'd,*
Thus I, with heart ſincere, *my* 'ſquire *addreſs'd.*
I dare e'en here my principles avow;
For he whoſe *ſoul* is *juſt,* no fear can know:
'Tis true, when *human councils* err, I feel,
Yet not in *faction* ſhew my *patriot* zeal:
But *Briton* like, ſtill *liberty* purſue;
True to my *king,* yet to my *country true,*
Calm I behold of *ſtate* the *wond'rous* maze,
Nor *cenſure* blindly, nor yet blindly *praiſe:*
But *him* and *him* alone I *dare commend,*
Who is to *freedom* and her *friends* a *friend.*
But *he* whoſe ſoul to *ſlav'ry* does incline,
Is *foe* to all *mankind,* and therefore mine.
Aghaſt my patriot *ſtood, with wonder fraught,*
Like heedleſs Cælia *by his* lordſhip *caught:*
But ſoon recover'd from his trance, he ſwore
No tallies ever met ſo nice before:
As Britons *both, he vow'd a* ſecret *vow,--*
He wiſh'd, --- as honeſty *had pull'd him down, ---*
I'd--lend--a brother patriot--half a crown.
Gladly I bought him off, and left the place
For ev'ry meaning *and* unmeaning *face,*
From frowning Clody *to his ſimp'ring* grace;
Reſolv'd to banks of Iſis *to retire,*
And there to tune to love *my feeble* lyre:
There pleas'd to follow God *and* nature's rule,
And grandeur *leave to* mad-men *and to fools.*

To *BELIZA,* on her Birth-Day.

AMong the crowds, on this revolving day,
Who wait their tributary wiſhes to pay,
That joy, and pleaſure, round the rolling year
May crown the ſcenes of life where you appear;
Accept, my fair, the wiſhes that I bring,
The grateful muſe's humble offering,
Wiſhes that from the pureſt friendſhip *ſpring.*
Gay, lively health, *and chearful* peace *of*
mind,
Theſe gifts, that make life dear, be ever thine;
Such health, *as does from* pureſt ſpirits *flow,*
Such peace, *as* innocence *alone can know;*
Health, *free from every pain we fear, or feel,*
And peace, *ſecur'd from* doing *or* receiving *ill.*
Wealth, *unalloy'd with* care, *may'ſt thou enjoy*
Wealth, *no one knows more wiſely to employ;*
Wealth, *is a bleſſing, rightly underſtood,*
It gives the pleaſing pow'r of doing good;
And ſure, the higheſt pleaſure *here* below,
Is that, of making others *happy too,*
T' increaſe their comforts, *or* abate *their woes;*
Unbind the chains of want, *and chear the* [friend
And bid the heart of deep diſtreſs *be glad:*
May theſe, and what elſe bounteous *heav'n*
ſhall ſend,
Be crown'd with heav'n's beſt gift, *a faithful*
Bold *to* aſſiſt, *and* prudent *to* adviſe,
Not looſely gay, *nor yet* moroſely *wiſe,*
Whoſe humour with thy own may ſo agree,
In ſuch a well-contraſted harmony,
That every ill *of life may loſe its ſting,*
And every good *redoubled pleaſure bring.*
But, I want words tender enough to bleſs,
Or half the fulneſs of my heart t' expreſs:
Is there on earth, a good *to be enjoy'd?*
Is there on earth, an ill *we would avoid?*
The good *be thine, but far, for ever, far,*
From thee, be every pain, *and every care;*
May all the bleſſings tender mothers pour
Upon their kneeling ſons, in their laſt hour,

multiply'd on thee; the good man's pray'r,
ho, charitable, makes mankind his care,
heaven's choiceſt gifts, on thee deſcend,
ill, as they flow, encreaſe, and never end.
And when, long be it firſt! that hour muſt come,
all the ſons of earth, the dread, and doom,
ſeen that fair form no longer ſhall be known,
fith of our ſex, and envy of thy own,
en may'ſt thou leave the world without a figh,
ace in thy heart, and heaven in thy eye,
d joyful angels guard thee thro' the ſky,
theſe glad realms, where no more pains we prove,
here, bleſt beyond the pow'r of chance, we rove,
here all is peace, and joy, and harmony, and love.

The FAN.

WHEN jealous Cupid *firſt* ſurvey'd
How artfully Orinda *play'd*;
How ſhe perform'd love's deity,
Much more ſucceſsfully than he,
While with each movement of her fan,
She raviſh'd, and ſhe kill'd her man:
His bow and darts away he flings,
His bow and darts,--ah! uſeleſs things!
With haſte he to his mother flies,
And interrupts his words with ſighs,
And ſpeaks the reſt out with his eyes:
ail, goddeſs mother! bear thy ſuppliant ſon,
ſhall loſe all the conqueſts I have won;
thou would'ſt have me ſtill reign over man,
ke, goddeſs, hence theſe ſhafts, and give thy ſon thy fan.

he *Jacobite* Cat and the Parſon: a true Story, to the Tune of *A Cobler there was*, &c.

OME liſten a while, and I'll tell you a tale,
Of the weathercock parſon of W--lton le D—le;
w he hang'd his poor cat, for the old-faſhion'd ſin,
holding the faith, ſhe was tutor'd in.
Derry down, &c.

his parſon cou'd write, and cou'd read, and cou'd pray;
in hunting and leaping his excellence lay:
o wives he had ſtolen; then who will agree
t death in the church is more handſome than he.
Derry down, &c.

n party debates he was learned and loud:
ich made him admir'd and fear'd by the crowd.
May he wore oak, and white roſes in June,
d the king ſhall enjoy, was his favourite tune.
Derry down, &c.

But a cat that he had, was his greateſt delight,
greateſt companion, by day and by night;
For why ſhe was kitten'd, as he wou'd aver,
On the * *day that he lov'd more than all in the year.*
Derry down, &c.

He tenderly nurs'd her, and taught her the trick
To purr, and look gay, and jump over his ſtick,
When Jemmy *was mention'd; but* George *ſhe abhorr'd,*
And wou'd lower her tail, and ſpit at the word.
Derry down, &c.

And twenty more fancies he taught her beſide,
Which the country folks wonder'd at both far and wide;
The parſon ſome prais'd, and ſome prais'd the cat:
But which has more merit, is hard to relate.
Derry down, &c.

But the tables are turned; and now you ſhall know
How uncertain is favour, and all things below:
On a ſudden the parſon turn'd whig to be great,
And riſe for the good of the church and the ſtate.
Derry down, &c.

Then what muſt be done with poor Tabby? *for ſure*
A Jacobite *cat no whig can endure.*
He took her, and tutor'd her over anew;
Bid her riſe for king George, *and bid* Jemmy *adieu.*
Derry down, &c.

But pray'rs, and entreaties, and blows are in vain,
Unmov'd ſhe remains, and reſolves to remain;
Like Cato *deſpiſing the evils ſhe knew*
His fatal ambition wou'd cauſe to enſue.
Derry down, &c.

Enrag'd at her firmneſs, he fetches a rope.
And hang'd her up ſtreight, as he wou'd the pope.
So Tabby *was martyr'd, and for the reward*
Of his zeal, the † *king's preacher the parſon's declar'd.*
Derry down, &c.

And now, my good friend, if to wealth you aſpire,
You muſt ſtick at no matters how wicked ſoe'er,
In dulneſs and ignorance take your degree;
And a D---n or a B---p you quickly will be.
Derry down, &c.

The GENERAL LOVER.

LET my fair one *only be*
Female ſex, *and ſhe's for* me:
I can love her, fair *or* brown,
Of the country *or the* town:
I can love her rich *or* poor;
Or her wealth *or* face *adore:*
Be ſhe dull *or be ſhe* gay,
Haunting church *or haunting play,*
I her piety *admire,*
Or her briſk coquetting fire:
I an equal flame can find
For the coy *or* coming kind:
If kind, *it would* ungen'rous *be*
Not to love her *that loves* me.
If coy, it wou'd injuſtice *prove*
So much virtue *not to* love.

* Tenth of *June*. † Call'd ſo in *L-nc-ſh-re*, nominated by the B——p.

Be ſhe fickle, *ſo am I*;
Each will have their liberty:
Shou'd ſhe be a conſtant *dame*,
It will ſhew how true *her* flame.
Be ſhe tall, *I like her mien*,
Stalking nobly like a queen:
If a little tiny thing,
Like fairy friſking in a ring.
Wiſdom *it has been confeſt*,
Of all ills to chuſe the leaſt:
Let the fair one *only be*,
Female ſex, *and ſhe's for me.*
She *who cannot* credit *give*,
Such *a* lover *e'er can live*,
Tell it to the wond'ring fair,
I this moment ſigh *for* her:
Sigh *for* her,—whoe'er *ſhe be*,—
If woman,—that's enough for me.

IN *December* laſt, Mr. *B*——, of the city of *Dublin*, ſerjeant at law, and *M*——*r* of *P*——*t*, openly ſwore, before many hundreds of people, that upon the firſt opportunity, by the help of ruffians, he would murder or maim the dean of St. *Patrick*'s, [Dr. *Swift*.] Upon which, 31 of the principal inhabitants of that liberty, ſigned a paper, tot his effect: *That out of their great love and reſpect to the dean, to whom the whole kingdom hath ſo many obligations, they would endeavour to defend the life and limbs of the ſaid dean, againſt a certain man, and all his ruffians and murderers.* With which paper, they, in the name of themſelves, and all the inhabitants of the ſaid liberty, attended the dean on *Jan.* the 8th; who being extremely ill in bed of a giddineſs and deafneſs, and not able to receive them, immediately dictated a very grateful anſwer. The occaſion of the *certain man*'s declaration of his villainous deſign againſt the dean, was a frivolous unproved ſuſpicion, that he had written ſome lines in verſe reflecting upon him; of which the following is a genuine copy from the *Grubſtreet Journal*.

On the Words —— *Brother Proteſtants, and Fellow Chriſtians*, ſo familiarly uſed by the Advocates for the Repeal of the Teſt Act in *Ireland*, 1733.

AN *inundation, ſays the fable*,
O'erflow'd a farmer's barn and ſtable;
Whole ricks of hay and ſtacks of corn,
Were down the ſudden current borne;
While things of heterogeneous kind,
Together float with tide and wind;
The generous wheat forgot its pride,
And ſail'd with litter ſide by ſide;
Uniting all, to ſhew their amity,
As in a general calamity.
A ball of new-dropt horſes dung,
Mingling with apples in the throng,
Say'd to the pippin, plump, and prim,
See, brother, how we apples ſwim.
Thus Lamb, *renown'd for cutting corns*,
An offer'd fee from Radcliffe *ſcorns*;
Not for the world — we doctors, brother,
Muſt take no fee of one another.
Thus to a dean ſome curate ſloven,
Subſcribes, Dear Sir, Your brother loving.
Thus all the foot-men, ſhoe-boys, porters,
About St. James's, *cry, we courtiers.*
Thus H——e *in the houſe will prate*,
Sir, we the miniſters of ſtate.
Thus at the bar that booby B——,
Tho' half a crown out-pays his ſweats words;
Who knows in law, nor text, nor margent,
Calls Singleton *his brother ſerjeant*;
And thus fanatic ſaints, tho', neither in
Doctrine, or diſcipline our brethren,
Are brother Proteſtants and Chriſtians,
As much as Hebrews *and* Philiſtines:
But in no other ſenſe, than nature
Has made a rat our fellow-creature.
Lice from your body ſuck their food;
But is a louſe your fleſh and blood?
Tho' born of human filth and ſweat, it
May well be ſaid man did beget it.
But maggots in your noſe and chin,
As well may claim you for their kin.
Yet critics may object, why not?
Since lice are brethren to a S——t;
Which made our ſwarm of ſects determine
Employments for their brother vermin.
But be they Engliſh, Iriſh, Scottiſh,
What Proteſtant can be ſo ſottiſh,
While o'er the church theſe clouds are gathering
To call a ſwarm of lice his brethren?
As Moſes, *by divine advice*,
In Egypt *turn'd the duſt to lice*;
And as our ſects, by all deſcriptions,
Have hearts more harden'd than Egyptians;
As from the trodden duſt they ſpring,
And turn'd to lice infeſt the king:
For pity's ſake it would be juſt,
A rod ſhould turn them back to duſt.
Let folks in high, or holy ſtations,
Be proud of owning ſuch relations;
Let courtiers hug them in their boſom,
As if they were afraid to loſe 'em:
While I, with humble Job, *had rather*,
Say to corruption —— Thou'rt my father.
For he that has ſo little wit,
To nouriſh vermin, muſt be bit.

The *Grotto of Calypſo*, from the 5th Book of the *Odyſſey of* Homer.

THUS *o'er the watry empire* Hermes *flies*,
Till now the happy iſland greets his eyes:
Then ſwift-emerging from the rolling ſea,
Haſtes to the cave along the winding way.
Large was the grotto, *where he found the fair*
The blooming Goddeſs with the radiant hair.
The joyous rocks her warbling voice reſound;
And riſing blazes gild the grotto *round*:
Cedar *and* frankincenſe *the flame ſupplies*,
And clouds of odours gladden all the ſkies:
With

to her loom she chaunts the vocal lay,
work and pleasing song divide the day.
fore the grott, sweet mansion of delight,
es of eternal greens enchant the sight:
alders *shine, whose branches never fail;*
poplars *quiver with the balmy gale.*
grant shade the cypress *wide-displays,*
e birds of broadest wing their mansions raise;
new, *the* crow *loquacious in her flight,*
all that in the briny deep delight.
of luxuriant growth the entrance hide,
clusters swelling with a purple tide.
om the cleft rocks four limpid currents flow,
ver mazes to the vales below;
meads with everlasting flowrets smile,
fill with fragrance all the blissful isle.
ely sweet, that if a God should gaze,
d must view with pleasure and amaze.
etur'd stood the messenger of Jove,
ying all th' Elysium *of the* grove.

rgil allows these Verses to be very fine, ives the Preference to Mr. *Pope*'s Tran- n of this Passage, which he subjoins, as ws.

IUS o'er the world of waters Hermes *flew,*
ew the distant island rose in view:
swift ascending from the azure wave,
k the path that winded to the cave.
was the grott, in which the nymph *he* found,
fair-hair'd nymph with ev'ry beauty crown'd)
ate and sung; the rocks resound her lays:
ove was brighten'd with a rising blaze:
and frankincense, *an od'rous pile,*
d on the hearth, and wide-perfum'd the isle:
she with work and song the time divides,
thro' the loom the golden shuttle guides.
ithout the grott, a various sylvan scene,
r'd around, and groves of living green;
s and alders *ever quiv'ring play'd,*
adding cypress *form'd a fragrant shade;*
ose high branches, waving with the storm,
rds of broadest wing their mansion form;
hough, the sea-mew, *the loquacious* crow,
cream aloft, and skim the deeps below.
ding vines *the shelving cavern screen,*
purple clusters blushing thro' the green.
r limpid fountains from the clefts distil,
ev'ry fountain pours a sev'ral rill,
azy windings wand'ring down the hill:
e bloomy meads *with virid greens were* crown'd,
flowing violets *threw odours round.*
e, where if a God shou'd cast his sight,
d might gaze, and wander with delight!
ach'd the messenger of heav'n: he stay'd
ze'd, and all the blissful haunt survey'd.

An Extract from the Epistle *on Design and Beauty.*

ALIKE on art *simplicity bestows*
An awful stillness and sublime repose;
Great without pomp, and finish'd without toil;
Such as the plans of Angelo *or* * Boyle.
Yet here unless due boundaries be plac'd,
Oft will the simple *spread into the* vast;
Vast, *where the symmetry of parts a-kin,*
Lies too remote and is but dimly seen.
In nature's *wond'rous frame, if ought appear*
Vast, *or mishapen, or irregular;*
'Tis that the mighty structure was design'd
A whole, *proportion'd to th'* all-seeing *mind.*
But art *is bounded by perception still,*
And aims, not to oppress the mind, *but fill.*
All beyond this, are like his project vain,
Who meant to form mount Athos *into* man.

On a little Miss playing with her Shadow.

NATURE, which purest prospects gives,
Ne'er could a scene more lovely boast,
Simplicity with beauty strives
Which shall engage spectators most.
See! how the pretty trifler sports,
With nothing dancing in her shape,
And fond of such delusion, courts
A flying still, still present ape!
See how the airy spectre plays,
And leads her a fantastic chace,
Now meets her in the mimic maze,
Then coyly baffles her embrace.
Beware lest you with like disguise,
Hereafter, Miss, this sport discover,
And while you seem to yield the prize,
Then disappoint the sanguine lover.
Could this reflect her opening charms,
As it her shape and air expresses,
Who would not then extend their arms
And vainly tempt it with caresses?
'Tis well the phantom can't assume,
Of beauty such expressive power,
In future gardens else might bloom,
A fairer Narcissæan flower.
With secret joy the tuneful muse
Surveys you thus your time employing,
In hopes you'll her your play-mate chuse,
When you with this give over toying.
This pleasing threatre display'd
Had celebrated Spencer *seen,*
He had suppos'd the beauteous maid
Attended by his fairy queen.
Or in immortal numbers tell,
O Pope, *if blushing to appear,*
Yet fond to play, this sable veil
Some sylph for her concealment wear.
In Daphne's *verdant honours dress'd,*
To solve our dark uncertain guesses,

* Earl of *Burlington.*

Lo! ſportive Cowley *comes confeſs'd,*
And ſmiling thus to me addreſſes.
What in reſemblance of a ſhade,
You feeble mortal ſenſe beguiles,
Is *Cupid* hid in maſquerade,
To copy her celeſtial ſmiles.
And ſome time hence, with wounded hearts,
Unnumber'd heroes ſhall expire,
When at her glances he his darts
Has pointed with reſiſtleſs fire.

Moral Reflections on the foregoing.

LET no grave cenſor with diſdain,
In Miſs this trifling paſtime view;
We, who to riper years attain,
But viſionary game purſue.
Falſe ſhews our eager hopes invite,
And fancy in the chace is pleas'd,
Each ſpecious bubble yields delight,
Tho' nought ſubſtantial can be ſeiz'd.
We like Tydides, *fondly ſpend*
On phantoms our ſucceſsleſs dart,
Tho' ſacred Pallas *we pretend,*
The hand aſſiſts, and guides the heart.
To taſte of bleſſings yet complete,
No mortal is by heav'n allow'd;
The ſweeteſt pleaſure here's a cheat,
The brighteſt beauty but a cloud.

To *LUCRETIUS.*

IF this wide world, all nature's beauteous frame,
To antecedent counſel owes no claim;
If heav'n, earth, ſea, and objects all around,
Man, beaſt, and fiſh that ſwims the vaſt profound,
As Epicurus *taught, and* you *have ſung,*
From ſightleſs chance, *and ſtruggling* atoms *ſprung;*
Why might not words, *at random thrown, combine*
Into pure verſe, *and* numbers *ſweet as thine?*
Ev'n ſtrike out ſenſe, *and beauties rare diſplay,*
Like thoſe reſulting from th' atomic *fray!*
Tho' Phœbus, *and the* nine, *their votes refuſe,*
Almighty fortune *ſhall be dubb'd your* muſe.
What chanc'd yourſelf, *might well your* books *befal;*
Aſcribe we then to both *the* ſame *original.*

The Prologue *intended to be ſpoken to* the Keepers, *a Ballad Opera: Written by——, a Student at the Univerſity.*

TO ſettle pleaſure, and to temper pain,
Strengthen the mind, and purify the brain:
Wit to diſperſe, and humour to diſpenſe,
The ſoul of virtue, and the life of ſenſe:
A bard reform'd would regulate the ſtage,
Refine the taſte, and animate the age;
By nought miſguided, yet by none miſrul'd,
Inflam'd by reaſon, yet by judgment cool'd;
By practice good, and by experience wiſe,
Speaks as he thinks, and as he lives, he
Simple his plot, and moral his deſign,
As cuſtom ſacred, and as law divine:
Each ſcene's a ſermon, and each verſe a
This world may damn him, but he'd ſave
next.
Tho' dull his farce, no dullneſs it affords
Of things disjointed, or miſhapen words:
No buſkin'd ſcene, or garter'd dreſs he
Statira'd queens, or *Alexander'd* kings:
No friſking Gods, or cap'ring devils
To pleaſe the fooliſh, and diſpleaſe the
No *Drury* whore, or *Temple* rake you'll
Solus cum ſola, or with *rem in re:*
Whoſe noiſy tongues, and empty heads
They think too little, and they talk too
Attend each keeper, and amend his
Th' unwholeſome harlot, for the whole
wife:
Blameleſs yourſelf, then you may blame
whore,
Who when infected moſt, infects the
Aſcribe to woman, what is woman's
Who'd rather croſs herſelf, than not croſs
Reſiſt ill-nature, and repel chagrin,
Nor hiſs a ſentence to confound a ſcene:
Tho' writers find, and actors always
The whole was faulty, if a part's unſo

The *EPILOGUE.*

NO more by tutors job'd, or
by proctors,
Unthinking ſtudents, or unmeaning
Our wrangling bard, diſputes it with the
Nor jars the formal ſchool and ſocial
In logic terms, no arguments uncouth,
Embarraſs reaſon, or entangle truth:
While pedant ſchool-men with ideas
The uſeful ſcholars are expel'd away,
And no ideas of a *college* ſtay.
Conſcious of faults, and ſenſible of
Nameleſs himſelf, he would conceal
No party made expoſes this effort,
The churchman's laughter, or the
Each lady's pleaſure, and her foot-man's
Something he ſhews, but nothing is
For parts he has — and may ſupply
No more let cat-calls in fop's corner
To clap with noſes, or to clap without
Let *temple-walls,* and *college-gates*
Their batter'd witlings, and their
beaux:
So may no morning lectures taint
Nor more pollute with gallipots
So few ſhall write— tho' very few
Your ſenſe ſo heavy, and ſo light
With witleſs ballad, or with taſteleſs
Untune an audience, or unnerve a
So ſhall no preſs be gall'd, or houſe
Proſaic treaſure, or poetic ſtore:
Count o'er their uſeleſs money, paper
Dull drolls forgotten, and dull plays

our example learn the pamphlet trade,
erſe be cautious, and of proſe afraid:
rd the worthy, but th' unworthy ſpare,
to yourſelf, but juſter to the play'r.
ings are many, tho' their writers few;
buy the old, and you have bought the new:
worſe and better plays may both be had,
int the good ones, and return the bad.
ill no ſenſual prieſt with bawdy fiſt,
'd in the pulpit, on the ſtage be hiſt:
queamiſh audience lumpiſh things deſpiſe,
good by ſermons, and by plays grow wiſe:
each the other to ſupport contrives,
'll hold good livings, and they'll lead good
lives.

Cupid a *Plow-Boy, from the* Greek.

UPID in frolick laid his bow aſide,
Which with a plow-boy's ſtaff the rogue
ſupply'd.
ore his quiver at his back he hung,
a full ſcrip a-croſs one ſhoulder flung;
th' other a full cag of ale was laid,
hus equipp'd, he took the plow-boy's trade.
o'er th' furrows he the oxen drove
ever and anon ſmile up at *Jove*;
laughing ſaid, theſe fields, O *Jove!* deſtroy,
ve your ſides from goring by a boy.
like a bull again I make you low,
ake your horned Godſhip to the plough.

am *on a beautiful young Lady: From the* Greek.

PRUS muſt now two *Venus*'s adore;
Ten are the *muſes*; and the *graces* four:
uming's *Flavia*'s wit, ſo ſweet her face,
a new *Muſe*, a *Venus*, and a *Grace*.

e two following Copies of Verſes were
extempore, and as a *Contraſt* to one ano-
The firſt was occaſion'd by a Lady's
agreeably a pretty Song of her own
g to a pretty Tune of her own com-
; the latter by a Gentleman's attempt-
rival her, with bad Voice, bad Song,
ſe Tune.

To CHLOE.

ain ſhall *Handel* touch his ſtring;
vain ſhall ſoft *Cuzzoni* ſing;
Chloe can but touch the quill,
ove our ſouls juſt as ſhe will.
ently o'er the chords ſhe flies;
weetly languiſhing, ſhe dies:
hen that ſhe has nicely found
uls diſſolving with the ſound,
ſhe ſtrikes the ſounding ſtrings,
er voice in echoes rings:
uls riſe with the riſing ſtrain,
ſt revive to die again.
s had wiſe *Orpheus* tun'd his lay,
ng e'en *woman*'s rage away;

Thus had ſoft *Orpheus* pleas'd the ear,
Pluto's grim realm wou'd give no fear,
His notes had made a *heaven* there.

To Mr. SOLFA, *the Contraſt.*

HANDEL ſhall touch no more his ſtring;
No more ſhall *Seneſino* ſing;
When thou, *Solfa*, with warb'ling throat,
Sing'ſt thy *own ſongs* to thy own *note*:
But *note* and *ſong* ſo diſagree,
They're a *contraſt* to *harmony*;
Thou, 'ſtead of lulling to ſoft reſt,
More *ſavage* mak'ſt a *ſavage breaſt*:
Thy notes can no ſuch power give,
To make *inanimates* to live:
Cou'd they, --- *rocks*, *oaks* wou'd die again,
Rather than hear thy tort'ring ſtrain.
Thus had wild *Orpheus* tun'd his lay,
The *liſt'ning* groves had run away:
Thus had but *Orpheus* ſtruck his ſhell,
To add to *diſcord*'s dreary knell,
Pluto had kept him ſtill in *Hell.*

Damon *and* Cælia; *or the* Inconſtants.

WHAT tortures ſtrange does *Cælia* make me prove:
Nor *happy*, nor *unhappy* in my love:
When *ſhe* is *willing*, then *I* ſhun the joy;
When *I* am *willing*, *Cælia* is as coy:
Both are in *love*,-- who then cou'd *happier* be?--
But juſt when *I* love *her*, ſhe loves not *me*:
When with a glowing heat *my* heart's poſſeſt,
An icy *froſt* has chill'd my *Cælia*'s breaſt:
And when in *mine* there does a *coldneſs* reign,
My vary'ng *Cælia*'s *fire* revives again.
Why does my *ſummer Cælia*'s *winter* prove?
When riſes *love* from *ſcorn*, and *ſcorn* from *love?*
Ah! *Cupid* end this jeſt, my *riddling boy*,
Make *me* leſs *am'rous*, or make *her* leſs *coy*:
Burn or *freeze* both, that *both* our breaſts may hold
A mutual *fire*, or elſe a mutual *cold.*

The Wiſh: *Written* extempore, *by a Gentleman of a decay'd Family.*

WOU'D heaven but grant my deſire
A ſmall requeſt I wou'd require,
A decent houſe, and a good fire:
A pot of beer to give a friend,
And wealth enough but to extend
My charity to th' abject poor,
And drive penury from my door.
But, join to this a loving wife,
A ſtranger to conjugal ſtrife,
My happineſs wou'd be compleat,
I'd envy not the rich and great,
But ſpend my days exempt from care,
Or anxious thoughts of 'proaching war;
And quiet ſleep under my roof,
And aſk no more: think this enough.

The GENTLEMAN's

Monthly Intelligencer.

FEBRUARY, 1734.

ABOUT the End of last Month, Mr. *Hinton Brown* and Mr. *William Forſter*, waiting at the Bottom of the Stairs at the Prince of *Orange*'s Lodgings at *Bath*, to pay their Compliments to his Highneſs; his Highneſs, when he came down, obſerving them, aſk'd them from whence they came? Upon which Mr. *Hinton Brown* addreſs'd himſelf to him in the following Speech.

May it pleaſe the Prince of Orange,

We are of the City of *London*, and of that Society of the King's loving Subjects in Contempt called *Quakers*: We are glad of this Opportunity of paying our Reſpects to the Prince, to congratulate him upon the Recovery of his Health ſo far, and ſincerely deſire the Continuance of it. It muſt give particular Pleaſure to every Lover of Liberty and of his Country, to ſee a Branch of the illuſtrious Houſe of *Orange* continued to us; to which Houſe (in the Perſon of the late glorious King *William*) we not only owe (under Divine Providence) the Liberty we enjoy, but even the Royal Family who now fills the Throne. This Kingdom is juſtly filled with Expectation from a Prince who has given ſuch early Proofs of his Wiſdom, that his Accompliſhments will render him an Ornament and Honour to the *Britiſh* Nation. May the ſupream Being, who diſpoſeth all Events according to his good Pleaſure, grant that the intended Nuptials of the Prince o *Orange* with the Princeſs *Royal* may be the uſhering in of a laſting and perpetual Happineſs to them, and a Joy to this Nation; And when by Maturity of Time, they ſhall be tranſmitted to a future State, may they enjoy the Preſence of God for ever! which muſt be the ultimate Deſire of every rational Agent.

FRIDAY, Feb. 8.

His Majeſty's Proclamation was publiſh for encouraging Sailors to enter on Board Majeſty's Ships of War lately put in C million; in this Proclamation his Maj has graciouſly pleaſed to offer his Bounty 20s. per Man, to every able-body'd Seam and 15s. to every Land Man, who ſhall luntarily enter themſelves on Board the Ships, or before any of his Majeſty's Juſt of the Peace, before the 11th of *M* next.

At the ſame Time was publiſhed his jeſty's Proclamation for recalling all Sea ing Men, *&c.* who are now in the Ser of any foreign State, and prohibiting entring into any ſuch Service for the fu without his Majeſty's ſpecial Licence, the higheſt Penalties.

The Preſents deſigned *to procure* a P with the Emperor of *Morocco*, were this Time entered out at the Cuſtom Hou *Barbary* in his Majeſty's Name, viz. Pieces of Broad Cloath, two of Brocade, of ſilver Tabby, one of green Damaſk, of Holland, 16 of Cambrick, one Gold peating Watch, four Silver ditto, 20 Tea, 300lb. of Loaf Sugar, five Fuſils, Pair of Piſtols, one Eſcrutore, two Cl and one Box of Toys.

MONDAY, 11.

The ſix following Malefactors were cuted at *Tyburn*, viz. *George Peters*, *Wi Symonds*, *William Simmonds*, *James Ba James Macdonald*, and *Samuel Stal* p. 45.)

TUESDAY, 12.

The Right Hon. the Lord *King*, late Chancellor, took the Oaths in *Weſtm Hall*, to qualify himſelf for the Pen 3000l. *per Ann.* ſettled on his Lordſhip

The Number of additional Troops deſigned Service of the preſent Year, are 1800, and propoſed inſtead of the 3 Regiments at *Gibraltar*, which are for the future to be reckoned on a different Eſtabliſhment. No Horſe to be raiſed, only 9 private Men and a Corporal to each Company of Foot.

SUNDAY, 17.

Great Damage was done by the Wind at this Time, which was remarkably high in the Morning. It blew down a Tree and part of the Iron Rails near the Fountain in the *Temple*; it likewiſe blew down ſeveral Trees in St. *James*'s *Park*, *Moorfields*, &c. and an old Houſe, the Inhabitants of which being alarm'd by a loud Crack, eſcaped the Minute before it fell. It alſo blew down the Weſt Part of a large Malt-Houſe, at *Sandford* near *Cheſea*, all the Malt was carried away in the Blaſt, and the Damage was computed at 300l. Several Boats were loſt in the River, and a *Weſt-Country* Barge likewiſe ſunk near *Kingſton*. A Houſe in *Jews-Row*, *Chelſea*, was blown down, whereby a Woman was kill'd, and ſeveral other Perſons very much hurt.

WEDNESDAY, 20.

Was held a general Court of the *South-Sea* Company, when they reſolved to pay off 200,000l. of their Bond-Debt at *Michaelmas* next. The Court likewiſe took into Conſideration the great Pains taken by the Committee appointed ſome Time ſince, to inſpect the State and Accounts of the Company, and were pleaſed to make them a handſome Allowance for their Trouble.

The Houſe of C——ns granted two Shillings in the Pound on the Land Tax, for the Year 1734.

The Tradeſmen and Artificers of his late Majeſty, about the ſame Time drew up their Caſe, in order to lay before the Parliament, ſaying, that the Produce of the late Earl of *Derwentwater*'s Eſtate (or ſo much as is ſufficient) may be applied towards diſcharging the Debt due from his late Majeſty to them.

The Fund that is provided for the Support of Widows of the Officers of the Navy, by the Payment of Three-Pence *per* Pound out of their Wages, is now entirely eſtabliſh'd, a Clauſe having been agreed on and added thereto, that no Widow of any Commiſſion or Warrant Officer, belonging to the Navy, ſhall be capable of receiving any Benefit therefrom, whoſe Huſband was 70 Years of Age before he was married to her.

THURSDAY, 21.

His Majeſty went to the Houſe of Peers, and gave the Royal Aſſent to the Malt-Bill, and to four private Bills.

At the anniverſary Meeting of the Sons of the Clergy, the Collection from the Ladies in the Church amounted to upwards of 90l. and from the Gentlemen and Clergy at *Merchant Taylors-Hall* upwards of 510l. which together with the Collection at the Rehearſal, being 261l. amounted to upwards of 861l.

The Tallies have been ſtruck at the *Exchequer* for Payment of the 80,000l. being the Princeſs Royal's Marriage-Portion, as allowed by Act of Parliament.

Warrants for impreſſing Seamen have been ſent to ſeveral Sea-Ports, and a great Number have already been impreſs'd for his Majeſty's Service.

This Day the Prince of *Orange* honour'd the City of *Briſtol* with his Preſence. (See p. 45.) He was met at a proper Diſtance, by the Sheriffs in a Chariot and Six, accompany'd by near a thouſand Gentlemen on Horſeback, &c. preceded by about two hundred Woolcombers in white Shirts, wearing on their Heads a Sort of Wigs of Orange-colour'd Wool, diverſified with a Mixture of Blue, and theſe were followed by about 300 Weavers, diſtinguiſh'd in a different Manner, who met his Highneſs at *Buſſelton*-Common. His Highneſs quitting his Coach at the *Tholzey*, was received by the Mayor and Corporation in their Formalities; when entering the Council Houſe, he was harangued by the Town-Clerk in a ſhort but pathetick Speech, which his Highneſs anſwer'd with a Sweetneſs of Temper peculiar to himſelf.

FRIDAY, 22.

This Day about 10 in the Morning the Clergy of *Briſtol* and the neighbouring Pariſhes, waited on his Highneſs at his Apartment, where having been introduced by Sir *Clement Cotterel*, Maſter of the Ceremonies, the Rev. Dr. *Creſwick*, Dean of the Dioceſe, made an eloquent and pathetick Harangue to his Highneſs, who anſwer'd it in the moſt kind and affable Manner. About Eleven, his Highneſs return'd for *Bath*, and arrived there about Dinner-Time, attended by 5 or 6 Coaches, and a great Number of Horſemen.

The Right Hon. *Richard* Earl of *Scarborough* reſign'd his Poſt of Maſter of the Horſe. His Lordſhip ſerv'd his Majeſty in that high Employment whilſt Prince of *Wales*, having been appointed thereto ſoon after the Acceſſion of the late King. In 1722 his Lordſhip was made Colonel of the Coldſtream Regiment of Foot-Guards, in 1724 Knight of the Garter, in 1727 was ſworn of his Majeſty's Privy Council: His Lordſhip is likewiſe Lord Lieutenant of *Northumberland*, and Vice Admiral of the County of *Devon*.

SATURDAY, 23.

The following 33 Ships were put into Commiſſion:

Ships Names	Rates	Guns	Men	Command.
Britannia	1	100	1000	Whitby
Blenheim	2	90	680	Griffin
Devonſhire	3	80	520	Stewart
Dorſetſhire	3	80	524	Charlton

So.

	Rates	Guns	Men	Command.
Somerset	3	80	520	Leſtock
Newark	3	80	590	Barnſly
Burford	3	70	440	Vanbrug
Monmouth	3	70	440	Clinton
Northumberland	4	64	440	Gunman
Sterling Caſtle	4	64	440	Rowzier
Yarmouth	4	64	440	Poole
Bedford	4	64	440	poſtpon'd
Canterbury	4	60	365	Luck
Medway	4	60	365	Brathwait
Defiance	4	60	365	Fletcher
Nottingham	4	60	365	Conſett
Warwick	4	60	280	Brooks
Deptford	4	60	280	Davers
Tilbury	4	60	280	Williams
Pembroke	4	60	280	Hervy
Centurion	4	60	280	Atkinſon
Plymouth	4	60	365	Townſend
Exeter	4	60	365	Yoe
Windſor	4	60	365	Smith
Montagu	4	60	360	Hildeſley
Argyll	4	50	280	Drake
Litchfield	4	50	280	Payton
Portland	4	50	280	Oſborne
Leopard	4	50	280	Warren
Faulkland	4	50	280	Lee
Roebuck	5	40	190	Crawford
Kinſale	5	40	150	Forreſter
Princeſs Louiſa	5	40	150	Trevor.

MARRIAGES and BIRTHS.

THE Rev. Mr. *Wilſon*, Son of the Biſhop of *Sodor* and *Man*, to Mrs. *Haywood*, a Widow Lady of a great Fortune.

——*Warren*, Eſq; married to Miſs *Broughton*, Daughter of *Richard Broughton*, of *Hillington* near *Uxbridge* in *Middleſex*, Eſq;

Thomas Blaithwaite, Eſq; to Miſs *Blundell*.

The Rev. Mr. *James*, Son of the Hon. Sir *Robert James*, of the County of *Suffolk*, Bart. to Miſs *Vaujan*, of *Leiceſter-Fields*.

James Reed of *Fulham*, Eſq; to Miſs *Garbert*, Daughter of *Benjamin Garbert*, Eſq; of *Parſons-Green*.

Hon. *Tho. Mecklin*, Eſq; to Miſs *Suſannah Anne Stanton*, a *Scotch* Lady, Daughter of *Tho. Stanton*, of *Edinburgh*, a 12,000*l.* Fortune.

John Clarendon, of *Chelſea*, Eſq; to Miſs *Peyl*, Daughter of *Robert Peyl*, Eſq;

The Lady of the Lord *Polwarth*, Son and Heir Apparent of the Earl of *Marchmont*, delivered of a Daughter.

——*Reynolds*, Eſq; a near Relation to Dr. *Reynolds*, Biſhop of *Lincoln*, married to Mrs. *Jane Williams*.

Edward Carpenter, of *Belford* near *Hounſlow*, Eſq; to Mrs. *Hyat*.

The Hon. *John Spencer*, Eſq; Member of Parliament for *Woodſtock* in *Oxfordſhire*, and only Brother to his Grace the Duke of *Marlborough*, to Miſs *Carteret*, third Daughter of the Right Hon. the Lord *Carteret*.

——*Marſhal*, of *Groſvenor-ſtreet*, Eſq; to Miſs *Jane Smith* of *Audley-ſtreet*.

William Godolphin, Eſq; Son of the late Dr. *Godolphin*, Dean of St. *Paul*'s, and Provoſt of *Eton-College*, a near Relation to the Right Hon. the Earl of *Godolphin*, Groom of the Stole to his Majeſty, to the Lady *Barbara Bentinck*, third Daughter to the Counteſs of *Portland*, and Siſter to the preſent Duke.

The Lady *Betty Warren*, Siſter to the Earl of *Cholmondeley*, and Wife to *Edward Warren*, Eſq; ſafely delivered of a Daughter.

The Hon. *William Talbot*, Eſq; eldeſt Son to the Right Hon. the Lord Chancellor, married to Mrs. *Cardonnel*, only Daughter of *Adam de Cardonnel*, Eſq; Secretary to his Grace the Duke of *Marlborough*.

DEATHS.

AT his Houſe in *Bloomſbury-Square*, Sir *James Hallet*, Knt. formerly an eminent Goldſmith in *Cheapſide*.

Mr. *James Gould*, Surveyor to the *South-Sea* Company.

Major *Cæſar Burton*, at *Holy-Port*, in *Bucks*.

George Grimes, Eſq; an eminent Packer of this City, ſaid to have died worth near 100,000*l.*

Capt. *Richards*, belonging to the Office of Ordnance.

Captain *Cary*, formerly of the Duke of *Argyll*'s Regiment of Blues.

At *Honington* in *Warwickſhire*, *Chriſtopher White*, Eſq; who has left 2,000*l.* *per Ann.* to *Joſeph Durham*, of the *Iſle of Ely*, Eſq; who married his only Daughter.

Mrs. *Sarah Strickland*, a Maiden Gentlewoman, and Niece to Sir *Wm. Strickland*, Secretary at War.

Mr. *Fewell*, Maſter of the *Bear* and *Rummer* Tavern in *Gerrard-Street*, near *Golden-Square*, who was Head Cook to King *William*, and Queen *Anne*, reputed worth 20,000*l.*

At his Houſe near *Weſtham* in *Eſſex*, *Thomas Bates*, Eſq; who in the Reign of King *William* was Yeoman of the Chapel Royal.

At his Houſe near *Acton* in *Middleſex*, *George Villers*, Eſq; one of his Majeſty's Juſtices of the Peace for the County of *Middleſex*.

At his Houſe in *Bolton-ſtreet*, *Joſeph Cliſton*, Eſq; one of his Majeſty's Juſtices of the Peace for the County of *Middleſex*.

At his Houſe in *Soho-Square*, aged 84, Sir *John Newton*, of *Barr's-Court* in *Glouceſterſhire*, Bart. which Seat and Eſtate his Anceſtors had enjoy'd ever ſince the Time of *Edward* IV.

At her Houſe in St. *James's-Place* the Right Hon. the Lady Viſcounteſs *Sondes*, Mother to the preſent Earl of *Rockingham*, and eldeſt Daughter of *Thomas* late Earl of *Thanet*.

The Right Hon. *Charlotte*, Lady *Conway*,

of *Rayley*, and Baroneſs of *Killutagh*. Her Ladyſhip was Daughter of Sir *John Shorter*, (who in 1688 was Lord Mayor of *London*) and Siſter to the Right Hon. Sir *Robert Walpole*'s Lady.

John Merritt, Eſq; in the Commiſſion of the Peace in the Reign of Q. *Anne*, and Purveyor to the 4 Troops of Horſe-Guards.

Sir *John Tyrwhit*, Bart. at his Seat of *Stainfield* in *Lincolnſhire*, deſcended from a very antient Family, of which was *Robert Tyrwhit*, who poſſeſſed *Kettleby* in *Com' Lin'* in the Time of *Edward* II.

Capt. *Gregory*, one of the Caſhiers of the Bank.

At *Abingdon* in *Berkſhire*, *Joſeph Sellers*, Eſq; who had been in the Commiſſion of the Peace for the ſaid County upwards of 20 Years.

At his Chambers in the *Temple*, Mr. *John How*, Secretary to the Commiſſion of Peace under the Lord Chancellor.

The Right Hon. the Lord *Caſtlemain*, eldeſt Son of the Earl of *Tilney*, of the Kingdom of *Ireland*; of the Small-Pox.

At his Seat at *Kerley* in *Yorkſhire*, the Hon. Col. *Cummins*, an old experienc'd Officer in the Army.

At *Wallingford* in *Berkſhire*, Mrs. *Northy*, a Maiden Gentlewoman of near 100 Years of Age, poſſeſs'd of an Eſtate of 400 l. *per Ann.*

In *Cleveland-Row*, St. *James*'s, the Lady *Oſborne*, Relict of the late Sir *John Oſborne*.

Edward Johnſon, Eſq; formerly a Director in the *E. India* Company.

Samuel Matthews, Eſq; in the Commiſſion of the Peace for *Middleſex*, during the Reigns of K. *William*, Q. *Anne*, and the late King.

At *Hertford*, the Rev. Mr. *Battell*, formerly Maſter of the Free-School there, but deprived for not taking the Oaths required at the Revolution.

In *Alderſgate-ſtreet*, Mr. *Tho. Richardſon*, an eminent Apothecary, and one of the Governours of *Bridewell*, and *Bethlehem* Hoſpitals.

Capt. *Joſeph Williamſon*, a brave experienc'd Sea-Officer, aged 70.

Benj. Palmer, Eſq; a Gentleman of the Law, and of an Eſtate in *Warwickſhire* of 1,500 l. *per Ann.* which falls to his Son.

Eccleſiaſtical PREFERMENTS.

DR. *Jackſon* appointed one of the Prebendaries of the Cathedral Church of St. *Paul*.

Dr. *Campbell*, to be one of his Majeſty's Chaplains in *Scotland*.

Mr. *Hugh Pugh* preſented to the Vicarage of *Llangrannog*, &c. *Cardiganſhire*.

Mr. *Henry Bagnal*, jun. to the Rectory of *Shadoxburſt*, *Kent*.

Mr. *James Henſtridge*, inducted into the Church of *Breth*, *Kent*.

Mr. *Randolph Marriot*, preſented to the Rectory of *Eaſt-Wall*, void by the Reſignation of the Rev. Mr. *Wilkinſon*.

Mr. *Edm. Bateman* collated to the Sine-Cure of *Hollingbourne*, *Kent*, in the room of the late Dr. *Brailsford*.

Mr. *Burrell*, preſented to the Rectory of *Bridge-Caſterton* in *Rutlandſhire*, void by the Death of Dr. *Peake*.

Francis Bedford, M. A. of Queen's College, Chaplain to the Duke of St. *Albans*, had a Diſpenſation to hold the Vicarage of *Tregony*, in the County of *Cornwall* and Dioceſe of *Exon*, together with the Rectory of *Philligh*, in the ſame County and Dioceſe.

Mr. *Croxall*, preſented to the Living of *Sellack*, in the County and Dioceſe of *Hereford*, worth 150 l. *per Ann.*

Richard Lynn, M. A. to the Vicarage of *Iperſhot*, in the Dioceſe of *York*.

PROMOTIONS *Civil* and *Military*.

LORD *Moleſworth* appointed to be Lord Lieutenant and Cuſtos Rotulorum of the *Eaſt-Riding* of *Yorkſhire*.

Lieut. *Lewis* appointed to be a Captain in the Royal Regiment of Artillery, commanded by Brigadier *Borgard*, in the room of Capt. *Richards* deceaſed.

Charles Selwyn, Eſq; made Judge-Advocate of his Majeſty's Forces, in the Room of *Edward Hughes*, Eſq; deceaſed.

Charles Lord *Cadogan* made Col. of the Reg. of Dragoons late Brig. *Churchill*'s; the Brig. having ſucceeded to General *Evans*'s.

Brig. *Barrel*, appointed Col. of the Lord *Cadogan*'s Reg.

John Pitt, Eſq; promoted to the Command of Brig. *Barrel*'s Reg.

Capt. *Brackley* made Lieut. Col. of a Company in the firſt Reg. of Foot Guards, ſome Time ſince vacant.

Sheriffs appointed: For *Leiceſterſhire*, *Chiverton Hartop*, Eſq; *Oxon*, *Francis Haywood*, Jun. Eſq; *Montgomery*, *Edward Price*, Eſq;

Benjamin Keene, Eſq; his Majeſty's Miniſter at the Court of *Spain*, appointed Envoy Extraordinary at the ſaid Court.

His Majeſty has made the following Promotions in the Royal Regiment of Horſe-Guards Blue, commanded by the Duke of *Argyll*, viz. Major *Wyvill*, to be Lieut. Col. in the room of Col. *Byng* deceaſed; Capt. *Bert*, to be Major of the Reg. in the room of Major *Wyvil*; Capt. Lieut. *Bennet*, to be Capt. of Col. *Byng*'s Troop; Lieut. *Herbert*, to ſucceed Capt. *Bennet*; and Capt. *Midget*, Adjutant, to ſucceed Capt. *Herbert*.

John Farcy, Eſq; Major of Brigadier *Pocock*'s Reg. of Foot, made Lieut. Col. in the ſaid Reg. in the room of Col. *Deviſcher*, deceas'd.

Capt. *Beſcheſer*, Capt. of a Company in the ſaid Reg. appointed Major, in the room of Col. *Farcy*.

Capt. *Gray*, Capt. Lieut. in the ſaid Reg. to be Capt. in the room of Capt. *Beſcheſer*.

John Turner, Eſq; a Lieut. in the ſaid Reg. to be Capt. Lieut. in the room of Capt. *Gray*.

Theophilus

Theophilus Creamer, Esq; to be Lieut. in the room of *John Turner*, Esq;

The Duke of *Athol*, one of the 16 Peers of *Scotland*, and the Marquiss of *Lothian*, another *Scotch* Peer, made Knights Companions of the antient Order of the Thistle, on the Vacancies by the Deaths of the Earls of *Sutherland* and *Loudon*.

John Zellicoffre, Esq; of *Denmark-Street*, appointed his Majesty's Ambassador to the King of *Morocco*.

Henry Fane, Esq; Clerk of the Estreats, appointed Comptroller of the Pipe-Office, a Place worth 600*l. per Ann.*

George Clarke, of *Lincoln's-Inn*, Esq; appointed Secretary to the Commission of Peace under the Lord Chancellor, in the room of Mr. *Howe*, deceas'd.

Sir *John Norris* appointed Commander in Chief of the Fleet that will sail for the *Mediterranean* this Spring, who will hoist the Union Flag at the Main Topmast Head on board the *Britannia*.

John Lindsey, Earl of *Crawford*, one of the 16 Peers of *Scotland*, Capt. in Brigadier *Kerr's* Reg. of Dragoons, made Capt. of Sir *Charles Wills's* Comp. in the first Reg. of Foot Guards, in the room of Col. *Lascelles*, promoted to the Comp. late Col. *Read's*.

The Earl of *Loudon* made Capt. in Brigadier *Kerr's* Reg. of Dragoons, in the room of the Earl of *Crawford*.

Wm. Campbell, Esq; Page to her Majesty, and a Relation to the Duke of *Argyle*, made a Cornet in the Royal Reg. of Horse Guards, Blue, commanded by that Nobleman.

Joseph Hazlope, Esq; appointed Capt. of a Comp. in *Stair's* Dragoons.

Augustus Schutz, Esq; made Avener and Clerk Martial of his Majesty's Stables, vacant ever since the Death of the late Col. *Negus*.

New Members of Parliament chosen since our List in Feb. 1733.

HENRY *Lambton*, Esq; for *Durham*, in the room of *Charles Talbot*, now Lord *Talbot*, and Lord Chancellor.

William Hay, Esq; for *Seaford* in *Sussex*, in the room of Sir *Philip York*, now Lord *Hardwicke*, and Lord Chief Justice of the *King's-Bench*.

—— *Parker*, Esq; for *Peterborough*, in the room of Sir *Charles Gounter Nicholl*, deceas'd.

Sir *Charles Mordaunt*, for *Warwickshire*, in the room of *Wm. Peyto*, Esq; deceas'd.

Henry Maister, Esq; for *Hull*, in the room of Lord *Micklethwait*, deceas'd.

Richard Jackson, Esq; for *Sudbury* in *Suffolk*, in the room of *John Knight*, Esq; deceas'd.

—— *Archer*, Esq; for the County of *Berks*, in the room of Sir *John Stonehouse*, Bart. deceas'd.

John Willes, Esq; re-elected for *Wootton*, and *Dudley Ryder*, Esq; for St. *Germans* in *Cornwall*; and *John Verney*, Esq; for *Dorwitch*.

PERSONS *declar'd* BANKRUPTS.

JOHN *Thomas*, of *Southwark*, Linnen-Draper.

Thomas Bleazard, of St. *George the Martyr*, in *Southwark*, Grocer.

Nathan Dell, of *Snow-Hill*, *London*, Turner.

William Dick, of *Bradford*, *Wilts*, Clothier.

Robert Pate, of St. *Saviour*, *Southwark*, Distiller.

John Probyn, late of St. *Paul*, *Covent-Garden*, in *Middlesex*, Dealer in Cyder.

John Nixon, of *Jewin-Street*, *London*, Glover.

Henry Hamer, of *Liverpool*, in *Lancashire*, Linnen-Draper.

William Freeborne, late of *Havant*, in *Hampshire*, Merchant.

Richard Varndell, otherwise *Farndell*, late of *South Harting*, in *Sussex*, Merchant.

Henry Oldham, of *Russel-street*, near *Drury-Lane*, *Middlesex*, Victualler and Stay-maker.

Margaret Morris, and *Elizabeth Morris*, of *Shrewsbury*, Spinsters, Milliners, and Partners.

John Knight, late of *Froome Selwood*, in *Somersetshire*, Grocer and Chandler.

Edward Bastin, of *Liverpool*, Mercer.

William Yeats, of *Christ-Church*, *Spittle-Fields*, Brewer.

John Tull, late of *Great Chelsea*, Plough-wright and Chapman.

Daniel Jones, of St. *Paul's Church-Yard*, *London*, Coffee-man and Joiner.

Thomas Davidge, of *Tavistock-street*, *Westminster*, Milliner.

Andrew Tondup, of *South-Shields*, *Durham*, Taylor and Draper.

William Hunt, late of *Bristol*, Haberdasher of Small Wares.

John Taylor, of St. *Saviour*, *Southwark*, Dyer.

John Bellingham, of *Wem*, in the County of *Salop*, Mercer.

Thomas Archer, late of *Flitcham*, in *Norfolk*, Jobber.

James Martin, of *Bell-Yard*, in *Gracechurch-Street*, *London*, Baker and Chapman.

Diggory Cock, of the City of *Exon*, Merchant.

FROM

FROM *Dantzick*. General *Lasci*, with the *Ruſs* and *Saxon* Troops, is got in and about *Meve*, a ſmall Town upon the *Viſtula*, eight *German* Miles from hence, and is marching hither with all Speed: His Demands are, that the King abandon this City, and that the Citizens pay the ſaid General a round Sum of Money.

His Imperial Majeſty's Anſwer to the King of *Spain*'s Memorial or Manifeſto for declaring War againſt him is publiſhed. It imputes to contrary Winds the Delay of a Courier, who was charged with the Emperor's Aſſent to the Demands of their Catholick Majeſties, in relation to Don *Carlos*; which ſaid Delay threw the Court of *Spain* into Impatience and a Rupture, and will probably prove, in the End, one of the greateſt Misfortunes that ever befel *Europe* from an Accident ſo trivial. The Piece has alſo the following remarkable Article:

The Buſineſs of Poland *ſtands at the Head of the Reaſons which the Court of* Spain *has thought fit to publiſh, in Apology for the Measures ſhe has taken, but actually made no Part, nor was even once mention'd in the Treaty of Accommodation carrying on by the kind Mediation of* Great Britain. *It would be no difficult Matter to point out the true Reaſon why the pretended* Grievances in common to the Princes of the Houſe of *Bourbon, affected ſo late* the King of Spain. *Staniſlaus*, link'd by ſo cloſe a Tie to that auguſt Houſe, whereof his Catholick Majeſty is one of the principal Branches, *did not ſeem to him at one Time a Prince ſo highly to be regarded, as to take off his Thoughts from all other Candidates; for 'tis known, that a little after the Death of the late King* Auguſtus, *the Court of* Spain *impowered Father* Arcelli, *a Theatin Prieſt, to intriegue for the Crown of* Poland *in favour of Don* Carlos.

From *Milan*. The whole *French* Army conſiſts of 30,000, and that of *Sardinia* of 20,000, but there is a conſiderable Deſertion and Sickneſs among them. However they talk of marching to the *Trentine*, to oppoſe the Entrance of the *Imperialiſts*, who are juſt at hand, and increaſe greatly. A Detachment of 1,000 Grenadiers from *Mantua*, having taken a Retrenchment, and puſhed two *French* Battalions into the River, cut to Pieces moſt Part of a Regiment of Dragoons, and took five Pieces of Cannon.

From *Dantzick*. General *Lasci* is arrived with his Army before this City, but keeps as yet out of the Reach of the Cannon. The Magiſtrates have laid the Place on all Sides under Water; but however 'tis fear'd the *Ruſſians* will make themſelves Maſters of the Fort *Weyſelmund*, which will cut off all our Communication with the Sea.

From *Ratisbon*. It was reſolved in the Aſſembly of the Dyet of the Empire to declare War againſt *France*: Which Reſolution was taken by a Majority of 6 againſt 3 in the College of Electors, and 57 againſt 12 in that of Princes. The Electors of *Bavaria*, *Cologn*, and *Palatine*, were the 3 Negative Voices; their Miniſters being ordered to inſiſt on a Neutrality.

A Treaty of Alliance is concluded between *Spain* and *Portugal*, by which the latter is to furniſh his Catholick Majeſty with 12 Ships of the Line, and a vaſt Loan of Money. Other Accounts ſay, that the Diſpoſition of the Court of *Portugal*, in the preſent Juncture, is apparently more in Favour of the Emperor than the King of *Spain*.

From *Paris*. The Duke *de Tremouille*, who brought the King of *France* the News of the Surrender of *Tortona*, appear'd at Court with a Hat, the Brims whereof and Crown had been miſerably torn upon his Head by a Muſket Shot in the Trenches before the Caſtle of *Milan*; whereupon his moſt *Chriſtian* Majeſty promoted him directly to the Rank of a Brigadier, and ordered the Hat to be hung up in the Hall *de Guerre* at *Verſailles*.

From *Copenhagen*. A few Days ago a certain Officer, a Native of the Electorate of *Saxony*, was ſeized here and clapt into Priſon, for having formed an execrable Project for poiſoning K. *Auguſtus* at *Cracow*: And propoſing the ſame to Count *Plelo* the *French* Ambaſſador, from whom he expected Encouragement; that Nobleman deteſting ſo horrid a Contrivance, moſt generouſly acquainted his *Daniſh* Majeſty therewith, who condemn'd the vile Projector to perpetual Impriſonment.

From *Conſtantinople*. That the *Perſian* General's Secretary having propoſed to his Maſter the Sale of Military Poſts to raiſe his Intereſts in the Army, the General made Anſwer, *That Poſts of Honour were the Rewards of Virtue; to adviſe him to trade in them, was either thro' an invidious Deſign to make him hated, or a treacherous one upon his Countrymen to enrich himſelf; whether of theſe two he was guilty of, he deſerv'd Death*: Accordingly he order'd him that Inſtant to be ty'd up in a Sack, and thrown into the River.

Towards the End of the Month.

STOCKS.

S. Sea 75 ¼	*Afric.* 23
—*Bonds* 4 a 5*s.*	*Royal Aſſ.* 90 ½
—*Annu.* 100 ¼	*Lon. ditto* 11 ½
Bank 132	*Y. Build.* 3 ½
—*Circ.* 4*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.*	3 *p. C. An.* 88 ½
Mil. Bank 108	*Eng. Copper* 1*l.* 15*s.*
India 135 ½	*Welſh dit.* 1*l.* 3*s.*
—*Bonds* 1 14	*Lott. Tick.* 3*l.* 19*s.*

The Courſe of EXCHANGE.

Amſt.	35 8 a 8	*Bilboa*	39 ½
D. Sight	35 5 a 5	*Leghorn*	50 ⅛
Rotter.	36 11	*Genoa*	52 ½ a ⅝
Hamb.	35 8	*Venice*	49 ⅜ a ¼
P. Sight	30 ⅖	*Lisb.*	5 4 ⅝
Bourd. ½uſ	30 ⅜	*Oport.*	5 4
Cadiz	40 ⅜	*Antw.*	36 8
Madrid	39 ¼	*Dublin*	11 ¾

Prices of Goods at *Bear-Key.*

Wheat	27 30	*Oates*	10 14
Rye	17 18	*Tares*	18 23
Barley	14 18	*Peaſe*	22 24
H. Beans	16 20	*H. Peaſe*	16 19
P. Malt	17 20	*B. Malt*	16 19

Abſtract of the *London* WEEKLY BILL, from *Jan.* 22 to *Feb.* 19.

Chriſtned	Males 780	Females 705	1485
Buried	Males 1069	Females 1080	2149

Died under 2 Years old			852
Between	2	and 5	181
	5	10	105
	10	20	48
	20	30	130
	30	40	191
	40	50	186
	50	60	160
	60	70	139
	70	80	108
	80	90	41
	90	and upwards	8

2149

Prices of Goods, &c. in *London.* Hay 38*s. to* 42*s.* a Load.

Coals per Chaldron 24 6
New Hops per Hun. 5*l. to* 5*l.* 10
Old Hops 3*l.* 0 11*s. to* 4*l.*
Rape Seed 10 *a* 11
Lead the Fodder 19 *Hun.* 1 *half on board,* 14 *a* 14*l.* 10*s.*
Tin in Blocks 3*l.* 18
Ditto in Bars 4*l.*
Copper Eng. beſt 5*l.* 5*s.*
Ditto ordinary 4*l.* 16*s. a* 5*l.*
Ditto Barbary 85 *a* 95*l.*
Iron of Bilboa 12*l.* 0*s. per Ton.*
Ditto of Sweden 16*l.* 10*s.*
Tallow 30 *a* 31*s.*
Country Tallow 30*s.*
Cochineal 19*d.*

Grocery Wares by the C.

Raiſins of the S. new 34*s.*
Ditto Malaga Frailes 18*s.*
Ditto Smirna new 24*s.*
Ditto Alicant 19*s.*
Ditto Lipra new 20*s*
Ditto Belvedera 21*s.*
Currants 44*s.*
Prunes French none
Figs 20*s.*
Sugar Powder beſt 54 *a* 59*s.*
Ditto ſecond Sort 46*s. a* 50
Loaf Sugar double ref. 8*d. half a* 9*d.*
Ditto ſingle refine 56*s. a* 64*s.*

Grocery Wares by the lb.

Cinamon 7*s.* 8*d.*
Cloves 9*s.* 1*d.*
Mace 15*s.* 0*d.*
Nutmegs 8*s.* 7*d.*
Sugar Candy white 18*d.*
Ditto brown 6*d.*
Pepper for home conſump. 16*d.*
Ditto for Exportation 12*d. half*
Tea Bohea fine 10*s. a* 12*s.*
Ditto ordinary 9*a* 10*s.*
Ditto Congo 10 *a* 14*s.*
Ditto Pekoe 14*a* 16*s.*
Ditto Green fine 9 *a* 12*s.*
Ditto Imperial 9 *a* 12*s.*
Ditto Hyſon 25 *a* 30*s.*

Drugs by the lb.

Balſam Peru 14*s.*
Cardamoms 3*s.* 3*d.*
Camphire refin'd 14*s.*
Crabs Eyes 1*s.* 8*d.*
Jallop 2*s.* 6
Manna 2*s.* 6*d. a* 4*s.*
Maſtick white 4*s.*
Opium 9*s.*
Quickſilver 4*s.*
Rhubarb 18 *a* 24*s.*
Sarſaparilla 3*s.* 0*d.*
Saffron Engliſh 22*s.* 6*d.*
Wormſeeds none
Balſam Copaiva 3*s.* 0*d*
Balſam of Gilead 20*s.*
Hypocacuanæ 5 *a* 6*s.*
Ambergreece per oz. 8*s.*

Wine, Brandy, and Rum.

Oporto red per Pipe 32*l. a* 34*l.*
Ditto white none
Liſbon red 35 *a* 40*l.*
Ditto white 26 *a* 28*l.*
Sherry 26*l.*
Canary new 25 *a* 28*l.*
Ditto old 32 *a* 34*l.*
Florence 3*l.*
French red 30*l. a* 40*l.*
Ditto white 20*l.*
Mountain Malaga old 24*l.*
Ditto new 20*l. a* 21
Brandy Fr. per Gal. 7*s. a* 8*s.* 0
Rum of Jam. 6*s. a* 7*s.*
Ditto Lew. Iſlands 6*s.* 4*d. a* 6*s.* 10

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POLITICAL.

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51. Dr. *South* ſtill ſpeaking, or, a Lecture from the Dead, concerning modern Patriotiſm. Printed for *J. Cooper*, price 1s.

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54. Remarks on a Letter to the Deputies, and on a Pamphlet, entitled, The Rights of the Committee, &c. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 4d.

SERMONS and THEOLOGY.

55. A Sermon preached before the Houſe of Lords at *Weſtminſter*, *Jan.* 30, 173[3]. By the Right Rev. Dr. *Thomas Sherlock*, Biſhop of *Bangor*. Printed for *J. Pemberton*, price 6d.

56. A Sermon preach'd before the Houſe of Commons, *Jan* 30, 1733. By *Henry Felton*, D. D. Principal of *Edmund Hall*, *Oxon*. Printed for *B. Motte*, price 6d.

57. A Sermon preach'd in the Pariſh Church of *Martock*, *Nov.* 25, in *Somerſetſhire*; and in the Chapel of *Lead*, *Dec.* 2, 1733. By *T. Bowyer*, M. A. Vicar of *Martock*. Printed for *C. Bowyer*, price 6d.

58. A Sermon preached at St. *Andrew Holbourn*, *Dec.* 16, 1733. By *William Staniforth*, A. M. Printed for *S. Aſh*, price 6d.

59. A Sermon preach'd at St. *Lawrence Jewry* Church, *Jan.* 13. 1733, by *William Beſt*, D. D. Printed for *W. Innys* and *R. Manby*, price 6d.

* 60. A ſerious Addreſs to the Aged. By *James Davies*, M. A. The ſecond Edition. Printed for *J. Hazard* and *T. Cox*, pr. 1s.

61. The Chriſtian's ſure Guide to eternal Glory: Or, living Oracles moſt comfortable, holy, and inſtructive of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt. Printed for *F. Jefferies*, 8vo. price 4s.

* 62. Sermons on various Subjects. By *J. Watts*. D. D. the fifth Edition. Printed for *E. Matthews*, *R. Ford*, and *R. Hett*, 2 Vols. 8vo. price 10s.

THE LONDON MAGAZINE.

MARCH, 1734.

A View of the Weekly ESSAYS *and* DISPUTES *in this Month.*

Grubstreet Journal, Feb. 28. Nº 218.

The present State of the Theatrical War in the British *Dominions.*

THE *preliminary Articles of Peace*, lately publish-
ed in this Paper, (See p. 12.) having not been productive of the wish'd for Amity between the Theatrical Powers; all Hopes of Accommodation are at length entirely cut off. The Revolters, who took up their Winter-Quarters in the *Hay-Market*, have, by Reason of the Forwardness of the Spring, and, in order to carry on the War more vigorously, brought into the Field the famous veteran Troops, originally trained up under that valiant General the Marshal *de Moliere*. With these they have for thirteen Days past made a brisk, and continued Attack on the Adversary in their Encampments, and taken a great Number captive; whom they shut up, for a few Hours only, in the Dungeon, *alias* Pit of the Theatrical Castle, and then generously dismissed them.

On the other Hand, in order to make Head against these powerful Forces, the most illustrious Republick of *Drury-Lane*, has listed under her Banners, the high and tremendous Champion Mynheer *Cajanus*, or *Man-Mountain*; who has lay'd about him for some Time very furiously, but is now quite out of Breath.—— Signior *Richardo Pantomimo de Lun*, has, at the same Time, made a second Attempt with his famous Sea Dragon, which formerly did such Wonders in the Field; but it appears that he has now most unhappily lost his Teeth.

The next and most formidable Adversary is the intrepid and terrible Chief, the most sublime *John James Heydegger*; who, during the Season of *Lent*, is resolv'd to appear in the Field unmask'd; and right perilous will his Countenance prove to the Foe, since he must be more than mortal, who can bear to look him in the Face.

Duke *Giffard* has likewise exerted himself in an extraordinary Manner, as appears by his printed Manifesto, which is daily posted up on the Gates, and other noted Places of this Metropolis, being at least four Feet in length. But his Strength consisting

chiefly of the large naval Force he has rais'd; as Preſs-Warrants are out for the ſupply of his Majeſty's Fleet, it is queſtioned, whether he will be ſuffered to keep ſo many Watermen under his Protection.

As for the moſt high and puiſſant *John Frederick Handell*, Prince *Palatine* of the *Hay-Market*, he has declared, as we are informed, for a ſtrict Neutrality. But the *laudable Cantons* of *Lincoln's-Inn-Fields* ſeem more inclined to join the Revolters, being in the ſame Kind of Situation, and Fellow-Strugglers for Liberty.

We wait with the utmoſt Impatience the Event of theſe formidable Preparations and Enterprizes, and ſhall communicate our Advices to the Public from Time to Time with the greateſt Exactneſs and Impartiality.

Weekly Regiſter, March 2. N° 208.

Part of an Imitation of Lucian's Ignoramus: *Being an Invective againſt an illiterate Fellow, who was very fond of Books.*

YOU expect the Character of a great Scholar, becauſe you have purchas'd a great many Books: Whereas it only makes your Ignorance more apparent. Books are entirely out of your Element, ſo that you muſt always depend on the Judgment of others, and as that is as various as Taſte, or Faſhion, you are often in Danger of being made the Jeſt of Men of Senſe, and always the Bubble of your Bookſeller. Prithee how came you to be a Judge of Books, unleſs 'tis from their Age? The Eſtimate you make of them is proportionable to their being Worm-eaten: But, ſuppoſe you are vers'd in their Editions and Contents, what Advantage does it gain you, ſince you have not the Capacity to diſtinguiſh the ſolid or ſhining Paſſages, any more than a blind Man has of Colours? You ſtare, indeed, upon a Book with all the Eyes you have, and turn it over Leaf by Leaf: But what then? You know not when 'tis faulty, nor when 'tis fine. Give me Leave to tell you, that, if you had all *Demoſthenes*'s Manuſcripts, who copied, with his own Hand, the Hiſtory of *Thucydides* eight Times over; nay had you all the Books that *Sylla* carried from *Athens*, they would do you no Service, even tho' you hung them about your Neck, or ſlept on them every Night: For, as the old Proverb has it, *An Ape is but an Ape, tho' he be cover'd with a Cloth of Gold.*

There was a rich Man of *Tarentum*, who took it into his Head to make one at the *Pythian* Games, and, not being ſtrong enough to wreſtle, or ſwift enough to run, choſe to make himſelf a Candidate in Muſick. Urg'd on by his Sycophants, he came to *Delphos*, made his Appearance at the Games in Cloth of Gold, with a Crown in the Shape of Laurel, but the Leaves were of Gold and the Fruit Emeralds. His Harp was proportionably rich, cover'd with Jewels, and adorn'd with the Figures of *Orpheus*, *Apollo*, and the *Muſes*. Such a pompous Appearance drew all Eyes upon him, and every one expected ſome wonderful Performance, anſwerable to ſo expenſive a Preparation. But, when he attempted to exert his Faculties, his Voice was out of Tune, as well as his Harp, and nothing was to be heard but Diſcord from both. The whole Theatre rung with Laughter at this, and, ſo much the more, as his Figure ſeem'd to promiſe ſo much. In a Word, the Judges of the Game had him laſh'd out of the Theatre, cover'd with Dirt, and overwhelm'd with Shame and Confuſion. After him came one *Emulus* of *Elis*, an excellent Maſter, who charm'd the whole Audience, with the Skill of his Compoſitions, and the Excellency of his Perſormance, and was by univerſal Conſent proclaim'd Con-

queror

ueror, tho' mean in Apparel, and ith an old Inſtrument that hardly romis'd to be capable of Harmony. His Jeſt upon the *Tarentine* was mart enough: You were crown'd ith Gold and Jewels, ſays he, beauſe you were rich, and becauſe I as poor, they put me off with one f Laurel: But I am ſatisfied with ine notwithſtanding, becauſe it arued I had ſome Merit to deſerve it, hereas yours laid you open to Igominy and Contempt.

There is ſomething very applicable this Tale to you: You promiſe as uch with your Library, as the *Tantine* with his Harp and Crown, d perform as little. The World is ually favourable to both, and you em as little likely to be reform'd ith its Cenſure as he.

Craftſman, March 2. N° 400.

A remarkable Speech in the Houſe of Commons, about long and ſhort Parliaments.

THERE being (ſays the *Craftſman*) a ſtrong Report in Town t a Motion will be ſoon made in liament for repealing the *Septenal Act*, and reſtoring our antient nſtitution of *frequent, new Parliats*, I ſhall entertain my Readers h ſome Extracts from a Speech de in the *H of Commons*, when Act for *triennial Parliaments* was eal'd. The Gentleman, who made *Speech*, begins with ſhewing that liaments antiently conſiſted of but *Seſſion*, which never laſted a *Year:* that there is no Inſtance of a rogation till the violent Reign of ry VIII. He then obſerves that *Neceſſity of frequent Parliaments* ns to be univerſally allow'd, and ceeds as follows,

I Wiſh Gentlemen would as generally concur that the *other Part*, ch I have mentioned, and I think made appear to have been our *antient Conſtitution*, were as abſolutely neceſſary to the Preſervation of our Liberties; I mean *Parliaments of one Seſſion*; not only *frequent*, but *frequent new Parliaments*. The Thing appears very evident to me: ſo evident, that, in my poor Opinion, our Liberties would not be more, nay not ſo precarious under an *abſolute Monarchy*, as with an *Houſe of Commons*, who had Right to ſit either for *many Years together*, or *without any Limitation of Time*; for a *Prince*, who had ſtood only on the Bottom of his *own abſolute Authority*, aſſiſted with a *few Miniſters* and *ſome Troops*, would ſtill think himſelf pretty much on his good Behaviour towards the *united Body of his People*, and would probably be cautious of exerting his Power in ſuch a Manner as to give a juſt Provocation to a general Revolt, and ſetting up another in his ſtead; but a *Prince*, with a *Parliament at his Devotion*, would be infinitely more terrible, and, with much greater Security, might give a Looſe to every Extravagancy of Power; and ſurely there is great Reaſon to apprehend that an *Houſe of Commons* might ſoon become very obſequious to a *Miniſtry*, if they were to ſit for a *long Period*, or *without Limitation*, and if there were no near Day in View of a *new Election*, when the Conduct of Gentlemen, in *this Place*, would be enquired into, in their *reſpective Countries*.

I believe it will not be deny'd, that it is very poſſible for a *Miniſtry*, by *Penſions* and *Employments* to ſome, by the *Expectations* raiſed in others, and by the *Corruption of Electors and returning Officers*, to obtain a very great Majority, entirely and blindly at their Devotion, even at the very firſt Meeting of a Parliament; and that by a *Committee of Elections*, and other proper Helps, their Party may daily increaſe; and that *ſuch a Parliament* may be ſo far from protecting the *Liberties of their Country*, or from

being a Terror to *evil Miniſters*, as to become themſelves the Tools of Oppreſſion in the Hand of *ſuch a Miniſtry*; to declare every *honeſt Patriot*, who hath the Courage to ſtand up for the Liberties of his Country, to be its *greateſt Enemy*; and *thoſe*, who are ready to give it up, to be the *only true Friends of our Conſtitution:* And if this ſhould ever happen to be our Caſe, I beg Gentlemen to conſider, *whether a greater Curſe could fall on any People than to have* ſuch a Parliament *as this entail'd upon them.*

I have been often ſurprized, when I reflected how wanting we were to ourſelves, at the *Revolution*, in not retrieving and ſecuring for ever, by the *Claim of Rights*, our antient Conſtitution of *frequent, new Parliaments*; which, in my poor Opinion, was much more valuable than all that we claim'd beſides; but we obtain'd this, in Part, by the *Act* paſs'd in the ſixth Year of the Reign of K. *William*, and which the *Bill* before us is intended to repeal; for by *that Act* we are to have *new Parliaments*, at leaſt, once in 3 *Years*; and even this is ſuch a Security to the *Britiſh Liberties*, that all the Objections againſt *triennial Elections* are but very Trifles, when compared with that. Therefore I am not a little ſurprized, when I hear Gentlemen ſay that the *triennial Act* is a new Conſtitution, and that the intended *Repeal* of it will be but reſtoring the King, in Part, to his *Prerogative*, and ſetting the *Conſtitution* a little nearer to what it antiently was. Surely, there is nothing farther from the Truth of the Fact. The antient Conſtitution was, at leaſt, *annual new Parliaments*; and this was broke in upon, and that Breach afterwards continued in the Manner I have already ſet forth; and by *this Act* we have no *new Privilege* granted, but only are reſtored in Part to thoſe, which we had always a Right to. But were it in Reality a *new Grant*, ſhall we give it up to enlarge only the *Prerogatives of the Crown?* May we not, in the ſame Way of Reaſoning, give up the *Habeas Corpus Act*, and all the other Privileges which have been obtain'd to the People from the Crown, from the Date of *Magna Charta* to this very Day? This ſurely hath not been the good old Way of Reaſoning in *this Place*, and I preſume it will meet with due Diſcouragement at this Time. I hope we ſhall, on this and all other Occaſions, acquit ourſelves like *Britons*, and not give up, in Complaiſance to any *Miniſtry*, the ſmalleſt, much leſs the greateſt and moſt valuable Privilege of thoſe we repreſent; and that we ſhall have the utmoſt Caution in making any Step, that may have the leaſt Tendency towards that Slavery, from which, at the Riſque of a Revolution, and an immenſe Expence of Blood and Treaſure, we have ſo lately reſcued ourſelves. I hope yet to live to ſee the Day when our preſent gracious Sovereign K. *George* I. will have the Glory to compleat the entire reſtoring of our *antient Conſtitution*, to which his Predeceſſor K. *William* III. hath made ſuch a conſiderable Advance; and that, inſtead of *triennial*, we ſhall have *annual new Parliaments*. Then indeed, the *Britiſh Liberties* will be founded on a Rock, againſt which the Machinations of the *worſt Miniſtry* will be never able to prevail; and the *Crown* will be frequently and faithfully inform'd of the Sentiments of the People, and be thereby enabled to preſerve that Confidence and good Correſpondence with them ſo abſolutely neceſſary for the Happineſs of both. To this I may add that the Inconveniencies from *triennial Elections* will thereby be much more effectually redreſs'd and cured than ever they will be by paſſing the *Bill* before us into a Law. Upon the whole, therefore, I ſhall

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Leave to affirm, that we have at preſent an indiſputable Right to *triennial new Parliaments*, and a very juſt Claim (for I know of no Law, that hath deprived us of it) to *annual Elections*.

It hath been ſaid that 3 Years *is too ſhort a Time to effect any Thing of great Moment for the Service of the Nation; that the* firſt Seſſion *is generally ſpent in the Determination of* Elections; *in the* ſecond *ſomething is done; but that the* laſt Seſſion *is uſually as much loſt as the* firſt; *Gentlemen's Minds running ſo much on the* enſuing Election, *as to think of nothing elſe; and the Fear alſo of diſobliging their* Electors, *on ſo near a View of a* new Choice, *becomes a very great Byaſs on their Conduct in Parliament, to the Prejudice of the publick Service; ſo that in this ſhort Term of* 3 Years *there is little more than the Work of* one Year *done.*

I am not a little ſurprized that ſuch Aſſertions as theſe ſhould be made Uſe of, as Arguments againſt *triennial Parliaments*; becauſe they ſeem to be *Proteſtatio contra Factum*, as was ſaid by a very great Man of Dr. *Sacheverel's Speech*. It is evident that the Buſineſs of the Publick was carried on for ſome hundreds of Years, by *annual Parliaments* only, and our Hiſtories for that Time do not acquaint us with any Complaints made of the Shortneſs of their Duration.

I will agree that much Time is ſpent, not only in the *firſt*, but in the *ſecond Year*, in the Determination of Elections; but if theſe were all left to the *Committee* appointed for that Purpoſe, it would not make ſo great a Part of the Buſineſs of the Houſe, as it hath of late Years done; and if the *Right of Election* for the ſeveral Cities and Boroughs were unalterably fix'd, and not chang'd from Time to Time, with Reſpect to the *Petitioners* and *ſitting Members*, the Work, even of the *Committee*, would be greatly leſſened.

As to the Inconveniences ſuggeſted to the *third Seſſion*, from the near Approach of a *new Choice*; it will be much the ſame againſt the *ſecond Seſſion*, in which ſomething of Buſineſs is admitted to be done; for I ſee but little Difference between the Influence, which the Proſpect of a *new Choice* will have at the End of *one*, or at the End of *two Years*. The Objection therefore, as to this Purpoſe, is altogether trifling; but I will agree that it hath its Weight, if it be urged for the *long Continuance*, and greater ſtill, if it be urged for *perpetuating the preſent Parliament*; for then, indeed, Gentlemen would be free'd from all Anxiety about a *future Election*, and would be under no Reſtraints, nor have any Byaſs on their Minds from the Sentiments of *thoſe*, who choſe them.

As to the Increaſe of *Bribery and Corruption in Elections*, ſince the *triennial Act*, it is impoſſible it can be owing to *that Law*, or that it would be in any wiſe diminiſh'd by a *Repeal* of it; and in Fact the Increaſe of *Bribery and Corruption in Elections* may have happen'd ſince *that Law*, and yet be in no wiſe a Conſequence of it. 'Tis contrary to common Senſe to imagine that *thoſe*, who would purchaſe their Seats in Parliament would give more for a *triennial* than a *ſeptennial one*; or that *ſuch Electors*, who will ſell their Voices, have not Arithmetick enough to proportion their *Prices* to the *Times*, for which they chuſe their Repreſentatives.

The *Funds*, as I am inform'd, produce above *three Millions* yearly, towards the *Intereſt* and ſinking ſome Part of the *Principal of our Debt*. This great, additional Revenue, tho' the Property of private Perſons, is entirely under the Management of the *Officers of the Crown*, and thereby a Dependence on a *Miniſtry* hath been created, vaſtly greater than ever

ever was before, or could otherwiſe have been; and what Influence this hath had on our *Elections*, the Acts of Parliament made to prevent it ſufficiently proclaim. We have now an Army of *civil Officers* as dangerous as any *military Force*, entirely at the Devotion of a *Miniſtry*; and altho' we may run no Riſque from this in the Hands, where his Majeſty hath now placed the Adminſtration, yet we have frequently been, and may again be in Peril, from this *adventitious Power*, of the total Loſs of our Conſtitution.

The ſhort of the Caſe ſeems to me to be, that ſome *Miniſters* have by their Conduct gone a great Way to beggar the Nation, and that *others* have corrupted thoſe, who have been ſo undone. In this unhappy Situation, the *publick Money* hath been employ'd to corrupt *Electors* and *returning Officers*, and thereby ſome *late Parliaments* have been fill'd with the Creatures of a *Miniſtry*, and many have likewiſe expended vaſt Sums of their own, when they ſaw it neceſſary to get, or ſecure a *Place*; by which Means *theſe Parliaments* have been fill'd with great Numbers of *mercenary Troops*, whoſe Names were ſcarce known in the Countries, where they were choſen, without any Family-Intereſts of their own, or the Aſſiſtance of thoſe, who had; and if there hath been any Bribery on the Parts of *thoſe*, who have oppoſed *ſuch Men*, as perhaps there may, it hath been occaſion'd by the vile Arts, which have been put in Practice againſt them. So I think I may truly affirm that *Bribery and Corruption in Elections* have not follow'd, as any Conſequence of the *triennial Act*, but from Cauſes widely different; and that the Foundation was firſt laid, and hath been ſince improv'd and carry'd on, by *wicked and deſigning Miniſters*.

Fog's Journal, March 2. N° 278.

Of the Triennial and Septennial Act, and the Expediency of frequent new Parliaments.

I Don't know any Thing (ſays *Fog*) that has given the People all over the Kingdom greater Pleaſure than the preſent Expectation of ſhortly ſeeing the antient Cuſtom, in Reſpect to the frequent Election and meeting of new Parliaments, reſtor'd, at leaſt to what it was before the Septennial Act. (See p. 107.)

The Want of an Act for the more frequent Calling of new Parliaments was one of the greateſt Grievances complain'd of in the Reigns of *Cha.* II. and *James* II. When the Revolution was accompliſh'd, thoſe who had ventur'd moſt to bring it about, expected that a Bill *for the frequent calling and meeting of new Parliaments* would have been one of the firſt Things that ſhould have paſs'd; but it happen'd that the Miniſters were in no Haſte about it; they threw Impediments in its Way, and even ſet the King himſelf againſt it. While it was thus delay'd, the Voice of the People call'd loudly and inceſſantly for it, and the Patriots of thoſe Times never ceas'd their Endeavours till they had obtain'd a Bill for making Parliaments *triennial*; and for near 30 Years that it was in Force, no Inconveniency was known to proceed from it; and I will be bold to ſay, that no Act ſince the *Habeas Corpus* (which was in the Reign of K. *Charles* II.) ever gave ſo univerſal a Satisfaction to the Nation.

In the Reign of K. *George* I. it was thought fit to repeal this Bill, and to extend the Continuance or Life of a Parliament to the Term of 7 Years; but it ſeems there was a Neceſſity of State at that Time for making this very great Alteration, and the chief Reaſon that was given by thoſe, who were for the Bill, was,

was that there had been newly a Rebellion, which was but just extinguiſhed, and that it was not proper to ſuffer the People to aſſemble together till their Animoſities were cool'd; but as this Reaſon is (thank God) ceas'd for many Years, the People certainly expect, and think they have a Right to expect, to be reſtored to thoſe antient Privileges of frequently chuſing freſh Repreſentatives, which their Anceſtors enjoy'd for ſo many Ages.

Frequent and new Parliaments are certainly a fundamental Part of our Conſtitution, and whoever examines the antient Records will find that Parliaments were formerly *annual*, and that the ſame Parliament ſcarce ever ſat twice; nay, there is an Inſtance of a Seſſion, that having drawn out into an unuſual Length, and ſome freſh Matter being then laid before them, they addreſs'd the King to diſmiſs them, and to defer theſe Matters, till another Parliament ſhou'd be choſen, the Members of which might come *newly* inſtructed from the People.

But as the Law now ſtands, the Electors and the Elected may become Strangers to each other before the Time is expired. Nay, it is poſſible that he, who at the Time he was elected had a good Eſtate in the County or Borough that choſe him, may in leſs than 7 Years be undone by the Luxury and Folly of this Town, and not have a Foot of Land in the World. Thus the Diſpoſal of the People's Property may remain in one, who has no Property of his own, and their Liberty to him, whoſe own Liberty depends ſolely upon his Seat in Parliament.

But without enumerating all the different Changes that may happen in the Minds and Fortunes of Men in a leſs Time than 7 Years, I would fain know whether it be conſiſtent with that Liberty we boaſt of, that the People ſhou'd be deprived of the only Remedy they can have, againſt thoſe, who thro' Ignorance, give up, or thro' Corruption wilfully betray that Truſt which they have repoſed in them.

As to another Reaſon that was offered for making this Alteration, *viz.* that it would prevent Bribery and Corruption in the Elections, I can ſcarce think the Gentlemen were in Earneſt, who advanced it, becauſe, the Probability is ſo ſtrong on the other Side; at leaſt it is found by Experience, ſince it has been in Force, that it has been the only Means of carrying Bribery to a moſt exorbitant Exceſs; and if it is not repealed, it will probably carry it ſtill farther (if that be poſſible) nay, it is the natural Conſequence of ſuch an Alteration, nor is there a Stock-Jobber, Broker, Scrivener, Sollicitor, or Petty fogger of any Kind in the Kingdom, but what can give you a Reaſon for it; they will tell you at once that a Place, Penſion, or Annuity for 7 Years, is worth more than one of equal Value for 3 Years; and therefore a corrupt Man, who has ſome other Views than ſerving his Country, by getting a Seat in Parliament, will venture to ſcatter his Money in Bribes, when he has ſo long a Time as 7 Years to make his Markets; nay, I have heard that ſome of the clever Fellows of our Times have declared, that they did not know how to make ſo much of their Money any other Way, as by bribing a *Corniſh* Bor. becauſe, in 7 Years they wou'd with Sir ———; but I dare not repeat the profligate Manner in which they made it out.

By the antient Cuſtom of Parliaments, the Redreſs of Grievances was always taken into Conſideration, before any Money Bill (let there be never ſuch a real or pretended Neceſſity for Expedition) was paſs'd; and no wonder it ſhou'd, when the very Deſign of Inſtituting and Electing Parliaments, was for the Redreſſing

dreſſing ſuch Grievances as may poſſibly happen in the Adminiſtration of the Government.

And this was ſo well underſtood in former Times, that when Writs have been iſſued out for the chuſing a Parliament, the Kings have likewiſe ſent their Writs, directed to the Sheriffs, to ſummon all Parties to give in their Complaints of Grievances againſt the Miniſters of State, and other great Officers of the Realm; and the Houſe of Commons being the general Inquiſitors of the Nation, have commonly taken Care to impeach all ſuch Councellors and Miniſters as have given ill Advice to the King, or any Way miſmanaged the publick Affairs; nay, in Caſes where the Nature of the Charge, and the Complaint againſt the Councellors, or the Want of Proof, would not well bear an Impeachment, the Repreſentatives have made Complaints to the King, and on the bare Suſpicion and Suggeſtion of Crimes, the Perſons accuſed have been generally removed, of which the Parliament Rolls give many Inſtances.

For theſe Reaſons our preſent moſt excellent Miniſters are obliged in Point of Honour to put our Conſtitution upon its antient Foot, in order to take away all Suſpicion, that their Safety depends upon a corrupt Influence in Parliament, to ſhew the World that they dread no Inquiſition into their Adminiſtration, and to convince us, that they have no Deſigns, but what they would venture to propoſe to a free Parliament; which muſt always have the ſame Intereſts, and the ſame Inclinations with the reſt of the People.

Several of thoſe Gentlemen, who thought this Alteration neceſſary at the Time it was made, and accordingly voted for it, were pleaſed to aſſure their Friends without Doors, that there was no Deſign of changing the Conſtitution of Parliament, but that the Situation of Affairs made it neceſſary to ſuſpend it for ſome Time, and that it would ſoon be reſtored again; but if it ſhould not be done, it is to be feared, that a People, who have ever been jealous of their Liberties, may take it in their Heads to think, that they have been cheated out of one of their moſt valuable Privileges, which may occaſion ſuch Diſcontents and Uneaſineſs, as every Man who is a well-Wiſher to the preſent happy Eſtabliſhment, ought to think it his Duty to prevent.

There is nothing in this Privilege which can in the leaſt incroach upon the Prerogative of the Crown; for the Crown will ſtill have a Power of Aſſembling, Proroguing and Diſſolving Parliaments at its Pleaſure; nay, we have all the Reaſon in the World to believe that it will be intirely agreeable to his Majeſty, for in the laſt moſt gracious Speech from the Throne, he is pleaſed to tell both Houſes, *That he is very well pleaſed that this Opportunity offers of taking again the Senſe of his People in the Choice of a new Repreſentative, that the World may ſee how much their true Sentiments have been miſtaken or miſrepreſented.* It is certain, that nothing can give his Majeſty ſuch frequent Occaſions of being acquainted with the true Senſe of his People, as ſhort Parliaments and new Elections, according to the ancient Conſtitution of this Kingdom.

Weekly Miſcellany, March 2. Nº 64.

The Caſe of Abraham's *offering up* Iſaac; *againſt Mr.* Chubb.

IT is firſt obſerv'd, by this Writer, that Mr. *Chubb*'s Opinion is a *flat Contradiction* to the *Scripture*. *They* aſſert that God *did* command *Abraham* to offer up *Iſaac*, and rewarded him for *obeying his Voice*; Mr. *Chubb* affirms that God *did not*, because he *could not*, command it, that Thing being *immoral*, and conſequently, *unworthy* of God. The *Scrip-*

Scriptures never mention (tho' they often mention) this Inſtance of *Abraham*'s Piety, without the higheſt Encomiums; Mr. *Chubb* ſays, it was an Inſtance of great *Folly* and *Weakneſs*. The *Scriptures* tell us, that *Abraham*'s Faith was imputed to *him* for Righteouſneſs, and will be imputed to *us* alſo, if we *imitate* him; Mr. *Chubb* would have us believe that his *Faith and Obedience* were, at beſt, but *innocent*; and innocent only becauſe the Patriarch knew no better. What ſhall we do under this unhappy Dilemma? The *Bible*, or Mr. *Chubb*'s *Faith*, muſt be given up; for *Contradictions* can't be true.

But let us examine his *Plea* for *Abraham*. *Abraham*, it ſeems, had an *honeſt Intention* in doing what he *thought* Right. As to the *Goodneſs* of his *Judgment*, or the *Juſtneſs* of his *Reaſoning*, the Scriptures take no Notice of it. Yes, St. *Paul* in *Heb.* xi. not only approves his *good Intention*, but his *Reaſoning* too. Mr. *Chubb*, indeed, muſt neceſſarily think meanly of *Abraham's Judgment*, becauſe he thinks it a very *clear* Caſe, that for *Abraham* to *ſlay Iſaac*, or for *God* to *command* him to do it, was contrary to the *plain* Notions of *Right* and *Wrong*, the *natural Diſtinction* of *Good* and *Evil*, and the Principles of *Morality*. In ſhort, in the Opinion of Mr. *Chubb* and *Company*, *Abraham* was a good *honeſt*, *well-meaning*, *ſilly* Fellow, who *fancied* he had a Commiſſion from *God* to do a very *wicked* Thing. How *wicked* the Action is, and how *weak* it was in *Abraham* to think he had any *Command* from *God* for doing it, theſe are Queſtions ſtill to be conſidered; and if, upon Examination, Mr. *Chubb* ſhould appear to be in the Right, the *Bible* is an *incredible* Hiſtory, or the *Divine Being* has acted in a Manner that a *tolerably ſenſible* Man would be aſhamed to act. It is neceſſary to raiſe a juſt Abhorrence in Mankind, or I could have no Excuſe, either to *God*, or the *Reader*, for uſing ſuch ſhocking Expreſſions. The Poet obſerves, that *it is not* Homer *nods, but we that dream*; and Mr. *Chubb* has miſtaken his *own* Weakneſs for the *Patriarch*'s. It is an *Inference* from his own miſtaken Principles. *Abraham* was a *Dotard*, becauſe he was not in Mr. *Chubb*'s Opinion. There is no Remedy for ſuch prodigious *Self-Conceit*. But *Moſes*, St. *Paul*, and St. *James*, had certainly a much better Opinion of *Abraham*'s *Underſtanding and Conduct*. Whoever will read over his Hiſtory, as it is related in *Geneſis*, and other ancient Authors who ſpeak of him, will ſee one of the moſt illuſtrious Characters in all Antiquity; a Perſon highly eſteemed and honoured amongſt *Men*, as well as in Favour with *God*; a Perſon *Great* in *Fame*, in *Dignity*, in *Power*; *Great* in the *Eſtimation*, not only of his own Countrymen, but of the Nations around him; not only of his own Times, but of every ſucceeding Age: A Character in all Reſpects ſo glorious, ſo amiable; in every Age and Country ſo admired, ſo extolled; ſuch a Character is not likely to be ſunk by the Weight of Mr. *Chubb*'s.

But Mr. *Chubb* aſcribes as much *Weakneſs* to *God Almighty*, as he does to *Abraham*. Here is a Perſon diſtinguiſhed in a moſt eminent Manner, by ſingular Marks of Favour, and God is ſaid, *to have been with him in all that he did*; he is honoured with the Character of the *Friend of God*, continually accompanying him to protect and proſper him. Says God himſelf to him, *I am thy Shield and thy exceeding great Reward*. And *what* is the Perſon ſo favoured, ſo honoured, ſo bleſſed, ſo rewarded by the *Allwiſe* God? If you take Mr. *Chubb*'s Opinion, it was a *meer Dotard*, a poor *ignorant* Wretch that did not underſtand the common Principles of Morality, or the plaineſt Things relating to God's *Moral Perfections*.

fections. Abraham's Faith, and *this* Inſtance of it in *particular*, was ſo very extraordinary that he is ſtiled the *Father of the Faithful*; it is propoſed to us as an *Exemplar*; it is a *Source* of univerſal Happineſs to Mankind. And what is this mighty and bleſſed Inſtance of *Abraham*'s Piety? An Attempt to commit an Act of great *Injuſtice* and *Barbarity*, under a Perſuaſion that a *juſt* and *merciful* God would work a *Miracle* in his Favour. Which ſhall we moſt wonder at? Mr. *Chubb* and his *Party* for imagining that they could impoſe upon the *common Senſe* of Mankind in ſo clear a Caſe, or thoſe who can be ſo far impoſed upon, as not to ſee that the *Truth* of the *Bible* is immediately connected with the Queſtion now before us? Which at another Time, I ſhall endeavour to defend againſt the Objections of Mr. *Chubb*, &c.

Univerſal Spectator, March 9. N° 283.

Falſe Politeneſs, with the miſchievous Conſequences of it.

FALSE *Politeneſs*, like *falſe Wit*, has ſomething glaring in it, which ſtrikes the Injudicious with a Kind of Admiration; but, like falſe Wit, has no other Effect on People of Senſe than to produce Ridicule and Contempt.

Engliſhmen can more juſtly boaſt of their Liberty than any other People in the World; yet by an univerſal Vice, which with the Generality of my Countrymen prevails, (and has gain'd rather the Reputation of a Virtue than a Vice) we bid fair, to loſe ſome of thoſe Bleſſings we in outward Appearance wou'd ſeem ſo tenacious of. I mean that *falſe Politeneſs* which prevails among all Degrees of Men, and is ſo very predominant over the other Sex.

From the modern Ambition of being thought polite, ſprings that Exceſs of Luxury, which is the general Complaint of thoſe who have a ſober and rational Way of Thinking. Nor Luxury, nor Politeneſs were the diſtinguiſhing Characteriſticks of our Forefathers, to whom we owe the Liberty they have tranſmitted to us: They are not of *Engliſh* Growth, but imported by our Gentlemen of Taſte, who being refined and made politer in ſlaviſh Courts abroad, have introduced them into their own Country, as Embelliſhments of Life. To ſupport this extravagant Notion, People of Fortune ſpend beyond the Income of their Eſtates; thoſe of a middle or an inferior Rank, ridicule the antiquated Virtues of Induſtry and Frugality, and contemn the ſureſt Pledges for the Wealth and Proſperity of a Nation: Hence they loſe their boaſted Happineſs of being free Agents; for the Bankrupt-Man of Quality muſt have his Exigencies ſupply'd, and tho' his Eſtate decays, his Splendor muſt be kept up; to retain which he too often forfeits his Honour and his Liberty, to be the ſervile Dependent of ſome deſigning *Machiavel*. The Perſons of middle Stations in Life run into the ſame Fate, and as their Extravagances make their Neceſſities more numerous, they make their Privileges of *Engliſhmen* decreaſe proportionably: They run into their States of Dependency, and have their Hopes and Fears of obliging or diſobliging ſome great Man or other. If then by this Vice of Living beyond our Circumſtances, Men of Fortune and Family may not remain uncorrupted, nor thoſe of an inferior Rank independent, what is become of the boaſted Liberty of our Conſtitution? What avails our being born free, if we triſle away that Freedom in Foppery and Extravagance?

This *Falſe Politeneſs* which occaſions our Luxury and Extravagance, occaſions alſo other Inconveniences. As Prodigality brings with it Poverty,

To Poverty leads on that constant restless Companion Avarice. Want (however occasion'd or falsely term'd so) makes Men desperate, and gives them Boldness and Wickedness equal to their Necessities. The Breaking Tradesman or the Spendthrift 'Squire, unable to think of the Disgrace of retrenching their Extravagancies, frequently think it more consistent with their Honour to take to the Road, and live on the Labours of their Fellow Subjects.

In foreign arbitrary Nations, Extravagance and Idleness are encouraged by the Princes with a political View: It keeps the Nobility poor, and the Commonalty Slaves: But in *England* they are contrary to the Essence of our Constitution, contrary to the Practice of the present Royal Family, and for which no Person can have any Temptation but his Vanity.

Craftsman, March 9. N° 401.

THE *Editor* of the second Volume of Bishop *Burnet*'s History, (which is just publish'd) having given us a Letter from the Bishop to King *Charles* II. which is written with such a peculiar Freedom of Style, that it must be acknowledged a very extraordinary Piece; the *Craftsman* has therefore made it the Subject of this Day's Entertainment. It is as follows.

29 *January*, 1679-80.

May it please your Majesty,

I Have not presumed to trouble your Majesty for some Months, not having any Thing worthy your Time to offer; and now I chuse rather this Way, since the infinite Duty I owe You puts me under Restraints in Discourse, which I cannot so easily overcome. What I shall now suggest to your Majesty, I do it as in Presence of Almighty God, to whom I know I must give an Account of all my Actions. I therefore beg You will be graciously pleased to accept this most faithful Zeal of your poor Subject, who hath no other Design in it than your Good, and the Discharge of his own Conscience.

I must first assure your Majesty, I never discover'd any Thing like a Design of raising Rebellion among all those, with whom I converse; but I shall add, on the other Hand, that most People grow sullen, and are highly dissatisfy'd with you, and distrustful of you. Formerly your Ministers, or his royal Highness bore the Blame of Things that were ungrateful; but now it falls upon yourself; and Time, which cures most other Distempers, encreases this. Your last Speech makes many think it will be easy to fetch up Petitions from all Parts of *England*. This is now under Consultation, and is not yet determin'd; but I find so many inclin'd to promote them, that as far as I can judge, it will go that Way. If your Majesty calls a new Parliament, it is believ'd that those, who have promoted the Petitions, will be generally elected; for the inferior Sort of People are much set upon them, and make their Judgment of Men from their Behaviour in that Matter. The soberer Sort of those, who are ill-pleas'd with your Conduct, reckon that either the State of your Affairs beyond Sea, or of your Exchequer at home, will ere long necessitate your Meeting your Parliament; and that then Things must be rectify'd; and therefore they use their utmost Endeavours to keep all quiet. If your Majesty hath a Session in *April*, for Supporting your Allies, I find it is resolved by many that the Money, necessary to maintain your Alliances, shall be put into the Hands of Commissioners, to issue it, as they shall answer to the two Houses; and these will be so chosen, that as it is likely that the Persons will be very unacceptable to You, so they being trusted with the Money,

will be as a Council of State, to controul all your Councils. And as to your Exchequer, I do not find any Inclination to conſider your Neceſſity, unleſs many Things be done to put them into another Diſpoſition than I can obſerve in them. The Things, that will be demanded, will not be of ſo eaſy a Digeſtion, as that I can imagine You will ever be brought to them, or indeed that it will be reaſonable or honourable for you to grant them; ſo that, in this Diſorder of Affairs, it is eaſy to propoſe Difficulties, but not ſo eaſy to find out that, which may remove them.

There is one Thing, and indeed the only Thing, in which all honeſt Men agree, as that which can eaſily extricate you out of all your Troubles. It is not the Change of a Miniſter, or of a Council, a new Alliance, or a Seſſion of Parliament; but it is (and ſuffer me, Sir, to ſpeak it with a more than ordinary Earneſtneſs) a Change in your own Heart, and in your Courſe of Life. And now, Sir, if you do not with Indignation throw this Paper from you, permit me (with all the Humility of a Subject proſtrate at your Feet) to tell You that all the Diſtruſt your People have of you, all the Neceſſities you are now under, all the Indignation of Heaven, that is upon you, and appears in the Defeating all your Counſels, flow from this, that you have not feared nor ſerved God, but have given yourſelf up to ſo many ſinful Pleaſures. Your Majeſty may perhaps juſtly think that many of thoſe, that oppoſe you, have no Regard for Religion; but the Body of your People conſider it more than you can imagine. I do not deſire your Majeſty to put on an hypocritical Shew of Religion, as *Henry* the 3d of *France* did, hoping thereby to have weathered the Storms of thoſe Times. No! That would be ſoon ſeen thro'; and as it would provoke God more, ſo it would increaſe Jealouſies. No! Sir, it muſt be real, and the Evidences of it ſignal. All thoſe about you, who are the Occaſions of Sin, chiefly the Women, muſt be removed, and your Court be reformed. Sir, if you will turn you to Religion ſincerely and ſeriouſly, you ſhall quickly find a ſerene Joy of another Nature poſſeſs your Mind, than what ariſes from groſs Pleaſures. God would be at Peace with you, and direct and bleſs all your Counſels. All good Men would preſently turn to you, and ill Men would be aſhamed, and have a thin Party; for I ſpeak it knowingly, there is nothing hath ſo alienated the Body of your People from you, as what they have heard of your Life, which diſpoſes them to give an eaſy Belief to all other ſcandalous Reports.

Sir, this Counſel is now almoſt as neceſſary for your Affairs as it is for your Soul; and tho' you have highly offended that God, who hath been infinitely merciful to you, in preſerving you at *Worceſter* Fight, and during your long Exile, and who brought you back ſo miraculouſly, yet He is ſtill good and gracious, and will, upon your ſincere Repentance and Change of Life, pardon all your Sins, and receive you into his Favour. Oh, Sir, what if you ſhould dye in the Midſt of all your Sins? At the great Tribunal, where you muſt appear, there will be no Regard to the Crown you now wear; but it will aggravate your Puniſhment, that being in ſo eminent a Station, you have ſo much diſhonour'd God. Sir, I hope you believe there is a God, and a Life to come, and that Sin ſhall not paſs unpuniſh'd. If your Majeſty will reflect upon your having now been twenty Years upon the Throne, and in all that Time how little you have glorified God; how much you have provok'd Him; and that your ill Example hath drawn ſo many after you to ſin, that Men are not now aſhamed of their Vices; you cannot but think

hat God is offended with you; and
f you conſider how ill your Coun-
ls at home and your Wars abroad
ave ſucceeded, and how much you
ave loſt the Hearts of your People;
ou may reaſonably conclude, this is
f God, who will not turn away A
is Anger from you, till you turn
o him with your whole Heart.

I am no *Enthuſiaſt*, either in Opi-
ion, or Temper; yet I acknow-
dge, I have been ſo preſs'd in my
ſind to make this Addreſs to you,
hat I could have no Eaſe till I did B
; and ſince you were pleaſed to
irect me to ſend you, thro' Mr.
hiffinch's Hands, ſuch Informations
s I thought fit to convey to you,
hope your Majeſty will not be of-
ended, if I have made this Uſe of
hat Liberty. I am ſure I can C
ave no other Deſign in it but your
Good; for I know very well, this
not the Method to ſerve any Ends
f my own. I therefore throw my-
elf at your Feet, and once more,
n the Name of God, whoſe Ser-
ant I am, do moſt humbly beſeech D
our Majeſty to conſider of what I
ave written, and not to deſpiſe it
or the Meanneſs of the Perſon, who
ath ſent it; but to apply yourſelf to
Religion in earneſt; and I dare aſſure
ou of many Bleſſings both temporal E
nd ſpiritual in this Life, and of e-
ernal Glory in the Life to come.
ut if you will go on in your Sins,
he Judgments of God will probably
urſue you in this Life, ſo that you
ay be a Proverb to After-Ages;
nd after this Life, you will be for F
ver miſerable; and I, your poor
ubject that now am, ſhall be a Wit-
eſs againſt you in the great Day,
hat I gave you this free and faithful
Warning.

Sir, no Perſon alive knows that I
ave written to you to this Purpoſe; G
nd I choſe this Evening, hoping
hat your Exerciſe * to morrow may
ut you into a Diſpoſition to weigh
more carefully. I hope your Ma-
jeſty will not be offended with this ſincere Expreſſion of my Duty to you; for I durſt not have ventur'd on it, if I had not thought myſelf bound to it both by the Duty I owe to God, and that, which will ever o-
blige me to be,

May it pleaſe your Majeſty, &c.

* *The* 30*th of* January.

Fog's Journal, March 9. N° 279.

Objections againſt frequent new Parliaments anſwer'd; with a ſhort Hiſtory of Parliaments. (See p. 110.)

PERHAPS it will be ſaid, that the frequent Returns of Elections will occaſion ſuch Conteſts, as will keep up one perpetual diſorderly Ferment in the Kingdom, and be the Occaſion of maintaining Sloth and Drunkenneſs amongſt the common People, and eternal Feuds amongſt the better Sort.

I can't help obſerving (ſays *Fog*) that this Reaſon for Ferments and Drunkenneſs is juſt of a Piece with that which Sir *John Falſtaff* gave for being ſo fat: This luxurious old Fellow, that was always eating and drinking, being reproach'd for his monſtrous Bulk, puts on a grave Face, and ſays, that Grief and Faſting do ſo puff a Man up—— Perhaps, this Compariſon may appear a little too ludicrous for ſo ſerious a Subject; but ſure it fits, for that which defeats and puts an End to Bribery, muſt put an End to Drunkenneſs and Ferments, the Conſequences of it; I ſay, that frequent Elections muſt put an End to theſe Conteſts, ſince they are not ſo generally occaſioned by the Oppoſition of the Gentlemen, who have the natural Intereſt, and who are the Land Owners, as they are by the interfering of Strangers—— Adventurers, and Election-Jobbers, who are ſent by ſome grand Corrupter of P——ts to try their Fortunes in Boroughs, or who are drawn down thither upon

upon this Errand, in order to make their Court to him, that in Fact it is now known by Experience, that while the triennial Bill was in Force, the Conteſts were not ſo warm, the Diſorders near ſo great, nor the Feuds ſo laſting, as they have appeared to be ſince.

Another Objection is, that the Independent Gentlemen will ſoon be worn out and impoveriſhed, by the Trouble and Expence of annual or even triennial Struggles againſt the Power and Money of the C——t; that this Expence will lie upon them conſtantly, inſtead of coming once in ſeven Years.

To this it may be anſwer'd, that nothing but the vaſt Expence in Elections does in Fact, or can, in the Nature of Things, prevail againſt the Property, and Popularity of the independent Gentlemen; ſo that Adventurers,—— Election-Jobbers, and other Tools of Men in Power, when Elections come ſo quick upon them, muſt rather be worn out and defeated by the natural Intereſt of the Country Gentlemen, conſtantly oppoſed to them: I ſay, they muſt be worn out, becauſe, they muſt be obliged to lay out as much for Sitting one Year, or three Years, as for Sitting ſeven Years in Parliament, which is a Bargain, that Men, who have no Notion of getting into Parliament, but for the private Advantage which may be made of it, will not be very willing to make, nor the grand C——p——r be able to ſupport them long in making; for this very Reaſon, nothing can contribute more than annual, or triennial Elections to render effectual the Laws lately paſs'd, for preventing Bribery and Corruption in Elections.

I ſhall here add (ſays *Fog*) a Paper that has been ſent me by a Correſpondent upon this Subject.

The Objections againſt triennial Parliaments are,

The Expences in the Elections.

The Animoſities and Diviſions made and continued by frequent Elections.

The Advantages our Enemies may take of thoſe Animoſities and Diviſions.

As to the Expences, it muſt be acknowledg'd they are grown ſcandalous, as well as grievous and burthenſome, to the Gentlemen of *England*; but they are occaſion'd by Strangers, (by what Direction or Influence I can't ſay) coming to their Boroughs, who wanting a natural Intereſt, have nothing but Bribery and Corruption to recommend them, which has put the very Gentlemen, who were willing to ſerve their Country, under the Neceſſity of Expences; and I will take leave to add another Cauſe, the Impunity which Bribery and Corruption have had the good Fortune to meet with, where they have been notorious to the whole World. Long Parliaments will certainly encourage Bribery, and nothing can effectually prevent their Expences but annual Parliaments.

As for Animoſities and Diviſions, I am ſorry there are any; but ſure I am, that long Parliaments will not be a Remedy for them; the Animoſities and Diviſions rais'd by Elections are of a private Nature, and little affect the Publick.

That our Enemies will take Advantage of our Diviſions, it is not doubted, if it is in their Power; but I muſt obſerve, that while the triennial Act was in Force, there were ten ſeveral Parliaments call'd, moſt of them when we were actually in War, our Animoſities and Diviſions great, and our Enemies vigilant, yet no Inconveniencies follow'd, nor were any ſo much as attempted in the Time of thoſe Elections.

But without anſwering all the Objections that may be made to ſhort Parliaments, I hope it will have no ſmall Weight at preſent, that frequent and new Parliaments were our ancient Conſtitution; that long Parliaments are plainly deſtructive of the

Sub-

bjects juſt Right, and many Ways
onſiſtent with the Good of the
ation.. Is it reaſonable that any
rticular Set of Men ſhould for a
g Time engroſs ſo great a Truſt
cluſive of others? Can it be of
dvantage to the Publick, that the
unties, Cities and Boroughs ſhould
long confin'd to thoſe they have
e choſen, conſidering what great
riation their Intereſts are ſubject
in Length of Time.

I ſaid before, that frequent new
liaments were our Conſtitution,
the calling and holding them was
wiſe for many Ages the Practice.
ore the Conqueſt, Parliaments
e held three Times every Year;
. at *Chriſtmas*, *Eaſter*, and *Whit-
ide*. In *Edward* IIId's. Time, it
enacted, That Parliaments ſhould
holden every Year once, or oftner,
need be. This muſt be under-
d of new Parliaments, for Proro-
ions and long Adjournments were
known in thoſe Days; they were
er heard of till theſe later Years,
were begun in *Harry* the VIII's
ne; that Prince and his Miniſters
wing long Parliaments were beſt
d to make great Changes. From
Time our Hiſtories inform us,
whenever the ſame Parliaments
e long continued, or the Meet-
of Parliaments diſcontinued,
gave great Uneaſineſs.—In the
rtunate Reign of King *Charles*
Firſt, there had been an Inter-
on of Parliaments twelve Years,
h produced an Act in the ſix-
h Year of the ſame King, for
enting the Inconveniencies by
Intermiſſion of Parliaments—
Act in the Preamble recites the
made in the Reign of *Edward*
Third, that Parliaments ought to
ld every Year once; but that the
intment of Time and Place be-
d to his Majeſty and his Royal
enitors; and that it had been
by Experience, that great In-
niencies and Miſchiefs had hap-

pen'd to the King, and to the Commonwealth, by not holding Parliaments accordingly.

Soon after the Reſtoration, the Act for preventing the Inconveniencies happening by the long Intermiſſion of Parliaments was repeal'd becauſe derogatory to the Prerogative, and becauſe it might be the Occaſion of many Miſchiefs and Inconveniencies, and endanger the Publick Peace and Safety; but at the ſame Time it is enacted and declared, *That becauſe by the antient Laws and Statutes Parliaments are to be holden very often, the ſitting and holding of Parliaments ſhall not be interrupted above three Years at moſt.* This Law not having been ſo well obſerv'd, as it ſhould have been, in the Convention Parliament, when it was thought neceſſary to declare the Rights and Liberties of the Subject, it was among other Things declared, that *Parliaments ought to be held frequently*; and what follows in that Act is very ſtrong, for it declares and enacts, that *all and ſingular the Rights and Liberties aſſerted and claimed in the ſaid Declaration are the indubitable Rights and Liberties of the People of the Kingdom, and ſo ſhall be eſteem'd, allow'd and taken to be, and all the Particulars thereof ſhall be firmly and ſtrictly holden and obſerv'd as they are expreſs'd in the ſaid Declaration.* The Right claim'd and aſſerted is, that Parliaments ought to be held frequently; and ſoon after a new Parliament was call'd which ſat annually; but this was not look'd upon to be complying with the Right claim'd; and therefore after the Parliament had ſat three Times, in the fourth Seſſions it was thought neceſſary to come to a farther Explanation, and a Bill paſs'd both Houſes, but was rejected by the Throne, *for the frequent meeting and calling of Parliaments.* Others were attempted the next Seſſions, and it is well known how they came to miſcarry; but in the ſucceeding

ceeding Seſſions a Bill paſs'd both Houſes, and had the Royal Aſſent. This was the triennial Act; and if it is not to be reſtored to us, I hope it will be ſhewn, that what is aſſerted in the Preamble to it, is miſtaken, and has proved otherwiſe; for in the Preamble two Things are aſſerted; *that by the antient Laws and Statutes of this Kingdom frequent Parliaments ought to be held; and that frequent new Parliaments tend very much to the happy Union and Agreement of the King and his People.*

Grubſtreet Journal, March 14. N° 220.

Of literal Criticiſm.

THERE never was a juſter Obſervation made, than that 'the very Baſis of all *literal Criticiſm* is founded on theſe two Poſitions: The firſt, that an Author 'could never fail to uſe the very 'beſt Word on every Occaſion; the 'ſecond, that the Critic cannot chuſe 'but know which it is.' I am far from depreciating literal Criticiſm, but I would not have thoſe, whoſe Talents are confined to Literals, arrogate to themſelves the Name of Critic, which belongs not to them. To ſpeak in their own Stile, the Word is derived from Κριτὴς a *Judge*: I would ask what Sort of Judge he would be, who, inſtead of conſidering the Merits of the whole Cauſe, ſhould entirely buſy himſelf in examining the Phraſes, and carping at the Language of thoſe that were before him? Juſt ſuch, and not a Jot more, is the literal Commentator, Scholiaſt, Nomenclaturiſt, or whatever leſs Name you can invent; for that of *Critic*, or *Judge* is above him. 'Tis a miſerable Thing to reflect, that to be commented upon, is only the Fate of the greateſt and brighteſt Genius's; and to comment upon them, is almoſt always the Task of the heavieſt and moſt narrow of Pedants. Yet theſe *Fellows* (for ſo Dr. *Bentley* ordinarily and juſtly calls them) on every arbitrary Alteration they make, confer the Name of *Emendation*; as if whatever they altered, muſt neceſſarily be mended. Nay, they are arrived to ſuch Inſolence, that (like Footmen got into their Maſters Coaches) it is no longer *Bentley* at the Tail of *Horace*, or *Theobald* at the Tail of *Shakeſpear*, but, as if the Author's Works were become their Properties, they reſpectfully call them *Bentley's Horace* or *Theobald's Shakeſpear*.

The laſt of theſe Performances we have juſt received; and it is ſuch a Maſterpiece of Trifling and Vanity, as would make an excellent Subject for the public Diverſion, were ſome I could name, diſpoſed to give it. Our great Editor and Critic, is perpetually triumphing, like *Caligula* for having picked up Cockle-Shells and Periwinkles.

Free-Briton, March 14. N° 228.

A Defence of the ſeptennial Law.

WE have now (ſays *Walſingham*) a *Project* before us for *altering the preſent Conſtitution*. Project which comes recommended by *popular Sounds*, and which pleads the Advancement of *Liberty*, *Property*, and the *Right* of frequent *Elections*. (See p. 110.)

That the People have a Right to *annual Conventions* of Parliament, that they have as clear a Right to *frequent Elections* of their Repreſentatives, I do as chearfully grant, as I muſt ſtrongly maintain, that they *ſolely enjoy both*.

As the Clamour againſt *ſeptennial* Parliaments is entirely built on one *ſingle* Fact, namely, the *Long Parliament* of *Charles* II. let any Man compare this dreadful Story of a *Long Parliament*, continued 17 or 18 Years, choſen at firſt in the *Honey Moon* of the *Reſtoration Year*, where Members were choſen by no Qualification

not reſtrain'd in their Conduct by the Apprehenſion of a new Election within any *limited Period*; where too the Vacancies were uſually filled at *ſuch Times*, as moſt effectually anſwer'd the *Intrigues of the moſt corrupt Court* in the World; and let him ſay, on ſuch a Compariſon, whether a Parliament, whoſe Being muſt be determined *within 7 Years certain*; whoſe Members muſt be qualified according to Law, and cannot ſit afterwards without a *Re-Election*, if they accept of any Employment from the Crown; whoſe Vacancies likewiſe are immediately fill'd up, and the *Writs iſſued*, not at the Pleaſure of the Crown, but by the *Authority of Parliament* —— Whether ſuch a Parliament reſembles ſuch a *Bugbear* as *Charles* the IId's *Long Parliament?*

It hath been ſaid, that this Grievance of a long and corrupt Parliament weighed ſo much with the *Friends of Liberty*, at the *Revolution*, that they did not think their Deliverance compleat till they obtained an *Act for* limiting *the Continuance of Parliaments*. It is true, and yet it does not come up to the Point pretended to: It proves what I am moſt ready to grant, that the *indefinite Continuance of Parliaments* was thought to be the *Grievance*; but it does not prove the *Limitation of* 3 *Years* to be the moſt *wiſe* and *proper Limitation:* On the contrary, from the *Story of that Bill*, which was paſſed in 1694, it may be proved, that it was one of the moſt *unfortunate Laws* that ever paſſed amongſt us.

The original *Act for triennial Parliaments* was paſſed, under *Charles* I. in the 16th Year of his Reign: It is not to be ſeen in the *Statute Books*, becauſe of its having been *repealed at the Time of the Reſtoration*, but may be read in *Scobell's Collection of Acts and Ordinances.*

This Law was paſſed by a *jealous* and *exaſperated Parliament*, who crowded it with all the Proviſions, and loaded it with all the Penalties that could ſecure the Rights and Being of a Parliament, againſt a Prince whom they *neither loved nor truſted.*

At *the Revolution* many of the old *Republican Families* and Adherents of that Party were then ſubſiſting, grown old in their Prejudice againſt *Monarchical Government*, from the long Courſe of Male-Adminiſtration, under the *Reign of the* Stuarts. Biſhop *Burnet*, in his ſecond Volume, *p.* 16. affirms, that the *firſt Bill* for ſettling the *Proteſtant Succeſſion* was loſt in the Houſe of Commons, thro' the Prevalence of this *Republican* Spirit.

Concurring with this unhappy *Enthuſiaſm of the Friends of Liberty*, it muſt be confeſſed, as *Burnet confirms* it, that the *King* himſelf was miſguided to *cheriſh and conſu't the* Tories *too far*; whereby he weakened the *Hands of his* Whig *Miniſters*, and loſt himſelf the *Hearts* of his Whig *Friends.* So that in this Combination of ill Humours, he ſtood expoſed to the worſt Attempts of his moſt inveterate Enemies.

Accordingly Biſhop *Burnet* tells us, *p.* 105. *That when this Male-content Party ſaw, they could carry nothing in either Houſe of Parliament, then they turned their whole Strength againſt the preſent Parliament*, to force a Diſſolution; *and in order to that, they firſt loaded it with a* Name *of an ill* Sound —— *And the Word that they gave out among the People was, that we were to be governed by a* Standing Army, *and a* Standing Parliament. *They tried to carry a* Bill *that rendered* Members of the Houſe of Commons incapable of *Places of* Truſt or Profit —— *When this failed, another Attempt was made, in a* Bill *that was offered, enacting, that a Seſſion of Parliament ſhould be held every Year, and a* new Parliament *be ſummoned every* third Year.

Hence aroſe the Law for *triennial*

Elections, and from the Commencement of that Law, the *Revolution Government* was unhinged almoſt all the Remainder of King *William*'s Reign; the Power of *France* was ſuffered to proceed to a moſt exorbitant Height; the *common Cauſe of Europe* was ſuffered to languiſh, for want of due Supplies; the *Jacobites* were tempted to invade the Kingdom, nay, to contrive the *Aſſaſſination of the King*; and the *Proteſtant Succeſſion* itſelf could not obtain an *Act of Security* till the Afternoon of the Day which happened before his Death; ſo precarious was our Fate, when the *Liberties of this Kingdom* were nearly expiring, with that *King* who reſtored them.

The *triennial Law* eſtabliſhed *Factions* in every Part of the Kingdom; and the *Tory Miniſtry*, that came into Power under Queen *Anne*, graſted a new Evil on the old one, by employing the *Power of the Church* to govern the *Factions of the People*, and taking the Clergy from the Buſineſs of their Calling, to work upon the Paſſions of the Laity, in order to manage *Elections*. Hence aroſe the *dreadful* Diviſions of *High* and *Low Church Parties*. Hence were the *Proteſtant Diſſenters* cruelly oppreſſed, and at length ſacrificed to the *Management of Elections* under this *triennial Law*; the *High-flying Guides of our Souls* were bought by theſe *Unchriſtian* Schemes; and the *Elections to Parliament* were carried by their Influence.

The *Violence* and the *ill Judgment* of the *Tories* loſt them the Hearts and the Voices of the People. The *Lord* Treaſurer G———*n* therefore adviſed the Queen to take the *Whigs* into the Adminiſtration, whoſe Succeſs and Conduct bore down the *Fury of Faction*, whilſt the glorious Events of the War gave the Court ſuch a Popularity as carried the *Elections* in their Favour, till the Outcry of *Danger to the Church* prevailed againſt the *Intereſts of the People*, and the *Leaders of the Church*, by the *worſt Sort of Corruption*, the proſtitute *Management of their high-flying Eccleſiaſtical Dependents*, deluded the Populace, and *carried Elections with irreſiſtible Violence*.

Theſe are the *Bleſſings* of *triennial Elections*; but we have ſeen, from the good Effects of the *ſeptennial Law*, for 20 Years, that our Factions have been continually decreaſing; the Clergy are returned to the *proper Duties* of their Function, the *Proteſtant Diſſenters* protected according to Law, and the *Peace of the Kingdom* hath been fully preſerved. If we change this Settlement, *if we return again to triennial Elections, we return to triennial Corruptions*; and all the Bleſſings, which we now enjoy, will be *no longer permanent*, when we ſhall once have *ſet our Conſtitution a floating*.

Univerſal Spectator, March 16. N° 284.

Poetry and Painting compar'd.

POETRY is *Painting* to the Ear, as the *Picture* is *Poetry* to the Eye; one ſhews us Images by the Force of Numbers, the other as eloquently deſcribes her Imagination by the poetical Aid of her Pencil.

Painting, like Poetry, is divided into its ſeveral Claſſes. The Groteſque, in which Kind the *Dutch* are ſaid to excel, generally exhibits the Humours of a Country-Fair, a Wedding, a Drinking-bout, *&c.* In this Species we have at preſent a Gentleman of our own Country very excellent, I mean the ingenious Mr. *Hogarth*, who has given the Town a new Piece of Humour in his *Harlot's Progreſs*, and in that of a *Rake*, which will ſhortly appear. Theſe Groteſque Painters I take to be exactly the ſame with the Burleſque Poets, the Deſign of both being to pleaſe, and move Laughter. But, they are both too apt to give up Decency for a Joke:

Joke: The Poet would leave Modeſty for a merry Rhyme or a Clench; as the Painter would good Manners for an arch Conceit.

Landskip-Painters are of the ſame Degree as the Paſtoral Writers; each of them give you Proſpects of a Country, with Variety of rural Scenes; make Groves ſpread their Branches, Rivers flow, Caſcades fall, and Shepherds and Shepherdeſſes tending on their Flocks: Either of theſe can make a Spectator or a Reader in the Midſt of *London* wander thro' Groves and Thickets, by purling Rills and murmuring Fountains, give him a View of a fine Park and an undangerous Fox-Chace.

The Limners indeed, who expreſs the Features of the Face, I know not to what Species of Poets they are ally'd, unleſs by tranſmitting the Beauties of their Age to Poſterity, they may for Gallantry paſs under the Denomination of Lyricks; for ſuch was *Horace*, who gave us ſo laſting a Picture of his *Leſbia*, and *Waller* of his *Sacharifſa*.

Heroick Poetry and Hiſtory Painting are the moſt excellent of their Arts, and their Similitude is the moſt conſpicuous. Epick or Tragick Poems, by the ſtrong Ideas they convey, affect our Minds more, move all Paſſions, and inſpire us with the Sentiments of their Heroes; ſo in noble Pieces of Painting, we are affected by the Greatneſs of the Deſign, the Dignity of the Subject, and the Expreſſion of the Paſſions. How Poetical is that Deſcription which *Raphael* gives us in that celebrated Piece of *Conſtantine* and *Maxentius*; all the Emotions of the Heart appear in the Faces of his Figures, enraged with Fury, or fill'd with Horror or Conſternation.

The Property too of the Heroic Pen and the Heroic Pencil are to record the great Actions of Illuſtrious Perſons, and reſcue their Name and their Virtues from Oblivion: Thus they are not only to give Pleaſure, or move Paſſions, but inſpire alſo noble Sentiments, and inculcate into our Minds ſome Divine Inſtruction. Who can behold the celebrated Cartoons of *Raphael* at *Hampton-Court*, and there ſee *Ananias* ſtruck dead by the Breath only of a Diſciple of our Saviour, and not without Deteſtation think on the Guilt of Perjury? The Blindneſs of *Elymas* the Sorcerer will have ſome Effect on thoſe who willingly have an intellectual Blindneſs, and deny the Being of God, or his Revelation, contrary to the Dictates of their Reaſon and their Heart. Is it poſſible to view the ſilent Eloquence, the earneſt enforcing Look, the devout Geſture of St. *Paul* Preaching, and not be affected with ſome of thoſe Paſſions his Audience ſeems to feel?

But this Unhappineſs good Painters and good Poets have in common; tho' their Endeavour and Deſign is to excite Virtue and laudable Actions, yet their Beholders and their Readers are ſo devoted to the Admiration of the Beauty of their Pieces, that they ſeldom obſerve there is any moral Inſtruction intended.

Weekly Miſcellany, March 16. N° 66.

The Caſe of Abraham, *&c. farther conſider'd.* (See p. 112.)

THIS Writer propoſes farther to ſhew,

1. That *God* might, conſiſtently with his *Moral* Attributes, command *Abraham* to offer up *Iſaac*.

2. That *Abraham* might have ſufficient Reaſon to believe that he *had* ſuch a Command from *God*.

The firſt of theſe is the Subject of this Letter, and as Mr. *Chubb* has managed his Objections, muſt likewiſe be divided into two Parts;

1. Whether *God* could take away the Life of *Iſaac*.

2. Whether he could do it by the Means of *Abraham*, the *Father* of *Iſaac*.

That *God*, as the *Creator* and *Governor* of the World, has an abſolute *Right* to the Life of any one of his Creatures, has been *univerſally* allowed by all who acknowledged a *God*. And how ſhould it be otherwiſe? Will Mr. *Chubb* ſay that any Creature had a *Right* to be *created?* Well then, if it were an Act of *meer Favour* in *God* to give him *any* Exiſtence, ſurely he was at Liberty to give it him upon his own Terms. If the *Creature* could not claim it at firſt (and he could not demand Exiſtence before he had any) he cannot claim the *Continuance* of it. This will deſtroy Mr. *Chubb*'s Notion of our having a *Property* in our Lives; for the *Creator* and the *Creature* cannot have a Property in the ſame Thing at the ſame Time.

But he farther argues, that a *Proprietor* is under *moral Obligations* to make a true Uſe of his Property; and therefore, if *God cauſeleſly* deprived *Iſaac* of Happineſs, he did not make a *Good* Uſe of his Power.

The Whole of his Argument here is deſtroy'd by ſuppoſing, either that God might have given *Iſaac* more Happineſs in another than he took from him in this Life; or that he might have Reaſons for *limiting* the Happineſs of a *particular* Being on Account of the *general* Good of Mankind.

The *Firſt* of theſe Suppoſitions no Man of common Senſe can avoid ſeeing the Truth of, no Man of common Modeſty can deny. For, the ſame Power and Wiſdom which made us capable of taſting the Pleaſures of this Life, and furniſh'd us with proper Objects, can in another Life give us greater Faculties, and ſuitable Objects for them.

As to the other Suppoſition, that God may have good Reaſons for *limiting* the Happineſs of *particular* Beings, for the Sake of the *general* Happineſs of Mankind, Mr. *Chubb* has granted it at *p.* 28, where he ſays, That God *always does that which is beſt upon the* Whole, *or moſt ſubſervient to the* common *Good.*

But why then does he talk of God's taking away the Life of *Iſaac cauſeleſly, arbitrarily*, from *mere ſovereign Pleaſure*, unleſs he had prov'd, which he has not ſo much as *attempted* to do, that *God* could have no *wiſe Reaſon* for doing it. The Scriptures have aſſign'd two Reaſons for the Command, which he takes no Notice of, *viz.* that the World might have a moſt extraordinary and powerful Example of Faith and Obedience, and that *Abraham*'s Offering up *Iſaac* might be a *Type* of *God*'s Offering up his only Son, our Bleſſed Saviour, a Sacrifice for our Sins. Let him ſhew that thoſe Reaſons are not worthy of infinite Wiſdom. I am afraid the true Reaſon why theſe People take ſo much Pains to ſhew the *Immorality* of the *One*, is, becauſe they think the Arguments hold equally ſtrong againſt the *Other*; that if *Abraham* could not offer up *Iſaac*, neither could *God* offer up *Jeſus Chriſt*.

We are next to enquire, whether God could take away *Iſaac*'s Life by the Means of *Abraham* his *Father*.

If *Abraham* could *not* ſo reaſonably have aſſur'd himſelf, that *Iſaac* would be *rewarded* for his patient Submiſſion, as he certainly might have done and did, yet he might know what Mr. *Chubb* knows and grants, that *God*, in his Diſpenſations, conſiders not what is *beſt* for a *particular* Being, but what is beſt *upon the Whole*, and for the *common Good*; tho' in the *divine* Oeconomy, the Loſſes which *Particulars* ſuſtain for the Sake of a *general* Good, are always made up to them in the final Reſult of Things. Now *Abraham* being fully ſatisfy'd of the *Infinite Wiſdom* of *God*, and there not appearing any ſufficient Reaſons to ſatisfy him, that it *might not* be beſt *upon the whole*, and for the *common*

Good

ood, that *Iſaac* ſhould be offer'd up, e might have *reaſonable Satisfaction*, at the Command came from *God*, otwithſtanding any Inconveniency Diſadvantage reſpecting *Iſaac*; and he might have Reaſon to believe at it *did* come from *God*, its com- g from a Being *infinitely wiſe*, was fficient to convince him, that the Thing commanded was *good*, and *fit*, nd *beſt*.

But if it be ſtill objected by Mr. *Chubb's more philoſophical* Friends, hat for a *Father* to ſlay his own *Son malum in ſe*, and ſo abſolutely con- rary to the Law of Nature, that no uture Compenſations, no Views of ublick Benefit, can ever juſtify the ction; it will be ſufficient to reply hat *all* Killing is not *Murder*. To ill a Man, ſeparate from any farther oral Conſideration, is an Action in ſelf *indifferent*. To do it *without* eaſon is Murder; to do it *with* Rea- n is *always* lawful, *ſometimes* glo- ous. To urge that, in the Caſe of uch near Relations, it is running o much counter to *natural Affecti-* , is an Objection unworthy of a hiloſopher, who muſt know that ur *Affections* do not conſtitute *the ule of Duty*. We may indulge them far, as to be willing, *if poſſible*, decline ſo rigid a Task ourſelves, d reſign it rather into ſome other lands. We may from hence alſo nclude, that ſo ſevere a Trial will ot *frequently* be impoſed. But to ert that ſuch a Command is *abſo- ely unlawful*, is fit only for thoſe ho *meanly* apply to the *Weakneſs* of r *Paſſions*, when they ſhould con- nce our *Reaſon*. Does any Man ame a Father, that preſerves his n Life by taking away that of the pious *Parricide?* Should a Captain the Guards, entruſted with his *rince's* Safety, ſhoot his Rebel Son, at was Aiming at the Royal Life, en under his Protection, would he more than his Duty? 'Tis then knowledged by all Mankind to be, in many Inſtances, lawful for a Father to deſtroy his Son; and ſo there is nothing, in the *Nature* of the Thing commanded to *Abraham*, that neceſſarily render'd it unworthy of *God*.

A

Fog's Journal, March 16. N° 280.

Of Corruption and Court Dependance.

WHEN a young Man of Quality or great Fortune, has juſt made his Appearance on this B great Theatre of the World, the Eyes of all Men are generally fix'd upon him. If he happens to act his firſt Scene with Applauſe, giving his Country the Promiſe of a Patriot, and a Man of Honour, his Fame is immediately ſpread far and wide; but if after all this, ſuch a one happens C to run in with the prevailing Iniquity of the Times he lives in, and yields to ſome poor ſorry Temptation, it ſtrikes a Damp upon all who wiſh'd him well, and many, who find themſelves deceiv'd in their D Hopes, are apt, in their Spleen, to ſay, there is nothing but Corruption in the World.

There is ſomething in the Writings of the late Earl of *Shaftſbury* upon this Subject, which, (ſays *Fog*) for a particular Reaſon, I ſhall quote E for the Entertainment of this Day.

The Author ſpeaking of Taſte, tells us —— that he that wou'd acquire the real Science or Taſte of Life, wou'd diſcover that a right Mind and a generous Affection, had more Beauty and Charm, than all o- F ther Symmetries in the World beſides; and that one Grain of Honeſty and native Worth, is of more Value than all the adventitious Ornaments, Eſtates, or Preferments; for the Sake of which ſome of the better Sort do ſo often turn Knaves; *forſaking their* G *Principles*, and quitting their Honour and Freedom, for a mean, timorous, ſhifting Scene of gaudy Servitude.

A little better *Taſte* (were it a *very little*)

little) in the Affair of *Life itſelf*, wou'd mend the Manners, and ſecure the Happineſs of ſome of our *noble Countrymen*, who come with high Advantage and a worthy *Character* into the Publick: But ere they have long engag'd in it, their *Worth* unhappily becomes venal. *Equipages*, *Titles*, *Precedencies*, *Staffs*, *Ribbons*, and other glittering *Ware*, are taken in exchange for *inward Merit*, *Honour*, and a *Character*.

'Tis not in *one* Party alone that theſe *Purchaſes* and *Sales* of *Honour* are carried on. I can repreſent to myſelf a noted *Patriot*, and reputed *Pillar* of the religious Part of our Conſtitution, who having by many and long Services, and a ſteddy Conduct, gain'd the Reputation of thorough Zeal with his own Party, and of Sincerity and Honour with his very Enemies, on a ſudden (the Time being come that the Fulneſs of his Reward was ſet before him) ſubmits complacently to the propoſed Bargain, and ſells himſelf for what he is worth, in a vile deteſtable Old Age, to which he has reſerv'd the Infamy of Betraying both his *Friends* and *Country*.

I can imagine, on the other Side, one of a contrary Party; a noted Friend to *Liberty* in *Church* and *State*; an Abhorrer of the ſlaviſh Dependency on *Courts*, and of the narrow Principles of *Bigots*: Such a one, after many publick Services of Note, I can ſee wrought upon, by Degrees, to ſeek *Court-Preferment*; and this too under a *Patriot*-Character. But having perhaps try'd this Way with leſs Succeſs, he is oblig'd to change his *Character*, and become *a Royal Flatterer*, a Courtier *againſt his Nature*; ſubmitting himſelf, and ſueing, in ſo much the meaner Degree, as his inherent Principles are well known at Court, and to his new-adopted Party, to whom he feigns himſelf *a Proſelyte*.

'Tis eaſier, I confeſs, to give account of this *Corruption of Taſte* in ſome *noble Youth* of a more ſumptuous gay Fancy; ſuppoſing him born to *Great*, and of *honourable Deſcent*, with a *generous free Mind*, as well as *ample Fortune*. Even theſe Circumſtances themſelves may be the very Cauſes perhaps of his being thus enſnar'd. The Elegance of his Fancy in outward Things, may have made him overlook the Worth of inward *Character and Proportion*: And the Love of Grandeur and Magnificence, wrong turn'd, may have poſſeſs'd his Imagination over ſtrongly with ſuch Things as *Frontiſpieces*, *Parterres*, *Equipages*, *trim Varlets* in *party-colour'd Cloaths*, and others in *Gentlemen's Apparel*——— Magnanimous Exhibitions of *Honour* and *Generoſity!*——— 'In Town, a Palace 'and ſuitable Furniture! In the 'Country the ſame, with the Addition of ſuch Edifices and Gardens 'as were unknown to our Anceſtors, 'and are unnatural to ſuch a Climate 'as *Great Britain!*'

Mean while the Year runs on; but the Year's Income anſwers not its Expence. For 'Which of theſe 'Articles can be retrench'd? Which 'Way take up, after having thus ſet 'out?' A *Princely* Fancy has begot all this, and a *Princely* Slavery, and *Court* Dependence muſt maintain it. 'Farewel now that generous proud 'Spirit, which was wont to ſpeak 'only what it approv'd, commend 'only whom it thought worthy, and 'act only what it thought right! *Favourites* muſt be now obſerv'd, flatter'd 'Engines of Power attended on, and 'loathſomly careſs'd; an honeſt Man 'dreaded, and every free Tongue and 'Pen abhorr'd as dangerous and reproachful.' For till our Gentleman is become wholly proſtitute and ſhameleſs; till he is brought to laugh at *publick Virtue*, and the very Notion of *common Good*; till he has openly renounc'd all Principles of Honour and Honeſty, he muſt in good Policy

oid thoſe to whom he lies ſo much
pos'd, and ſhun that Commerce
d Familiarity which was once his
ief Delight.

Concerning the Increaſe of *Popery*; in Anſwer to a late Speech-Maker.

A worthy Gentleman at *Salters-ll*, among many other curious hings, told his liſt'ning Auditors t the Kingdom ſwarm'd with Miſ-naries. (See p. 65.) Now as 'tis t impoſſible, that this Declaration, owever groundleſs,) may, if it paſs contradicted, be receiv'd as Truth; hall (ſays a Correſpondent of *Fog*) low a Remark or two for the Uſe the Speech-Maker and the Publick. —This worthy Gentleman me-inks choſe a wrong Place to make Diſcovery in, and inſtead of *lters*, ſhould have given in his In-mation at *Whitehall*. Again, I uſt tell this *Lynceus Philoſophus*, t it will be thought ſomewhat nge, that Swarms of ſuch peſti-t Creatures ſhould be ſpread over Kingdom, and yet paſs unob-v'd, ſo as to eſcape the Notice of Mayors, Juſtices of the Peace, and other Civil Officers of the Nation. other Thing I can't but obſerve, t this Story is ill turn'd, and ſeems come into the World half a Cen-y too late: About the Year 1640 romantick Way of Talking was admirable Uſe, was greedily liſten-to by the long-ear'd Rout, and the Help thereof the Faction did ny notable Feats, which we have ſon to remember to this Day. d truly between 1670, and 1680, Belief of the ſame Legend did a little contribute to the promot-a Deſign (at this Time well un-ſtood) that made the Faction a ſe-d Time deſervedly memorable. preſent I look on the Populace ewhat indiſpoſed to receive this e, and think it would be no eaſy k to perſuade 'em now of Bri-s of Horſe conceal'd under Ground, or of that moſt wondrous Effect of Gunpowder, the Blowing up the *Thames*, to drown the Inhabitants of our good Proteſtant City. But laying aſide Mirth, I ſhall not ſo much for the Information of our *Salters-Hall* Orator, as of the Publick, make a Tranſcript from a Writer in K. *Charles* the IId's Reign, not foreign to our preſent Purpoſe. Not long after the Earl of *Nottingham* had taken the Great Seal, a Murmuring began of the Strength and Growth of *Popery*; this was afterwards rais'd into an Outcry, and the Clamour grew ſtill louder and louder, till at laſt it reach'd the Royal Ears. K. *Charles* hereupon in 1676, gave a Command to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and towards the Cloſe of that Year the Archbiſhop gave Orders to the ſeveral Biſhops, and they to the reſpective Miniſters and Church-Wardens in the Province of *Canterbury*, to return an Account of all the *Papiſts* in their ſeveral Pariſhes, *viz.* ſuch Men and Women as were of an Age to communicate. I have, ſays my Author, the Return from the whole Province, which contains all *England* and *Wales*, except what belongs to four of the 25 Biſhopricks; the Number of the *Papiſts* return'd, was 11,870 Men and Women, old and Young: A Number which Mr. *Sm*— (a Gentleman well known in the City for his Exactneſs in Calculations) will aſſure Mr. *H*——*n* bears no Proportion to the vaſt Multitude of grown Perſons within the Province. 'Tis true, indeed, that the Popiſh Lords were then Lords of Parliament; a Privilege which King *Charles* afterwards took from them and; the Faction may, if they pleaſe, reckon that, and his Repeal of the Act *De Hæretico Comburendo*, as Inſtances of his encouraging Popery: I ſhall add, that beſides the Loſs of their Seats in Parliament, the little Strength they had in that Reign, has been for upwards of 40 Years gradually diminiſhing, and

and is now ſo inconſiderable as to raiſe not our Fear but Contempt.

London Journal, March 16. N° 768.

THE Buſineſs of this Paper (ſays *Osborne*) is to ſhew, That our *Modern Conſtitution* is infinitely better than the *Ancient Conſtitution*; and that *New England*, or *England* ſince the *Revolution*, is vaſtly preferable to *Old England*, take it in any Point of Time, from the *Saxons* down to that *glorious Period*.

The *Ancient Monarchy* of *England* was ſettled upon an *Over-balance of Lands*, veſted in the *King*, the *Nobility*, and the *Church*. The *Noblemen* held their Lands (and ſo did the *Churchmen* too, after the *Norman* Conqueſt) upon Condition, that they ſhould aſſiſt the King on all his Occaſions with certain Quota's of Men, well armed and paid; and then theſe Noblemen let out their Lands to their Tenants, on Condition, they ſhould always be ready to follow their reſpective Lords to the War, as often as the King had any Occaſion for their Service; ſo that very *ſmall, or no Rents*, were demanded by the Lord from his Tenants, becauſe he had contracted for their *Perſonal Service*. Thus (according to our *Ancient* Conſtitution) the *People* of *England* were *abſolute Slaves* to the King, the Barons, or the Church. The *King* was then the *great Landlord* of the People, who were bound by *their Tenures*, in Subordination to one another, to ſupport his Crown and Dignity. But the Over-balance of Property being veſted in the *Barons*, they were able to uphold the Grandeur of the King at home and abroad; and, at the ſame time be a *Shelter* and *Defence* to the Common People againſt the *King's Tyranny*, or any Tyranny but *their own*.

This *Ancient Foundation* was ſapp'd and undermined by *Henry* VII. who (having ſeen the Crown of *England* diſpoſed at the Pleaſure of the Lords that had maintained a War againſt [illegible] near 400 Years) found out a Way to break a Power which had been ſo terrible to Kings; and that was, by changing the *Tenure of Lands* in ſuch a manner, that the *Tenants* ſhould be obliged only to *pay a Rent* inſtead of their *Perſonal Service* to their Landlords: And further, a Way was opened for the *Lords to alienate their Lands* from their Poſterity; which was done, that they might be encouraged by an expenſive Way of Living, to ſell their Lands; and that the *Commons*, who lived thriftily, might be enabled to purchaſe them.

By theſe Means, at the End of *Henry* VIII's Reign (in whoſe Time a great Part of the *Church-Lands* were alſo ſold to the People) the *Common People* of *England* had above *half*, or almoſt *Two Thirds* of the Lands of *England* in their own Poſſeſſion, and the King, Lords and Church little more than *one third Part*; whereby the *Balance* was turned on the Side of the *Commons*, who were ſoon able to make War upon and overturn *King*, *Lords* and *Church*, as appeared in the Reign of K. *Charles* I.

Thus it is manifeſt, that the *Ancient Foundation* of the *Engliſh* Monarchy was removed in the Reign of *Henry* VII. and its *Natural Strength* hath been decreaſing ever ſince; for at this Time, above *four Fifths* of the Lands of *England* are in the Hands of the *Commons*, as will appear by this Calculation. 'Tis allowed by all who have conſidered the Matter, that if the *Lands* of *England* were equally *aſſeſſed*, the Land-Tax, at two Shillings in the Pound, would amount to Two Millions; conſequently, the Rents of the Lands of *England* muſt mount to 20 Millions a Year. The *Lords*, if we reckon them worth 5000 *l.* a Year, one with another, do not poſſeſs above One Million a Year; and the *Church* not Two Millions a Year, taking in Biſhoprics, Deaneries, Prebends, &c. and [illegible]

ning the Parishes at above 100 *l.* a Year each.

If this Account is true, *the Commons* posses above *Seventeen-Twenty Parts* of the Land, besides their vast Wealth in Money, Stock, *&c.* So that *the Balance of Power* is greatly on their Side; for *Power* always follows *Property*. The Monarchy therefore cannot subsist, as of old, upon *its own Bottom*; nor can it be supported at all but by these two Things; *the real Power* of Disposing of Places, Civil, Military, and Ecclesiastical; and *a real Popularity*.

The Power of Disposing of Places will not *alone* preserve the Monarchy; for if the Government should ever attempt upon *the Liberties* of the People, and with or without Law *shaken* the *Security* of our *Properties*, I will find the *Power of the Commons* too hard for the *Monarchy* and all its *Dependents*. *Popularity* must, therefore, above all Things, be carefully studied and pursued by every King of *England*, who would have his Crown *safe, easy* and *firm* upon his Head.

From these Considerations it appears, that by our *ancient Constitution* (which we are so often called upon to renew) *the Lands* of *England* were in the King, Barons, and Church, and that *the People* were all *Beggars and Slaves*; and by *the present* Constitution, the Lands, the Property, and consequently *the Power*, are in the Hands of the People; who, instead of being Beggars and Slaves, are become a Nation of *Rich Men* and *Gentlemen*.

But it seems, according to *our Ancient* Constitution, we have a Right to *Annual Parliaments*, and we have but only *Septennial* ones; so that our Forefathers had the Advantage.

This, tho' asserted with so much Pomp and *Assurance*, is yet *absolutely* false. We were so far from having *Annual Parliaments*, that is, Parliaments *chosen every Year* by the *People*, even in the *Saxon* Times, or for a long Time after the Conquest, that we had *no Parliaments* at all in the *present Sense* of that Word; by which we mean, *a House of Commons*, distinct from the Lords, *Chosen by the People*.

The *Parliaments* of those Days were neither *chosen by the People*, nor *composed of the People*: The King, at certain Times, as *Christmas*, *Easter*, or *Whitsuntide*, sent for his *Tenants*; that is, those great Men, *Barons* and *Churchmen*, who held their Lands of him *in Capite*; and with them he consulted about National Affairs: I say, *the King* sent for them, or they sometimes came without sending for; but *the People* sent up no Members. Nor were they *the People* who came up; but Abbots, Priors, Bishops, Barons, and other *chief Tenants* of the King.

Craftsman, March 16. N° 402.

The Business of long and short Parliaments humourously considered.

SEPTENNIUS, in an ironical Strain, takes a View of the principal Arguments against *septennial Parliaments*, and in Behalf of *frequent Elections*.

In the first Place (says he) it is alledged that *Parliaments* originally consisted of but *one Session*; and that *two* or *three new Parliaments* were sometimes called within a *Year*. This is pompously styled our *ancient Constitution*. But granting this, hath not the judicious Mr. *Osborne* (or Mrs. *Osborne*, if you please) unanswerably proved, upon manifold Occasions, that *New England* is better than *Old England*, and that our *modern, polite Constitution* infinitely surpasses our *ancient, barbarous Constitution*?

Another Argument to the same Purpose is, that the Method of *proroguing Parliaments* is a Practice of modern Date, and was first introduced by *Henry* the VIIIth. I grant This too; and what then? It is well

known that the *Reformation* was begun under the *ſame Prince*; and yet, I believe, *theſe Writers* will not condemn our *Religion* on that Account. *Popery* was certainly a Part of our *ancient Conſtitution*, as well as *ſhort Parliaments*; and why might not *one* need Reformation, as well as the *other?*

The *two long Parliaments*, in the Reigns of *Charles* the Iſt and *Charles* the IId, never fail to be mentioned, on theſe Occaſions, by the *Advocates of frequent Elections*. *One*, ſay they, was attended with the total Overthrow of our Conſtitution, as well as the tragical Death of the King; and they add that the *other* brought Things almoſt to a *Criſis* again, after the *Reſtoration*. But I muſt put *theſe Gentlemen* in Mind that the true Art of reconciling *Parliaments* to the Temper of a *Court* was not diſcover'd in the Reign of *Charles* the Iſt; who miſcarried by the Application of harſh Remedies, where Lenitives might have prevailed. Indeed, his *Son* found out the Secret, in his Travels abroad, and made Uſe of it with pretty good Effect; but natural Habits are ſtubborn Things, and cannot be intirely ſubdued at once. This is the true Reaſon why the *long Parliament*, commonly called the *Penſionary Parliament*, in his Reign, began to boggle at laſt.

We are likewiſe told, that greater Things have been done by *ſhort Parliaments* than by *long ones*; upon which we are carried back to the muſty Reigns of the *Edwards* and the *Henrys*; but you are ſo modeſt as to allow that *Prerogative* prevailed to a very great Degree in thoſe Ages, and that the greateſt Part of the Lands of *England* being then in the Hands of the *Crown* and the *Nobles*, the *Commons* made but an inconſiderable Figure; ſo that no certain Concluſions can be drawn from the Tranſactions of thoſe Reigns. Let us therefore deſcend to Times within our own Memory, I mean ſince the *Revolution*, and ſee whether the greateſt national Points have been accompliſh'd under *triennial*, or *ſeptennial Parliaments*. I know it will be ſaid, in Behalf of the *former*, that the *Recoinage* of all our Money was completed, by a *triennial Parliament*, while we were engaged in a vigorous War with *France*, and even under a new *Government*, which was far from being ſettled. It may be added, that the *Proteſtant Succeſſion* was eſtabliſhed, and the laſt victorious War againſt *France* was carried on, under *triennial Parliaments*. But what are all theſe, in Compariſon to the mighty Things, done by *ſeptennial Parliaments?* Will any Body pretend to put the *Coinage* in Competition with the *South-Sea Scheme*, or the *Bank Contract?* I allow that the *Proteſtant Succeſſion* was a very conſiderable Point; but, with great Submiſſion, I leave it to be conſidered whether that Bleſſing could have been ſecured to us without *ſeptennial Parliaments*. It is true that the late Duke of *Marlborough* made a Shift to buffet thro' a vigorous War, and obtain a Series of unparalleled Victories, by the Aſſiſtance of *triennial Parliaments*; but have not our *preſent excellent Miniſters* made a more glorious Figure in the *Cabinet*, than ever he did in the *Field?* Do not *their Treaties* greatly overbalance all *his Victories?* Biſhop *Burnet* calls the Treaty of *Ryſwick* an *honourable Peace*; but I will undertake to prove, from undoubted Authority, that the Treaty of *Hanover*, the Treaty of *Seville*, and the laſt Treaty of *Vienna* were not only *honourable*, but *wiſe*, *prudent and neceſſary*. As for *publick Credit*, it cannot be deny'd that the Foundation of the *ſinking Fund* was firſt laid under a *triennial Parliament*; but every Body knows, that the ſtrict and inviolable Application of it to the *Payment of our publick Debts* is entirely owing to the Virtue and Care of a *ſeptennial Par-*

ent. After all, it muſt be acknowledged (for I am reſolved to preſerve the utmoſt Impartiality) that the *laſt Triennial Parliament* had the Honour of Atchieving two very great Points; I mean Paſſing the *Riot Act*, and *Continuing themſelves.* To this I have the Mortification to add, that the late glorious *Exciſe-Scheme* had the hard Fate to miſcarry, under a *Septennial Parliament*; but, perhaps, that may be properly enough imputed, as ſome of my *Brother-Writers* have already obſerved, to a ſmall Error of Judgment in *Timeing* the Bill.

Now as to the Tendency of *triennial* and *ſeptennial Parliaments*: A proper Harmony between *King* and *Parliament* hath been always eſteem'd the greateſt Bleſſing, that can befal this Nation. Now this cannot be cultivated and brought to Perfection in ſo ſhort a Term as *one*, or even *three Years.* It requires Time to diſcover the different Views, Inclinations and Circumſtances of ſo large a Body of Gentlemen, who come from diſtant Parts of the Kingdom, and are apt to look ſhy upon one another, like new Acquaintance, at their firſt Meeting. *Parliaments* therefore, like *Wine*, are the better for being kept, and improve on our Hands.

But there is ſtill a ſtronger Reaſon againſt *ſhort Parliaments*; for they not only tend to the Excluſion of *Men in Office*, and filling the Houſe with *Country Gentlmen* and *Fox-hunters*, who know nothing of Buſineſs; but will even produce a *Rotation* amongſt theſe; ſo that in a little Time no Gentleman will be ſure of becoming a *perpetual Senator*, unleſs he happens to be abſolute Maſter of ſome *little Borough*, or a *large Property in Land*, and will make it his Buſineſs to ſtudy the Intereſts of the People.

The *Friends of the Government* ought likewiſe to remember that *triennial Parliaments* were the Offſpring of the *Tories*, and that the *Whigs* had the Credit of ſubſtituting *ſeptennial ones* in their Room. Nothing therefore being more tender than the Honour of *Parties*, what will the World ſay, if the *Whigs* ſhould undo their own Work, and lick up the Spittle of the *Tories?*

But whatever Reaſons there may be for reſtoring *triennial*, or even *annual Parliaments*, the Attempt is certainly very unſeaſonable at this Time, when an *Election* is drawing ſo near, and ſeveral Gentlemen have been at ſo much Coſt, as well as Trouble, for two or three Years paſt, in gaining over Corporations to their Intereſt.

Laſtly, and above all, I muſt deſire the Electors of *Great Britain* to take Notice that this Deſign of reſtoring *triennial Parliaments* is projected by the very ſame Perſons, who lately ty'd up their Hands by an *Act againſt Bribery and Corruption*; from whence it is plain that *frequent Elections* are not intended for their Benefit. They ought therefore (as ſome of the ingenious *Couranteers* have already obſerv'd) to ſhew a juſt Indignation againſt the Promoters of an *Act*, which prohibits a poor Man from ſelling his *Vote* to buy a little *Liquor*, and obliges him to maintain his Family by what is called *honeſt Labour*, and the *Sweat of his Brows.*

§. In this *Craftſman* appear'd alſo the following remarkable Paragraph.

On *Monday* laſt one *Robert Fund*, commonly called *Rob. Fund*, who keeps a publick Houſe in *Weſtminſter*, laid violent Hands on his *favorite Child*, as he uſed to call it, though it is well known that he kidnapt it away, when very young from its *true Parent*, and being an *hopeful, promiſing Infant*, brought it up as *his own*, and always pretended a great Fondneſs for it; but ſeveral of the

Neighbours having twitted him in the Teeth with ſo ridiculous an Affectation, he hath uſed the *poor Child* very cruelly ever ſince, by Pinching and Kicking it about the Houſe at his Pleaſure; particularly about a Year ago, when he gave it a violent Blow on the Stomach, which it hath never recovered; but on *Monday* laſt, about 3 a-Clock in the Afternoon, he work'd himſelf up to ſuch a Pitch of Barbarity, that having ſtrip'd the Child ſtark naked before an Houſeful of Company, he beat it in ſo terrible a Manner, that he left it for dead on the Floor. It now lies in a miſerable, languiſhing Condition, and nobody expects its Life above a Week longer. In the mean Time, we do not hear that the *inhuman Wretch* is yet taken up, or even abſconds, but ſeems reſolved to brazen it out, and bid Defiance to the Law. But we hope that his Majeſty's Juſtices of the Peace for the County of *Middleſex*, who have diſtinguiſhed themſelves ſo eminently againſt *other Malefactors*, will take this Affair into Conſideration, at their next Meeting at *Hicks's-Hall*, and not ſuffer ſo *bold an Offender* to eſcape the Puniſhment due to his Crimes.

Weekly Regiſter, March 16. N° 210.

Continuation of the Review of the publick Buildings, &c. (See p. 75.)

GRAY's-INN is a confus'd Heap of ugly Buildings that have neither Order, Regularity, or Connection, and yet the Ground they ſtand on was capable of all: They might have had a fine, open Front to the Street, and another to the Gardens, and that too with as little Expence. The Gardens are certainly an Advantage to the Students there, and a Convenience to the Town in general; and, if they have not many Beauties to entertain you, they have few Abſurdities to diſguſt you: They might, indeed, be made much better than they are, by keeping the Viſtas full of Trees, the Walks ſmooth, and the Borders even. The Mount, and Summer-Houſe on the Top of it, might be made quite delightful; and, if the two Portico's at the Ends of the Terraſs, had been in Taſte, they would have given an Air of Magnificence, which now is much wanting.

Bedford-Row is one of the moſt noble Streets *London* has to boaſt of, and yet not one Houſe in it deſerves the leaſt Attention: But if the Houſe, which projects into the Middle of the Street, and ſpoils the Beauty of the whole Viſta, were levell'd, we ſhould admire the Grandeur and Length of the Whole.

Ormond-Street is another Place of Pleaſure, and that Side of it next the Fields, is one of the moſt charming Situations about Town.

Powis-Houſe is a Building of much Beauty and Elegance; the lower Part of it, in particular, has a good Claim to Applauſe; but then the *Attick* Story is monſtrous, out of Proportion, and no Way a-Kin to Taſte.

Queen's-Square is an Area of a peculiar Kind, being left open on one Side, for the Sake of the beautiful Landſcape, which is form'd by the Hills of *Highgate* and *Hampſtead*, together with the adjacent Fields; a Delicacy which deſerves ſome Approbation.

Southampton-Row is a Range of Buildings, which ſeems to have been built only for the Sake of the Proſpect before it; and, for ſuch who preſer no Conveniency to that, no Situation can be more happy.

Bloomſbury-Square is remarkable for nothing but its being a Place capable of great Improvements: There is not one tolerable Houſe in it, and the Area, in the Middle, is almoſt as much neglected as the Buildings. The Ground, on which the Duke of *Bedford*'s Houſe now ſtands, is beyond Diſpute, one of the fineſt Situations

tions in *Europe* for a Palace, and m not a little griev'd to ſee it wretchedly miſemploy'd.

The New Church of St. *George*, *mſbury*, is built all of Stone, is rn'd with a pompous Portico, can ſt many other Decorations, has n ſtinted in no Expence, and yet, n the Whole, is ridiculous and rd even to a Proverb. The ſon is this, the Builder miſtook im for Genius, and Ornament Taſte: Then, the execrable Con- of ſetting up the King on the of the Steeple, excites nothing Laughter in the Ignorant, and tempt in the Judge. In ſhort, a laſting Reflection on the Fame he Architect, and the Under- ling of thoſe that employ'd him. *ountague-Houſe* has been long, very ridiculouſly eſteem'd one of moſt beautiful Buildings about n: I muſt own 'tis grand and nſive, will admit of very noble es of Apartments within, and anſwers all the Dignity of a *ſh* Nobleman of the firſt Rank: the Entrance into the Court- is mean and *Gothique*; more he Portal of a Monaſtery than Gate of a Palace; and the Body e Houſe has no other Recom- ation than merely its Bulk, and quantity of Space it fills.

e new Church of St. *Giles*'s is f the moſt ſimple and elegant modern Structures: It is rais'd y little Expence, has very few nents, and little beſide the Pro- of its Parts, and the Harmony Whole, to challenge Applauſe: ll it pleaſes, and juſtly too; the nd is both plain and majeſtick, ere is nothing in the Weſt to to but the Smallneſs of the and the Poverty of Appearance uſt neceſſarily follow. The is light, airy, and genteel, a good deal of Genius in the ct, and looks very well both pariſon with the Body of the Church, and when 'tis conſider'd as a Building by itſelf, in a diſtant Proſpect.

Fog's Journal, March 23. N° 281.

A IN Reading over the 2d Part of Bp. *Burnet*'s Hiſtory, nothing affected me more (ſays this Writer) than that moſt excellent Advice, he has left for the Conduct of Biſhops, his Succeſſors; he ſhews how eaſy it is for theſe Gentlemen to inſpire the B People with a Veneration for their Order, and Reſpect for their Perſons; and if we ſee our preſent Bench treated and talked of, with ſuch a peculiar Regard and Eſteem, as were never ſhewn to any of their Predeceſſors, we have Reaſon to think it muſt be C owing to their acting and living conformable to thoſe excellent Rules laid down by our Author; which are as follows.

D I Now turn to my Brethren and Succeſſors in the Epiſcopal Order. You are they, in whoſe Hands the Government of the Church is put; in ſome Reſpects it is believed to be wholly in you, tho' I have felt it, that your Power is ſo limited, that you can do little. Exemptions (a E ſcandalous Remnant of Popery) take a great Part of your Dioceſs out of your Hands. This I have often wonder'd at, that ſome who plead that the Government of the Church is ſettled by Divine Authority in the Biſhops, can yet by Virtue of *Papal* F Bulls, confirm'd by an unhappy Clauſe in an Act of Parliament, exerciſe Epiſcopal Juriſdiction. Archdeacons Viſitations were an Invention of later Ages, in which the Biſhops neglecting their Duty, caſt a great Part of their Care upon them; now their Vi- G ſitations are only for Form and Fees; and they are a Charge on the Clergy; ſo when this Matter is well looked into, I hope Archdeacons with many other Burdens that lay heavy on the

Cler-

Clergy, ſhall be taken away. All the various Inſtruments upon which heavy Fees muſt be rais'd, were the Infamous Contrivances of the Canoniſts, and can never be maintain'd when well examin'd. I ſay nothing to you of your Lives, I hope you are, and A ſhall ever be ſhining Lights. I wiſh the Pomp of Living, and the Keeping high Tables cou'd be quite taken away. It is a great Charge, and no very decent one; a great Devourer of Time. It lets in much promiſcuous Company, and much vain Diſcourſe B upon you; even Civility may carry you too far in a Freedom and Familiarity, that will make you look too like the reſt of the World— I hope this is a Burden to you, it was indeed one of the greateſt Burdens of my Life, to ſee ſo much Time loſt, C to hear ſo much idle Talk, and to live in a luxurious Waſte of that, which might have been much better beſtow'd— I had not Strength enough to break thro' that, which Cuſtom has impoſed on thoſe provided with plentiful Biſhopricks. I pray God to D help you to find out a decent Way of laying this down.

The Wives and Children of Biſhops ought to be exemplary in their Apparel, and in their whole Deportment, remembring that no Part of the Biſhops Honours belongs to them; E the Wife of a Biſhop ought to viſit the Widow and the Fatherleſs, and by a grave Authority inſtruct and admoniſh, as well as oblige, and favour the reſt of the Clergy.

The Children of Biſhops ought to be well inſtructed and managed with F all Gravity. Biſhops ought not to preſs them beyond their Inclination to take Orders, for this looks as if they wou'd thruſt them, how unfit, or unwilling ſoever, into ſuch Preferment as they can give or procure G for them. On the contrary, tho' their Children ſhou'd deſire to go into Orders, they ought not to ſuffer it, unleſs they ſee in them a good Mind, and ſincere Intentions, with the other neceſſary Qualifications, in which they cannot be deceiv'd, unleſs they have a Mind to deceive themſelves: It is a betraying their Truſt, and the worſt ſort of Simony, to provide Children with great Dignities and Benefices, only as an Eſtate to be given them, without a due Regard to their Capacities and Tempers. Ordinations are the only Part of the Epiſcopal Function, on which the Law has had no Reſtraint; ſo this ought to be heavy on your Thoughts.

Ordination Weeks were always dreadful Things to me, when I remembred theſe Words, *Lay Hands ſuddenly on no Man, be not Partaker of other Men's Sins, keep thyſelf pure.* It is true, thoſe that came to me were generally well prepared as to their Studies, and they brought Teſtimonials and Titles, which is all that our preſent Conſtitution can be demanded. I never put over the examining them to my Chaplains, I did that always myſelf, and examined them chiefly on the Proofs of revealed Religion, and the Terms of Salvation and the new Covenant thro' *Chriſt*: but my principal Care was to awaken their Conſciences, to make them conſider whether they had a Motion of the Holy Ghoſt, calling them to the Function, and to make them apprehend, what belong'd both to a Spiritual Life, and to the Paſtoral Care. On theſe Subjects I ſpoke much and often to every one of them apart, and ſometimes to them all together, beſides the publick Examination of them with my Chapter.

This was all I cou'd do; but alas! How defective is this! And it is well known how eaſy the Clergy are in ſigning Teſtimonials; that which I here propoſe is, that every Man who intends to be ordain'd ſhould be requir'd to come, and acquaint the Biſhop with it a Year before; that he may then talk to his Conſcience, and give him good Directions, how

to his Studies, and to the Courſe his Life and Devotion, and that may recommend him to the Care d Inſpection of the beſt Clergymen, t he knows in the Neighbourhood here he lives; that ſo he may have m him, by ſome other Convey- ce than the Perſon concern'd, ſuch Account of him as he may rely . This is all that can be propos'd, our Univerſities are put in a bet- Method, or till Seminaries can be is'd for maintaining a Number of erſons, duly prepared for Holy Or- ers.

As to the Labours of a Biſhop, ey ought to think themſelves obli- d to preach, as much as their ealth and Age can admit of; this e Form of ordaining Biſhops ſets fore them, together with the Senſe the Church in all Ages; the Com- aint of the beſt Men in the worſt ges ſhews how much the Sloth and azineſs of Biſhops will be cried out , and how acceptable the Labours preaching Biſhops have always een; the People run to hear them, d hearken to their Sermons with ore than ordinary Attention: You ill find great Comforts in your La- ours this Way, and you will ſee the ruits of them— the diſcreet Con- uct of your Clergy is to be your ief Care— keep not at too great a iſtance, nor yet let them grow too miliar— a Biſhop's Diſcourſe ſhould well ſeaſon'd, turn'd chiefly on ood Subjects, Inſtructions on Mat- rs of Religion, and the Paſtoral ares; and the more diverting ones ught to be Matters of Learning, riticiſm, and Hiſtory — it is in the ower of a Biſhop to let no Man de- iſe him.

A grave but ſweet Deportment, nd a Holy Converſation, will com- and a general Reſpect; and as for me hot and froward Spirits, the s they are meddled with, they ill be the leſs able to do Miſchief— ey delight in Oppoſition, which they think will make them the more conſiderable— I have had Experience this Way, nothing mortifies them ſo much as Neglect— the more abſtracted Biſhops live (from the World, from Courts, from Cabals, and from Parties) they will have the more Quiet within themſelves, their Thoughts will be free, and leſs entangled, and they will in Concluſion be more reſpected by all, eſpecially if an Integrity and a juſt Freedom appear among them in the Houſe of Lords, *where they will be much obſerv'd*, and Judgments will be made of them there, that will follow them Home to their Dioceſes.

Nothing will alienate the Nation more from them than their *becoming Tools to a Court, and giving up the Liberties of their Country, and advancing arbitrary Deſigns*. Nothing will work more effectually on the Diſſenters, than a Courſe of Moderation towards them; this will diſarm their Paſſions, and when that is done, they may be better dealt with in Point of Reaſon— all Care ought to be taken to ſtifle new Controverſies in their Birth, to check new Opinions, and vain Curioſities.

Upon the whole Matter, Biſhops ought to conſider, that the Honour given them, and the Revenues belonging to them, are ſuch Rewards for former Services, and ſuch Encouragements to go on to more Labour and Diligence, as ought to be improved as ſo many Helps and Advantages for carrying on the Work of the Goſpel, and their heavenly Father's Buſineſs; they ought to meditate on thoſe Things, and be wholly in them, ſo that their Profiting may appear to all; *they ought to preach in Seaſon, and out of Seaſon, to exhort, admoniſh and rebuke with all Authority*.

But if they abandon themſelves to Sloth and Idleneſs— if they neglect their proper Function, and follow a ſecular, a vain and luxurious Courſe of

of Life— if they are not content with educating their Children well, and with ſuch a Competency as may ſet them afloat in the World, think of building up their own Houſes, and raiſing up great Eſtates, they will put the World on many unacceptable Enquiries — Wherefore is this Waſte made? — Why are theſe Revenues continued to Men, who make ſuch an ill Uſe of them? And why is an Order kept up that does the Church ſo little Good, and gives it ſo much Scandal? The Violences of Achbiſhop *Laud*, and his Promoting arbitrary Power, ruin'd him and the Church both— a *Return of the like Practices will bring with it the like dreadful Conſequences*— the Labours and the Learning, the Moderation and good Lives of the Biſhops of this Age have chang'd the Nation much with relation to them, and have poſſeſs'd them of a general Eſteem; ſome fiery Spirits excepted, who hate and revile them for that which is their true Glory— I hope another Age may carry this yet much farther, that ſo they may be univerſally looked on, as the true and tender-hearted Fathers of the Church.

Our Author goes on with ſome other Things that concern the Church; his Obſervation concerning Pluralities and Non-Reſidence has ſomething worthy of Notice, and which I cannot forbear quoting; and I do it the more becauſe every Body knows, it does not touch any of our preſent dignified Clergy.

I do not enter (ſays he) into the ſcandalous Practice of Non-Reſidence, and Pluralities, which are ſhelter'd by ſo many Colours of Law among us, whereas the Church of *Rome*, from whence we had that and many other Abuſes, has freed herſelf from this, under which we ſtill labour, to our great and juſt Reproach— This is ſo ſhameful a Profanation of holy Things, that it ought to be treated with Deteſtation and Horror— Do ſuch Men think on the Vows they made at their Ordination— on the Rules in the Scriptures, or the Nature of their Function, or that is a Care of Souls?— How long, how long ſhall this be the peculiar Diſgrace of our Church, which, ought I know, is the only Church in the World that tolerates it?— muſt add, that I do not reckon Holding poor Livings that lie contiguous, a Plurality, where both are look'd after, and both afford only competent Maintenance.

Craftſman, March 23. N° 403.

Of Screening.

A *Screen* litterally ſignifies a certain Piece of Mechaniſm to defend us from the Inclemency of the Weather, either Heat, Cold, Wind, or Rain. But a *Screen*, in a metaphorical Senſe, imports any Device or Contrivance, to protect Men from the Power of their Enemies, or the Purſuit of Juſtice.

The *Romans* had a Goddeſs, called *Laverna*, whoſe peculiar Province it was to protect thoſe, who lived by Fraud and Rapine. Horace introduces a Man making his Addreſs privately to her in the following Lines;

——*Pulchra Laverna,*
Da mihi fallere; da juſto, ſanctoque videri,
Noctem peccatis, & fraudibus objice nubem.

That is, *grant me*, Laverna, *a Genius for Tricking, and an outward Appearance of Probity and Conſcience; let my Crimes be hid in Darkneſs, and caſt a Cloud over all my Roguries.* I have often amuſed myſelf with reflecting what a prodigious Number of Votaries *this Goddeſs* muſt have had in the Declenſion of the *Roman* Commonwealth, and under moſt of the Emperors. Methinks I ſee *Sejanus* on his Knees, imploring her Protection and Aſſiſtance to conceal his Depredations from the Publick.

Screening is abſolutely neceſſary, when *publick Corruptions grow prevalent*; and in what can this great Privilege be ſo properly employed as in *One*, who hath Power to exert it? A *Prime-Miniſter* is certainly the beſt Judge who are fit Objects of *Favour*; and if a Man, who hath done him eminent Service, ſhould happen to be detected in any *little Irregularities*, or *Breach of Truſt*, and is violently purſued with the Cry of Juſtice, it is certainly his Intereſt, as well as his Duty, to ſtem the Torrent of popular Reſentment; eſpecially, if it ſhould be his own Fate to fall under general Hatred and Suſpicion; for *publick Enquiries* are Things of a very encroaching Nature, and when once ſet on Foot, [illegible]

ows how far they may go, or where they
l end. It therefore behoves all those, who
re to conceal the *Mysteries of State* from
gar Eyes, to crush such an inquisitive Spi-
as soon as it appears, or to weary it out,
a troublesome Gallant, by continued Re-
fs and Denials.

But, tho' I contend so strenuously for a
ening *Power* to be lodg'd in *Ministers*, I
uld have it exerted only on great Occasi-
, where their own Interest is immediately
cern'd, or the Enquiry naturally tends to
e Discoveries, which affect their general
heme of Management, and the Persons
aged in it; for if such a *dictatorial Power*
uld be prostituted to the Service of every
tle *dirty Fellow*, who hath just Cunning e-
gh to cheat one of the *Companies*, or to
y a knavish Trick in *Exchange Alley*, it
ll sink into Contempt, and *Gentlemen of*
ure will be ashamed of its Protection.
hey expect some Discrimination from such
an Rogues, and have a Right to be *screen'd*
ording to their Quality. Yet *some Mini-*
s have been so weak as to catch at every
dy, who stood in need of their Assistance,
thout any Regard to his Birth, or Station;
d have endeavoured to raise up a *Party*,
e the first Founders of *Rome*, by opening
Asylum for Robbers and Outlaws of all
inds. I call this weak; because it hath
en observ'd that these *all-screening Ministers*
mmonly overshoot their Mark; and I can-
t help thinking that Men, who have long
joy'd the Power of diverting publick Justice
m others, make but a silly Figure, when
ey come to want a *Screen* themselves. I
ow very well that *such Men* have many
dvantages above *ordinary Delinquents*, and
e able to struggle very hard before they fall.
soon as they perceive a Storm rising, they
nerally throw out a *Tub*, to divert the
hale, and have sometimes succeeded in it;
t this Stratagem will not serve their Pur-
se long; and for my Part, I never saw a
inister making Use of it, without thinking
Sir *John Falstaff*, who endeavours to hide
mself from my *Lord Chief Justice*, by thrust-
g a *little Page* before him. Their next
ccourse is to *Corruption*, which they have
merly employ'd to so much Advantage,
at they think it an infallible Expedient, and
ve sometimes had the Insolence to attempt
n *Parliaments* themselves. They have
ewise some Dependence on the Support of
anding Army, and are apt to flatter them-
ves that the Hopes of Preferment, or the
ar of Dismission, will bind Men of the
ord fast to their Interest; especially when
y have taught them, by some notable Ex-
mples, what is the Consequence of disobey-
Command. But if all these strong Holds
ould happen to fail, they have one Resort
ll left, by skulking behind the *Throne*, and
posting their *Master* in the Front of the
Battle.

I shall conclude with observing that *Acts of Grace*, in most Reigns, have been nothing but *Court-Screens*; for if we examine them with Attention, it will be found that *Ministers* have generally taken Care to comprehend themselves in the fullest Terms, and to except those, who have given them any Disturbance. Whether *such* a partial Distribution of Indemnity can be properly call'd an *Act of Grace*, which seems to include some Benefit to the People, let others determine; but I am sure nobody can deny that it is a *Screen*.

Weekly Miscellany, March 23. N° 67.

Conclusion of the Case of Abraham, &c.

(See p. 123.)

IN this *last* Letter, I shall enquire, whether *Abraham* might not have reasonable Satisfaction that the Command came from *God*.

Will these Infidels be so hardy as to assert that *God cannot* make a *Revelation* of his Will to his Creatures, attested with sufficient Evidence? No Man that believes the *Being* of a *God* can deny him the same Power which he has communicated to us his Creatures. If *Men* of the lowest Capacity can communicate their Thoughts to one another, is *God*, who made our Minds, and gave us our Faculties, incapable of applying himself to us in such a Manner as to give us *reasonable* Satisfaction that it is *he* who speaks to us, and not any Delusion from the Workings of *Imagination*? Now then let us see what Reason we have, from the *Scriptural* Account of *Abraham*, to believe that *God* did actually reveal himself to him, and command him to offer up his Son; and what Reason *Abraham* had to believe that the Command came from *God*.

We may see by the History of God's Appearances to *Abraham*, how *often*, how *familiarly*, how *miraculously*, *God* had conversed with him; how constantly he had been with him in all his Distresses, to support him; in all Dangers, to protect him; what Blessings he promised, and, according to his Promises, conferred on him, his Family, and his Friends; what Curses he inflicted on his Enemies for his Sake; how many *Miracles* he had wrought for the Support, and Confirmation of his *Faith*; in particular, that great and blessed Miracle, by which he made the *barren* and *dead* Womb of *Sarah fruitful*.

After all these Manifestations of himself, and his Providence to *Abraham*, he commands him to offer up *Isaac*. And will Mr. *Chubb* pretend, that *Abraham* had not by this Time sufficient Reason to believe that this Command came from *God*? *Before*, he had received *nine* Revelations; two by *Vision*; two by *Miracle*; two under some *sensible Ap-*

pearance; and three in some Manner not explained.

But I am obliged to take Notice of an Objection of Mr. *Chubb*'s; at *p.* 41. he says, *Supposing that* Abraham *received his Information, in the present Case, in the* same Way *in which he had received several divine Revelations before; and supposing this Revelation had been backed with a* Miracle, *or* Miracles, *in like Manner as the former divine Revelations had been* confirmed *or* proved *to him to be: such: In this Case surely there would have been a just and rational Foundation for him to conclude that the Command was Divine.* I Answer; *Admitting this to be the Case, then I think that* Abraham *would have been* more liable *to be deluded or imposed upon, than otherwise he might have been. But it would by no Means* justify *in Argument, or render such a Conclusion* rational, viz. *That the aforesaid Commandment was Divine. For, Supposing that* Abraham *had before received divine Revelations in or by* Dreams *a hundred Times; yet surely it will not follow by a just Consequence, that he could not be* misled *by* Dreaming; *but, on the contrary, he became so much the more in* Danger *of being* deluded. *In this Way, his receiving* frequently *divine Revelations by Dreams, might render him the* less *upon his* Guard; *and he might hereby be more easily led to think, that* every Dream *was a* divine Revelation. *The Case is the same in any other Way in which he might receive his Informations: His not being imposed upon in* many *Instances, is not a good Argument to prove that he was not, or could not be imposed upon in the same Way in* one; *because the latter will not follow by a just Consequence from the former.*

I hope the Reader will not be so unreasonable as to expect a *Reply* to Mr. *Chubb*. Need I take Pains to prove that a Man is not the *more* likely to be *mistaken* in the Nature of a Thing, the *better* he is *acquainted* with it? Or need I labour to prove that, on the contrary, the *better* he is *acquainted* with it, the *less* likely he is to be *mistaken*? Need I *distinguish* between a *common Dream*, and a Dream, when it signifies a *particular Manner* of *divine Revelation*, which *God* is obliged to *distinguish* from *common* Dreams, as he expects Obedience to such Inspirations? Or need I shew, that because a Man may *incautiously* engage himself in an Affair that is very *agreeable* to him, therefore he would be *too forward* to venture upon an Action the most shocking to human Nature? Surely, if ever he hesitated, and examined strictly, it must be here; for which Purpose, *God* gave him three Days Time to consider of it; for it was *three* Days Journey to the Place where he was commanded to offer up *Isaac*; and accordingly, the Apostle says, that he did it, λογισαμενος, *reasoning* or *arguing* with himself.

Universal Spectator, March 23. N° 285.

Of considering the End of our Actions.

AFTER some Reflections on the common Weakness of Mankind, in desiring to live *long*, rather than *well*; this Writer proceeds thus:

A It is from the Principles of Virtue and Religion only, that Mankind can be chearful in possessing Life and easy in the Resignation of it. These Principles will lead every Person into a Consideration of his Actions and make Life while it lasts to be more uniform and consistent; and the considering the *End* of our Actions will teach us what to chuse, or what to avoid, as it favours or opposes our Pursuit of Virtue.

B I shall add to this Advice of *considering the End of our Actions*, a pleasing Story from the *Turkish Tales*, which may convey a moral Truth in a stronger Manner to the Mind, than may be done by dry Arguments and Reasoning.

C 'A certain Cham of *Tartary* going a Progress with his Nobles, was met on the Way by a Dervise, who cry'd with a loud Voice, *---Whoever will give me a hundred Pieces of Gold, I'll give him a Piece of Advice*; The Cham had a Curiosity to know what he meant, and order'd him the Sum; the Dervise said, *Begin nothing of which thou hast not well consider'd the End.*

D The Courtiers, upon hearing this plain Sentence, smil'd, and said with a Sneer, the Dervise was well paid for his Maxim. The King reprov'd them, and was so well satisfy'd with the Answer, that at his Return he order'd the Words to be written in Letters of Gold in several Places of his Palace, and engrav'd on all his Plate. Not long after, in a

E Conspiracy, the King's Surgeon was bribed to kill the King with a poison'd Lancet at the Time he let him Blood. One Day when the King's Arm was bound, the fatal Lancet in the Surgeon's Hand, and he just going to prick his Master, he read on the Bason,—*Begin nothing of which thou hast not well consider'd the End.*—He immediately started, and let the Lancet fall out of his Hand: The King

F observ'd his Confusion, and enquir'd the Reason: The Surgeon fell prostrate on his Face, confess'd the whole Affair, and was pardon'd; and the Conspirators died. The Cham order'd Search to be made for the Dervise, and turning to those Courtiers who heard the Advice with Contempt, told them, *That Counsel cou'd not be too much valued, which had saved a King's Life.*

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Weekly Register, March 23. N° 211.

Continuation of the former. (See p. 131.)

THE Buildings round *Soho-Square* are not, indeed, scandalous, but they have not

not the least Pretensions to Taste or Order: It has beside, a little, contemptible Garden in the Middle of the Area, and a worse Statue, if possible, in the Middle of that. My Lord *Bateman*'s House, on the South Side, is built at a good deal of Expence; but there is nothing very shining in any Part of it, and if the lower Order could boast of Beauties ever so exquisite, the upper is so *Gothique* and absurd, that it would destroy them all.

Great Marlborough-Street is esteem'd one of the finest in *Europe*; but, I think it can be on no other Account but its Length and Breadth; the Buildings on each Side, being trifling and inconsiderable, and the Vista ended neither Way with any Thing great or extraordinary.

The Duke of *Queensborough*'s House is evidently in the Stile of *Inigo Jones*, and not at all unworthy the School of that great Master; but 'tis badly situated, overagainst a dead Wall, and in a Lane unworthy of so grand a Building.

The first 4 Houses, opposite to the D. of *Queensborough*'s Stable-Gate, are in the finest Taste, of any common Buildings we can see any where; and I would recommend this Row, as a Sample of the most perfect Kind for our modern Architects to follow.

General *Wade*'s House, in the next Street parallel to this, is a Structure, which, tho' small, and little taken Notice of, is one of the best Things among the new Buildings: 'Tis the only Fabrick in Miniature I ever saw, where Decorations were perfectly proportioned to the Space they were to fill, and did not, by their Multiplicity, or some other Mistake, incumber the Whole.

There is nothing in the whole prodigious Length of the two *Bond-Streets*, or in any of the adjacent Places, that has any Thing worth our Attention: Several, little, wretched Attempts there are at Foppery in Building, but they are even too inconsiderable for Censure.

There is something particular in the Manner of *George-Street*, which deserves our Attention, it being laid out so considerably wider at the upper End towards *Hanover-Square*, that it quite reverses the Perspective, and shews the End of the Vista broader than the Beginning; which was calculated to give a nobler View of the Square itself at the Entrance, and a better Prospect down the Street from the other Side. The West Side of *Hanover-Square* is uniform, argues a very tolerable Taste in the Architect, and deserves much Approbation; but all the rest are intolerable, and deserve no Attention at all.

I must own this, however, that the View down *George-Street* from the upper Side of the Square, is one of the most entertaining in the whole City; the Sides of the Square, the Area in the Middle, the Breaks of Building that form the Entrance of the Vista, the Vista itself, but above all, the beautiful Projection of the Portico of St. *George*'s Church, are all Circumstances that unite in Beauty, and make the Scene perfect.

The Church of St. *George*'s is, at least, one of the most elegant in *London*: The Portico is stately, and august, the Steeple handsome, and well proportion'd, and the North and East Prospects well worth a sincere Approbation: But even this Structure is no where to be seen, but in Profile, tho' situated in the very Centre of the Vista that leads to *Grosvenor-Square*, and were it not for two or three intervening Houses, would be seen in the noblest Point of Light in the World.

We must now cross the Road to *Oxford* or *Cavendish-Square*; I am uncertain by which of those Names 'tis most properly distinguish'd; and there we shall see the Folly of attempting great Things, before we are sure we can accomplish little ones. Here it is the modern Plague of Building was first stay'd; and I think the rude unfinish'd Figure of this Project should deter others from a like Infatuation.

The House of the late Lord *Bingley*, on the West Side of the Square, is one of the most singular Pieces of Architecture about Town; in my Opinion 'tis rather like a Convent than the Residence of a Man of Quality, and seems more a Copy of some of *Poussin*'s Landscape-Ornaments, than a Design to imitate any of the genuine Beauties of Building.

Grubstreet Journal, March 28. Nº 222.

Of impressing Men for the Sea-Service, and how encouraging our Fishing may prevent it.

MEANWELL proposes to consider the Value and Consequence of the Fishing, as it may relate to the Increase of our Sea-men; to the employing of our Poor; and to the Influence it might have in the Balance of Trade. The first of these Considerations (says he) is the more seasonable at present, in that we are Fitting out a large Fleet, giving high Premiums to induce Men to enter voluntarily into the Service, and issuing Impress Warrants to compel them; which plainly shows a Difficulty of getting Sailors, and consequently the Necessity of some Means for the Increase of them. Without Entering into the Question, whether Pressing be legal, which I have heard some Gentlemen of the Law doubt of, because, altho', by the primary Laws of Government, every one is bound to serve the Society of which he is a Member, the Equity of the Law seems to direct, that this Duty should not be imposed upon one Set of Men only, but that all in their Turn are equally bound to perform it. Vagrants, it is true,

can be put to Labour by the Law; and such therefore may be justly seized upon for the public Service: But how far it can be justified to impress any Man of established Residence and Business out of his Turn, when it is not his Lot by Rotation, is a Question into which I shall not at present enquire. But be that as it will, we may affirm, that nothing but Necessity would induce the Government to take such a Method, considering its hurtful Consequences to the Nation. I myself know some Instances, where Freights have risen on this Occasion to double their usual Rate; and where the whole Crews belonging to some Ships have been locked up, and kept idle these three Weeks past to avoid the Impress. When the Merchant pays double Freight, he proceeds to a foreign Market with great Disadvantage, in Comparison with the like Commodities from other Countries; and when a Ship is stopt by being deprived of her Men, the Market is often lost, and the Goods sometimes spoiled, which is both a private and national Loss. Nay, the Idleness alone, in which great Numbers are kept to avoid being impress, such Constraint being disagreeable to human Nature, and more especially to an *Englishman*, is such a Loss to the Nation, as well as Injury to the Individuals, that all Means ought to be embraced to prevent it.

But besides the Prejudice above-mentioned, this Practice has other Inconveniencies. Our naval Force is our natural and chief Strength, that which both secures us at home, and gives us Weight in the Scale of the Powers of *Europe*. Our Ships without Men are useless Hulks; and our Safety or Influence with respect to our Neighbours, will be in Proportion to the Ease or Difficulty with which we can Man our Fleet. If our Neighbours find us always obliged to have Recourse to Pressing; and even in that Way, but slowly and with Difficulty able to procure a sufficient Number; they will be ready to conclude, that either we have but few Sea-men, or that they are very averse to the public Service. And if they join to this, the Loss we always sustain by this Method, considering how much we depend upon our Trade, they may be apt to think of us in such a Way, as commonly prompts People to be presumptuous and insolent. Wherefore it behoves us to countenance and encourage all Means, by which we may maintain our naval Force, without Loss to ourselves, distressing the Subjects, or giving Occasion to such disadvantageous Opinions of us.

That the Fishing upon our own Coasts, if properly extended, would greatly conduce to the Remedying of these Evils, I think is evident. For the great Quantity of Cod and Herrings, consumed in *Germany* and all over the East Countries; besides what are consumed in *France*, *Italy*, *Spain*, *Portugal*, the *Canaries*, and *West-Indies*; the most of which are caught upon our Coasts, tho' greatly to our Shame, not by ourselves; as also what might be profitably consumed at home; is a clear Evidence of the great Number of Seamen it would employ and train up. And it is observable in the few Fishing Villages which exist at present upon our Coasts, that the Children are more numerous there than in other Places; if these were extended all over our Coasts, for which there is Encouragement, and might be Employment, as these Children are early accustomed to the Sea-Service, our Sea-fareing People would soon become so numerous, that there could be no Difficulty to supply the royal Navy, without those Interruptions, and that Damage to Trade, which always ensue from Pressing. Besides, if the Government give it such Encouragements as will effectually establish it, and will indemnify the Adventurers from the extraordinary Charge and other Accidents to which new Undertakings are frequently liable; they may justly require, that each Buss or Boat, which takes the Benefit of their Bounty, and which may be registered for that Purpose, shall, on any Emergency, which requires a quick Supply of Men, furnish a certain Number, to the Amount of the third or half of the Complement of each, which I am informed they might supply without any great Prejudice to the Fishing, as such Necessity would but seldom occur. This would be good Oeconomy in the Public, in Regard to the Revenue, as well as a Saving to the Nation in general. For so much would not be necessary for Premiums to the Fishing, as is at present given, and by our News-Papers said to be intended to induce Men to enter voluntarily into the Navy.

Craftsman, March 30. N° 404.

The Arts of ministerial Writers; with an Encomium on the Family and present Person of ORANGE.

OF all the Arguments advanced by certain *Writers* in Justification of their Party, none is more ridiculous than their continual Cry of *Jacobitism* and the *Pretender*. All their Reasonings are, indeed, reduced to this single Point, which seems to be their last Resort. Do we complain of the vast Burthen of our *Debts*, and the Multiplicity of *Taxes*? They are the best Securities of the present *Establishment*; and therefore all Attempts to diminish them can proceed from nothing but a Design to undermine it. Do we plead for a Reduction of the *Army*, in Time of Peace? Yes, in order to render the Nation defenceless, and make Way for an Invasion. Do we desire a Repeal of the *Riot Act* and the Restoration of *triennial Parliaments*?

ments? It is plain our Intention is to encourage Tumults and Insurrections. Do we call for *Accounts*, and make any Enquiries into the Conduct of *Ministers* at home, or abroad? That is to discover the Weakness of the Nation, and give our Enemies an Advantage over us. Do we lament those *unnatural Divisions*, which have weakened the Government for above a Century past, and recommend a *Coalition of Parties*? It is done with a View of uniting them all against the *present Government*. Do we claim a Right to keep the *Prerogative* within due Bounds? 'Tis meant as a personal Affront on the *King*. Do we argue upon *Revolution Principles* in general? They are necessary to pave the Way for *another Revolution*. In short, all Attempts to preserve the Freedom of our Constitution, and relieve the Nation from its present Incumbrances, are said to be founded in *Jacobitism*, and however reasonable in themselves, yet either in the Manner or Time, when they are made, must be calculated with a View of serving the *Pretender*.

I may venture to affirm there is not one sensible Man in *England*, of any Party, who does not secretly laugh at these idle Suggestions, however it may be his Interest to propagate them in Publick. Most of those Gentlemen, who formerly pass'd under the Denomination of *Jacobites*, have taken many Opportunities to purge themselves from that Imputation; and a thousand Incidents have shewn that the *Pretender* is not at the Bottom of our popular Discontents. But if any Jealousies of this Kind remain'd, I think they are intirely removed by the late Reception of the Prince of *Orange*, and the Congratulations of all Parties, upon his Marriage with the Princess Royal of *Great Britain*.

The House of *Nassau* is generally acknowledged to be one of the oldest and most considerable Families in *Europe*. We read of two Brothers in *Julius Cæsar*'s Time, *Cimberius* and *Nasua* by Name, who came at the Head of the *Suevi*, and settled themselves on the Banks of the *Rhine*. I submit it to the learned whether the present House of *Nassau* does not descend from this *Nasua*.

But whatever may have been the original Extraction of this *illustrious House*, it is certain that they have distinguished themselves, for several Generations, in the Cause of Liberty, beyond all the Princes of *Europe*; and if there is such a Thing as *hereditary Virtue*, it may be justly ascribed to a Family, which hath produced a long Succession of Heroes, famous for being the Scourges of Tyrants, and the Deliverers of Nations.

The People of *Great Britain* are particularly obliged to King *William* III. of immortal Memory; who redeemed us from the Usurpations of arbitrary Power, and repair'd the Breaches made by King *James* in our Constitution. We therefore owe the Preservation of our Liberties to the seasonable Interposition of that *glorious Prince*, and even his Majesty himself owes the Inheritance of the *Crown* to the same Hand, in Concurrence with the Voice and Suffrages of the *People*, represented in Parliament. It was *this Prince*, who exploded the ridiculous Notion of *passive Obedience*, by a practical Inference, and settled our Government on the Principles of *Resistance*; that is, on the Right of the People to *resist*, when their Governors break thro' the Barriers of *Liberty*, and endeavour to rule by *Force*, or *Prerogative*, instead of *Law*.

His present, serene Highness, the Prince of *Orange*, hath therefore a just Pretension to all the Honours, this Nation can bestow upon him; and his own personal Endowments have endear'd him to us. His Age, indeed, and the late Tranquillity of *Europe* have not yet given him any Opportunity of proving in the Field from what Stock he sprung; but his early good Sense and Strength of Judgment, as well as his engaging Address and flowing Affability, are in the Mouth of every Body, who hath had the Pleasure to see, or the Honour to converse with him. All Persons therefore, who wish well to the *Protestant Succession*, must be pleased to see the eldest Daughter of *Great Britain* married to a *Prince*, of so deserving a Family, and who hath himself given us such promising Indications of a great Genius. There are but two Lives between his present Majesty and the Princess of *Orange*; and tho' we sincerely wish that those Lives may not fail without Issue, the Fate of Kingdoms ought to be secure against all Events; and, considering the Accidents of human Nature, this new Alliance with the House of *Nassau* may prove the Means of perpetuating our *Liberties* to the latest Generations.

Nothing therefore ought to give the *true Friends of our Constitution* greater Satisfaction than the Unanimity of the People, upon this Occasion. His *Highness* was received here with the Acclamations of all Parties, and his Popularity hath every Day increas'd, during his Stay. A sudden Illness made it adviseable for him to take a Journey to *Bath*; which had not only the desired good Effect on his Health, but gave him an Opportunity of seeing the western Parts of *England*, where he met with the strongest Demonstrations of Esteem and Affection. All Places seem'd to vye with each other, in paying him the highest Marks of Honour. In his Return to *London*, he took *Oxford* in his Way, (see the Occurrences) and was received there in a Manner suitable to his Dignity, both by the *City* and *University*. The *latter*, in particular, not only paid him the usual Compliments, but

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unanimously conferr'd an *honourary Degree* upon him; and all Accounts from thence agree, that his Manner of accepting it was universally applauded, and gain'd him the Hearts of that *learned Body*. His late Marriage with the *Princess Royal* hath been attended with the Congratulations of *all Parties*, in the most affectionate Terms, and gives a general Satisfaction thro' the whole Kingdom. I must particularly mention that *dutiful and loyal Address*, which the City of *London* presented to his Majesty, on this Occasion; (see Occurrences) since it contains a stronger Mark of Gratitude to the Memory of K. *William*, as well as Zeal for the *Protestant Succession*, than Blocking up their Streets with his *Statue*; a Proposal, which it is well known was made at the secret Instigation of Men, who had no other View in it than to meet with a Denial, and then put their own wild Constructions upon it.

But the highest Instance of national Regard, which hath been paid to his *Highness*, since his Arrival, is the late Act of *Naturalization*; which does not rest in Words and outward Professions only, but gives him an actual Right to those Privileges, as an *Englishman*, which his great Predecessor secured to us, and puts it in his Majesty's Power to confer any farther Honours upon him. *This Act* was so far from meeting with any Opposition, that it was the voluntary Motion of *those Gentlemen*, who are commonly distinguished by the Name of the *Minority*.

I mention these Particulars as so many Proofs that the present Opposition to *some Persons in Power* does not proceed from any Designs against our *Constitution*; and that the Spirit of *Jacobitism* would soon be extinct, if it was not secretly fomented by *those*, who cannot support themselves without the Continuance of our *unhappy Divisions*; for I must repeat and insist upon it, that the Nation hath shewn a general Inclination to unite on the Principles of the *Constitution*; and it seems inconsistent with all Rules of Policy to check such a Disposition; but History instructs us that when a *Minister* hath render'd himself universally odious and desperate, he will naturally fly for Refuge to a *Cabal*, and endeavour to divert the publick Resentment from himself, by reviving the Animosities of *Parties*, however they may affect the *King* and his *Family*.

Weekly Register, March 30. N° 212.

Conclusion of the Review of the publick Buildings, &c. (See p. 138.)

GROSVENOR-SQUARE is not only the last Addition which has been made to the Town, but the last in Situation too; and as 'tis generally understood to be the finest of all our Squares, I am sorry I must say, it has so few Advantages to recommend it. It was meant to be very fine, but has miscarried very unfortunately in the Execution: There is no Harmony, or Agreement in the Parts which compose it, neither is there one of those Parts which can make us any Thing like Amends for the Irregularity of the Whole. The triple House, of the North Side, is a wretched Attempt at Something extraordinary; but 'tis not only bad in itself, but in its Situation too.

The *East Side* is the only regular one of the Four, but then even this is not in Taste, and neither the House in the Middle, nor the two, which serve as Wings, have any Thing remarkable to recommend them, tho' the Builder seems to design they should.

The other two Sides are little better than a Collection of Whims, and Frolicks in Building, without any Thing like Order or Beauty.

As to the Area in the Midst: 'Tis certainly laid out in a very expensive Taste, and hitherto kept with great Decency, and Neatness: The making it circular is new in Design, and happy in Effect: The Statue in the Centre makes a very good Appearance in Prospect, and is a fine Decoration: But, in itself, is no Way admirable, or deserving much Applause. The Inclosure round this Area is clumsey, and the Brick-Work not only superfluous, but a Blemish to the View it was intended to preserve and adorn.

I have often wonder'd that, in the Number of Squares, which adorn this City, no Builder ever thought of an Octangular one; I am fully persuaded that it would make a nobler Figure than any we have seen yet, and is capable of greater Beauties: But I would not be understood here, as recommending any farther Additions to this mighty Metropolis; no, I am of Opinion the Head is already much too big for the Body, and therefore its farther Growth cannot be check'd too soon. But this I leave to the Determination of wiser Heads than mine.

e *Lover's Web.* A *Poem.* In-
crib'd to the Lady *Caroline Sack-*
ville. By *William Dunkin*, M. A.

O thee, bleſt nymph, whom princely courts
refine,
In artleſs muſe this rural preſent brings;
hee, deſcendant of the tuneful nine,
f humble loves in numbers rude ſhe ſings,
loves as flow from pure unborrow'd charms
umbers, ſuch as native fancy warms.

thou, fair ſemblance of thy mother fair,
dorn'd with ev'ry grace, her lays diſdain;
notes ſhe brings to violate thine ear,
No thoughts to coſt thy virgin cheeks a ſtain)
ile on thy ſire ſublimer cares await,
narch's glory, and a nation's fate.

Lerne's fruitful vales a lovely maid,
f lowly parentage, but gentle mind,
lt, in freſh prime of roſy youth diſplay'd,
he pride and growing envy of her kind;
many ſwains with wiſhful fancy fir'd,
l'd far to ſee, and all, who ſaw, admir'd.

ſhe, ſuperior to the ſhining toys
f looſer maidens, indolent with eaſe,
the ſoft mazes of bewitching joys,
nd ſpent at home her long laborious days;
ue (ſhe knew) which guards the comely dame,
ot'd to crowds, but ill defends her fame.

boſom purer than the cryſtal ſtream,
liding o'er ſilver ſands from fountain fair,
ever chearful fed the pious flame
f undiſſembled faith and friendſhip rare;
eaner gueſts within that temple dwelt,
reſſer flames, for love ſhe never felt.

nts ſhe ſtudied to improve her charms;
metimes ſhe card'd to the circling wheel,
times the diſtaff grac'd her ſnowy arms,
r hands the ſpindle or the telling reel:
hoary parents thus the virgin chears,
grateful youth rewards the care of years.

leaſure ſhe indulg'd, but balmy reſt,
ght by labour, far from ſloth renew'd,
in her parents, in her duty bleſt,
ntent ſhe priz'd, and ſolitude ſhe lov'd;
ſought in vain; however dark the way,
guides his ſteps, if beauty dart a ray.

rom a bank of many-colour'd flow'rs,
ſome fair garden, fann'd by vernal breeze,
th mild Aurora bath'd with pearly ſhow'rs,
ch ſweets ariſe, as wake the diſtant bees;
various parts the rival inſects ſtrive
ar the liquid nectar to their hive.

reads the fame of this unblemiſh'd maid,
youths enamour'd crowd ſuch rival ſwarms,
ſh of wealth, in gayeſt dreſs array'd,
om various parts, to feed upon her charms;
look and long; ſhe ſhews the ſplendid feaſt,
miſer-like forbids her gueſts to taſte.

Among the love-ſick train a noted youth
In manly actions bore the primeſt part,
Nor leſs renown'd for gratitude and truth,
Charm'd ev'ry maid but her who charm'd
his heart; [move,
No charms the nymph's ungrateful heart cou'd
Ungrateful only, not returning love.

In vain her equals wou'd appear as fair,
In vain with ſoft enchantments lure the boy;
No other object cou'd remove her care,
No other love his eager thoughts employ;
She only cou'd appear, howe'er unkind,
Fair to his eyes, and lovely to his mind.

Sometimes, neglected by the ſcornful maid,
Among the lonely rigid rocks he went;
Sometimes he hi'd him to the woodland ſhade,
And wail'd his fate in dreary diſcontent;
Now diſtant hopes ariſe, now inſtant fears,
He ſees her abſent, and her abſent bears.

Her chaſte induſtrious mind, her cold diſdain,
Her ſweet attractive air and matchleſs bloom
Diſtract his lab'ring ſoul; to ſooth his pain
He ſits and labours at the noiſy loom;
For none the ſhuttle ſhrill could better throw
From ſide to ſide, to ſeed the web below.

Ah cruel love! in vain thy arts we ſhun,
Ah wretched youth! again thy boſom burns;
The threads you weave were by her fingers ſpun,
And all thy paſſion with thy toil returns.
Well is her toil united to thy art,
How happy, could you thus unite her heart!

Now ſunk the ſun, and genial night had caſt
Her duſky mantle o'er the broad-fac'd earth,
When ſwains expectful of the due repaſt,
Forſook their labours, and prepar'd for mirth,
The youth, ſlow-moving with the chearful train,
Forſakes his labour, but renews his pain.

Nor due repaſt, nor ſocial mirth affords
The leaſt remittance of his wayward grief;
Nor virgin airs avail, nor balmy words
Of deareſt friend, the wretch's laſt relief;
The ſhades which lull the bond-man to repoſe,
Add but a ſilent horror to his woes.

Kind ſleep, the ſweeteſt nutriment beſtow'd
By beauteous providence on men earth-born,
Reviv'd all creatures, but the youth, who glow'd
With endleſs love; his cares prevent the morn,
Which now, freſh-ſtreaming from the ſacred ſprings
Of orient day, reſtor'd the face of things.

To him the light was dim, all places drear
Without his nymph; he flies his ſad abode:
That life ſhe ſlighted was not worth his care,
That hopeleſs life was but a bitter load:
Reſolv'd in death to prove his paſſion true,
He ſeeks her now, to bid the laſt adieu.

Her ſoon he found; the buſy wheel ſhe plies,
To which, as faſt ſhe ply'd, ſhe ſweetly ſung,
Unwonted wonder dims his ſwimming eyes,
And riſing ſighs confound his falt'ring tongue;
All dewy pale he ſhudders thro' his frame,
As lately wak'd from ſome tumultuous dream.

And

village in the county of *Antrim*, in
Ireland.

And now he ſtands as deſtitute of ſenſe,
With eyes full-fix'd upon the charming maid,
At humble diſtance, fearful of offence,
While dawning hopes around his ſpirits play'd:
However harſh the proud poſſeſſors are,
Beauty beheld forbids us to deſpair.

O virgin, faireſt of thy ſex! he ſays,
Why ſhould I meaſure life, if only born
To woo the maid, whoſe cruelty repays
My warmeſt wiſhes with the coldeſt ſcorn?
That face enrich'd with every heavenly grace:
Ah me, that ever I beheld that face!

Witneſs my joyleſs days, my ſleepleſs nights,
How dear to me, how very dear thou art,
Witneſs the woods and vales and horrid heights
Of yon hard rocks, yet ſofter than thy heart!
They ſhew'd a face of ſadneſs at my moans,
Heard all my plaints, and anſwer'd to my groans.

O! ſince my life is but a diſmal gloom,
Nor vows, nor tears, nor gratitude can move
Thy ſtony heart, to mitigate my doom,
Receive the laſt ſad trial of my love;
When clay-cold I am ſtretch'd upon the bier,
Thy ruthleſs eyes perhaps may drop a tear.

The youth ſtood frantic, as reſolv'd to die:
A ſudden horror chill'd the virgin's blood,
Compaſſion ſmiling in her tender eye:
A ſudden tranſport ſeiz'd him as he ſtood:
Ruſh youth, ſhe cries, thy haſty hand prevent,
Lovers may live, and maidens may relent.

Live, and let fortune be thy better guide,
Thy love's event depends upon thy ſkill;
I prize thee much, and ſoon ſhould be thy bride,
Had but my choice depended on my will;
For I am ſworn no youth ſhall ever wed
The ſpinning maid, but he who weaves this thread.

The curious temper of the thread was ſuch,
Not finer that, which proud Arachne *ſpun;*
Not finer that, which, boſtleſs to the touch,
Acroſs the meadows gliſtens in the ſun:
Severe, but Oh! what taſk can be ſevere
To lover fond, impos'd by maiden fair?

Hail heav'nly beauty, ſource of earthly joys,
Whoſe vivid rays the blackeſt cares diſperſe,
By love can build as faſt, as love deſtroys,
And bind in peace the boundleſs univerſe!
From thee, whatever Stoics *may deviſe,*
The nobleſt deeds, the brighteſt arts ariſe.

The panting lover from the nymph retires,
Faſt home returning with the virgin ſpoil;
But oft he ſtops to ſee, and oft admires
Her curious work, which muſt beget his toil;
A thouſand doubts his buſy thoughts perplex,
To win or loſe the faireſt of her ſex.

It chanc'd, unconſcious as he winds his way
Cloſe by the margin of a brook ſerene,
Near which the nymphs their woven cares diſplay
To whiten, water'd on the ſunny plain,
To cool his fever, of the ſtream he drank,
Then ſat to breathe upon the moſſy bank.

Again he pants, impatient to behold
The precious object of his ardent care,
His tender hands the ſubtil links unfold,
He looks, he wonders, and at laſt deſpair,
Till down he ſunk, thro' ſorrow void of breath,
Aghaſt and ſtiff as in the arms of death.

The fragrant winds, which flutter'd o'er the ſtream,
With whiſpers mild his ſpirits fled recall;
The cooler ſtream, which wander'd thro' the mead,
Provokes his ſlumbers with its gentle fall,
When, as he thought, deſcending from the ſkies
A venerable matron greets his eyes.

Her parted locks in golden fillets bound
Diſtinctly ſhone, her looks divinely ſage
Spoke eaſy mirth allay'd with care profound,
Unwaſted vigour, and a bloom in age,
Redundant to her feet her garments flow,
Far purer, whiter than the feather'd ſnow.

An ivy-wreath of ever-living green,
As nouriſh'd thence, around her temples clung,
An alder-harp of antient form, I ween,
Acroſs her ſhoulders negligently hung,
Whoſe hollow womb nine pictur'd nymphs embrace,
Alike thro' ſweet diverſities of face.

As ſhe advanc'd, the youth began to ſtart,
Like ſick'ning ſinners at approaching ſaints.
Fear not, ſhe ſaid, ſuſtain thy drooping heart,
I come no ſtranger to thy mournful plaints.
Religious horrors thro' his boſom calm
All ruder paſſions; for her words were balm.

Her very preſence could avert deſpair,
The youth tranſported trembles and admires,
For never had he ſeen a form ſo fair,
Not her the object of his fond deſires;
Her beams enlarge his ſoul; with inward eye
He ſees, he reaſons, and he thus replies.

* O! if thine ear the tongue of mortal brooks
Whom ſhall I hail thee? not of earthly ſtrain
Thy words denote thee, nor thoſe radiant looks
Of earth's allotment, O divine indeed!
Or ſaint, or angel be for ever bleſt,
And eaſe the anguiſh of a wretched breaſt.

O youth, as yet to future fortune blind!
(*Replies the matron with a gentle ſmile,*)
Her you behold, to whom high heav'n aſſigns
The guardian care of this once-famous iſle.
For whoſe ſoft eaſe my quiet I infeſt,
Bleſs all her arts, but thine above the reſt.

Aloft ſupported by this floating lawn,
Thro' middle air I ſteer my ſteady flight,
And overlook, before the dapple dawn,
Men's early toils unſeen by human ſight:
At ev'ning late I liſten to their pray'rs,
Or with this tuneful harp amuſe my cares.

* *O quam te memorem, virgo! namq; haud tibi vultus*
Mortalis, nec vox hominem ſonat. O dea certe
Sis fœlix, noſtrumq; leves quæcunq; labores.

Virg. Æn. lib.

Pa

f to the ſluggard's importuning cries,
grant th' induſtrious what they never aſk;
ſue thy toil, chaſte beauty be thy prize,
or doubt ſucceſs however hard the taſk.
s! *ſays he*, to weave a thread ſo fine
ot in art, or if in art, not mine.
can the cryſtal's bright tranſparent plane
Vithout a taint the virgin's breath endure?
can the ſnow, ſoft child of heav'n ſerene,
bide her lighteſt touch, and yet be pure?
may I finiſh what the nymph begun,
art ſo triumph, and her love be won.
not, *again the matron ſage reply'd*,
o dart the ſhuttle 'croſs the parting reed,
ſelf inviſible ſhall be thy guide;
o ſhall thy art prevail, thy love ſucceed:
beauty ſhall alone become thy ſpoil,
reater glory yet attends thy toil.
ſaid, and pauſing from her ſhoulders took,
Vith graceful air, the touch-obeying lyre,
notes ſhe ſtruck were ſweeten'd by her look,
Her voice attun'd to the prophetic wire,
raviſh'd youth in deep attention hung,
h greedy ears, while thus the matron ſung,
William's *heir, my muſe, exalt your ſtrains,*
hat prop of peace, that thunder-bolt of war,
ady riſing from Batavia's *plains*
o Britain *ſee the bright* Naſſavian *ſtar!*
comes to lead our royal Anna *forth,*
light to light, and mingle worth with worth.
ſpicy Eaſt *her pureſt tributes brings*
o breathe rich incenſe on the princely fair;
vows of nations and the faith of kings:
Demand the nuptials of the happy pair.
ady faint the proud Iberian *pow'rs;*
w trembles Rome *beneath her nodding tow'rs.*
ng proceſſion, lo! the rites begin,
What god-like pomp attends the royal bride,
bout all beauteous, glorious all within,
Majeſtick Naſſau *blooming by her ſide!*
at hoary chiefs his lineal face explore,
e firſt ſaw William *on* Britannia's *ſhore!*
the gradual glories of the throne,
he fond fraternal youths, the ſhining rank
oyal ſiſters into beauty blown,
ike Dian's *nymphs on fair* Urota's *bank:*
much in theſe the mother's ſweetneſs ſhows!
much the father's majeſty in thoſe!
e, Naſſau, now to dignify the ſcene,
nd crown thy virtues with their high reward,
t George *appears, with majeſty ſerene,*
t fierce and dreadful, as at Audenard;
n his right hand the matchleſs queen behold
right with gems, emblaz'd with woven gold.
n turn'd by nature's ſelf-ſufficient care,
l faireſt blooms, whoſe honours reach the ſkies,
n bays and branching palms, and poplars fair,
nd ſtately pines in gay diſorder riſe,
h oaks, beneath whoſe kingly patronage
t plants the wonder of a future age.

* See the Pſalms.

And now the work of providence is done,
Behold the great paternal monarch join
Fair Britain's *daughter to* Batavia's *ſon,*
And Iſter's *laurels to the wreaths of* Boyn;
Hence ſtates ſhall riſe, hence free-born ſenates bloom,
And future tyrants date their early doom.
Ye noble youths, in meaſur'd ſteps advance
To the clear warblings of the mellow flute,
Ye honourable maidens, tread the dance,
In lighter mazes to the breathing lute;
Ye ſweet muſicians, ſwell the rapture high'r,
Join the deep organ to the vocal choir.
Ye matrons, now the regal room adorn,
Gay as the youthful ſun the bridegroom comes,
The bride all lovely as the bluſhing morn,
Shed Syrian *odours, melt* Arabian *gums;*
Ye graces, light the Hymeneal *torch.*
Prepare the bed; for love is in the porch.
To deck the bed let various nations vie,
The Britiſh *fleece unfold its ſnowy pride,*
The Perſian *carpet bluſh the* Tyrian *dye;*
Thy web, Hybernia, *ſhall inveſt the bride.*
This ſaid, intent upon the double prize,
The raptur'd youth awakes; the viſion flies.

An Addreſs to the *Ladies*, in Behalf of the Muſes.

THE muſes *to this privilege lay claim,*
Worth to record, and give immortal fame;
Two thouſand years ago Muſæus *ſung,*
How gay Leander, *vigorous and young;*
Nor of rough winds, nor rougher ſeas afraid,
Night after night ſwam to the * Seſtian *maid.*
Her graces ſtill in each deſcriptive page,
Our admiration, while we read, engage;
Her lover's fortitude, her form divine,
Alike ſtill captivate in every line.
Delia *and* Nemeſis *have from the lays*
Of ſmooth Tibullus *gain'd eternal praiſe.*
Cynthia *ſtill in* Propertius' *tender ſtrains,*
Leſbia *in thoſe of her* Catullus *reigns.*
Chloe *and* Lydia *had been both forgot,*
Had the great † Lyrick *genius never wrote.*
In numbers ſweet, harmonious Ovid *tells,*
Who were the moſt illuſtrious Grecian *belles.*
How beauteous Helen *was, by him we're taught,*
For whom ten years contending heroes fought.
How juſt Penelope *was to her ſpouſe;*
And how Cydippe *ſacred kept her vows.*
How ſhe of ‡ Carthage *ſacrific'd all pride,*
And in the cauſe of love a martyr dy'd.
When in enchanting Virgil *ſhe complains,*
What reader melts not, or from tears refrains?
Our Albion *likewiſe in examples ſhews*
What glory ſtill to ſome from verſe accrues:
Geraldine *ſtill appears in* Surrey's *ſong,*
Bright as each ſtar, and ſhall remain as long,
Tho' in an antient ‖ *church no marble's ſeen,*
To point out where's interr'd the Gallick *queen:*

* *Hero.* † *Horace.* ‡ *Dido.* ‖ St. *Mary's* in St. *Edmund's-Bury.*

'Tis wanted not,—*since* Drayton's *lines declare*
How gallant Branden *was, and she how fair.*
An age is past'd since Sachariſſa *fir'd*
The courtly Waller, *and his muſe inſpir'd:*
Tho' all thoſe charms which flouriſh'd in her prime,
As others muſt be, were impair'd by time:
Tho' now to duſt converted in the tomb,
They in his verſe eternally ſhall bloom.
Were canvas torn, ſhou'd fineſt colours fade,
What Myra *was, by* Granville *is diſplay'd.*
To all futurity tranſmitted down,
None e'er can throw a veil o'er ſuch renown.
What Sunderland *of late was few can know,*
But from a juſt deſcription giv'n by Rowe.
On Marlbro's *conqueſts,* when in beauty's ſtore,
So rich ſhe ſeem'd, incapable of more.
Or what young Lenos, *each in vain explores,*
Unleſs where her idea Garth *reſtores.*
When infant graces ſmooth'd her gentle hours,
More ſoft than ſighs, more ſweet than breathing flow'rs.
Paſt but a cent'ry, where ſhall then *that air*
Now ſo admir'd,—where ſhall thoſe features rare,
Which others now may boaſt, exiſtence have?
(Dreadful, alas, to thought!) but in the grave.
Suffolk *and* Winchelſea, *ſevere the lot!*
Among the vulgar then *muſt reſt forgot:*
Who ſhall remember then *bright* Jerſey's *rays,*
And all the glories which in Richmond *blaze?*
Who then *ſhall* Manchester *and* Queenſbro' *view,*
In ſhape ſo elegant, of loveliest hue?
Or moſt reſplendent Hervey? *On whom wait*
Millions of cupids, and ſurprize create;
Whether in Iſworth's *groves and glades ſhe's ſeen,*
Or near our charming and majeſtick queen.
Unleſs ſome author, like her lord, polite,
With eaſy flowing vein, ſtrives to recite,
How all perfections, which her ſex adorn,
Her acquiſitions are, or with her born;
Unleſs, like him, one bleſt with heav'nly fire,
The ſong compoſes to the tuneful lyre.
None then ſhall learn, without ſuch juſt eſſays,
What theſe are now—the wonders of our days.
Wou'd ladies, as they ought, on this reflect,
They'd to the muſes always yield reſpect,
Their magick pow'r with pleaſure they'd confeſs,
And chiefly ſuch, as they have favour'd, bleſs.
Then gold, *which oft has triumph'd over love,*
Its force might try, yet wholly ceaſe to move.
Then ev'ry ſot *or* clown *wou'd ſue in vain,*
And diſregarded be the worthleſs train
Of gawdy fops *a forward ſilly race,*
Who mimick apes, and are mankind's diſgrace.
Theſe once diſcarded, men of ſenſe and parts
Wou'd ſooner find their way to female hearts;
And while for them ſuch with true paſſion burn,
They cou'd not fail to meet a like return.

Prologue to *Fatal Falſhood*; wrote by *J. Stacie*, Eſq; and ſpoke by Mr. *Bridgwater*.

LONG has the muſe, diſcourag'd and oppreſt,
In ſecret ſigh'd Britannia's *fallen taſte;*
Seen her great ſons neglected, and forlorn,
And heard the mighty ſhade of Shakeſpear *mourn:*
Well may the heav'n-born pow'r her ills deplore,
When her bright offspring, virtue,—charms no more;
When wit, in majeſty array'd, gives place
To dry machinery and crude grimace.
Of old, when ſtates their gen'rous care employ'd
To draw the docile world to virtue's ſide,
To awe the bad, to civilize the rude,
And teach the nobleſt ſcience——to be good:
'Twas not from mimick ſcenes, and apiſh ſhow,
The Grecian *genius with the* drama *roſe!*
Intent on diff'rent arts, their audience hung,
Charm'd with the leſſons which the muſes ſung;
Fir'd with their voice divine, they roſe to ſame,
And heroes ſouls firſt glow'd with ſacred flame.
Oh! may the falling ſtage no omen prove
Of greatneſs falling, in the land we love;
May we not find it juſt, to date from hence,
The fall of virtue with the fall of ſenſe:
Like light and heat, in one bright eſſence join'd,
Together both abandon human kind;
The ſame great purpoſes they both purſue,
And one but plans what t'other is to do.
With humble hopes, and meanly ſkill'd to move,
Our author trembles for his ſcenes to-night:
When tragick ſtrain, at beſt, but weakly charms,
Well may a modern feel his juſt alarms:
Yet the attempt *to pleaſe, is ſome deſart,*
And claims your favour to the want of art.
Fable from private life he brings to view,
A gen'rous libertine——like ſome of you:
No ſordid vices his high heart reprove,
But Fatal Falſehood *has the plea of love.*
Whene'er that *paſſion's* lawleſs force invade
The hearts of ardent youth and glowing maid,
Againſt itſelf *the ſoul aſſerts its ſway,*
And reaſon's dictates paſs unheard away;
Fiercely they run, regardleſs of their fate,
And find their folly in their fall, too late.

The Nuptials of *Neptune* and *Amphitrite*. An Ode. By the Author of *The Labyrinth*; a Tale.

WHEN youthful *Neptune* ſought to wed
Mounted on *eaſtern* gales he
To *Amphitrite's* bleſt abode,
And left old *Ocean's* azure bed.
The charming *goddeſs* to his ſuit gave ear,
And her almighty *Sire* in thunder ratify'd
The wand'ring deities, by *Fame's* ſhrill
Were call'd, to *Jove's* imperial
The nuptial rites to celebrate,
And make all heav'n rejoice.
The call was inſtantly obey'd;
The ſkies with more than double
ſhone;
The *gods* themſelves with a ſurprize
Speaking their luſtre, not their own.
In *beauty's* moſt luxuriant force the
Th' admiring *goddeſſes* outvy'd;
The *bridegroom's* joy his raptur'd
Thoſe looks his *race* confeſs'd.

Phœbus in mantle of his fav'rite dye was there;
His quiver on his shoulders loosely hung,
Gracefully flowing was his comely hair,
His harp was tun'd, and thus he sung.

I.

To thy embracing arms,
Thrice happy *Neptune*, see,
See *Amphitrite*'s charms,
Granted by heav'n's decree!
Fates relenting,
Jove consenting,
Love inspiring,
Gods desiring,
Charms inviting,
All uniting,
Praise thy pleasure
'Bove all measure.
Neptune, claim the sole possessing
Of the never-fading blessing!
Hymen now but does his duty,
Joining heav'nly *worth* and *beauty*.

II.

Cœlestial *fair one*, boast
The conquest thou hast won,
Him who deserves thee most,
Jove has ordain'd his son:
His virtue unstain'd,
His ardor unfeign'd,
His constancy try'd,
His choice of a bride,
And lineage divine,
Establish him thine.
Blush not, *virgin*, to discover
Wishes worthy such a lover;
Bliss untasted waits thy seizing,
Joys unmix'd, and ever pleasing

III.

Dumb are the scaly slaves,
Hush'd are the winds, and still the waves,
The placid shore
Trembles no more
For wasteful ravages,
Destroying deluges;
Deucalion's flinty race
Heeds not the flowing torrent's ruinous increase;
Fearless of avenging storms,
Heedless of portentous forms,
Careless of their ease and home,
O'er the boundless deep they roam,
Seeking treasure,
Flying pleasure.
Sound, sound, ye *Tritons*, your musical shells,
The roaring *destroy'rs* are lock'd in their cells;
In concord with *strength*, *love* and *beauty* shall [reign;
Amphitrite with *Neptune* governs the main.

IV.

The once-affrighted world
Fears not the shocks
Of lab'ring rocks,
And *Pelion* upon *Ossa* with confusion hurl'd,
Guarded by this new alliance
From the baleful rage of *giants*.
No more shall the skies,
Dismay'd with alarms,
Be fill'd with surprize
At *Titans* in arms,
From rebels obdur'd,
By *Neptune* secur'd.
Ye *nine*, with grateful accents raise your voice,
Sing in the praise of *Amphitrite*'s choice;
Make glad the day which to such joys gives birth.
Our *seats* protecting from the *sons of earth*.

Here *Phœbus*, self-inspir'd, left off to sing,
His word the *tuneful tribe* obey'd,
Each *muse* essay'd her sweetest gift to bring,
And *all* in *choir* this off'ring pay'd.
Happy *pair*, o'er *oceans* reigning,
Happy *realms*, your *presence* gaining!
Fading *skies* their purest splendor
Must to *Neptune* now surrender;
Tritons are their king attending,
Nereids wait their queen's descending,
Myriads with impatience burning,
Eager for their quick returning.
Ye *deities* of *heav'n* and *hell*,
And ye of *earth* and *air*,
To all the list'ning constellations tell,
Ye ne'er beheld so bright a *pair*.
Happy *pair*, o'er *oceans* reigning,
Happy *realms*, your *presence* gaining!
The long-protracted day was near its close,
When *Jove*, majestically smiling, rose
From his refulgent throne,
An awful *nod* his *will* made known.
Hymen call'd forth the *blooming pair*,
Waiting their *sire*'s commands,
Who join'd by sacred ties their hands,
In sounds like these, yielding the blushing *fair*.
Neptune, behold, the noblest prize,
That ever grac'd the blissful skies,
The *deities* peculiar care,
Jove gives to thy well-chosen pray'r;
Henceforth *cœlestial joy* and *peace*
Shall in thy *wat'ry realms* be seen,
Dissension shall for ever cease,
And *Amphitrite* be confess'd their queen.

He said; his lightnings in the instant flew:
He shook the heav'ns with thunder's most tre- [mendous voice:
In *strains* to the *occasion* due,
The assembled *deities* continued to rejoice.

The following Lines were intended to be address'd to his Highness the Prince of Orange *upon his Landing, but were suppress'd upon his sudden Illness.*

TO *Latium* when the *Trojan* hero came,
To seek on kindred shores the promis'd dame,
The gods that urg'd his course, yet damp'd his joys
With hostile rage, and war's tumultuous noise.
But you, great prince! their more peculiar care,
With better omens find a brighter Fair;

Destin'd by heav'n, and by a father's hand,
And the joint wish of a consenting land;
A land that only does your peace annoy
By the rude transports of excessive joy.
Nor strange your welcome should be such, who come,
If not to found, at least to fix our *Rome*;
To blast our foes ambitious hopes, and join
To our own strength the glories of your line:
A line not faintly known by distant fame
To grateful *Britain*, whose ambitious claim
Inserts among her chiefs great *Hector*'s name.
Such the third *William* was! like him design'd
The boast of arms, and friend of human kind.
O would, inkindled by that glorious name,
My glowing bosom catch celestial flame!
Could I, with equal colours, justly paint
The patriarch monarch, and the warrier-saint,
Great as he was, triumphant in the cause
Of truth, religion, liberty and laws;
Then might I hope, illustrious sir! to shew
What all presage, and we expect from you.
But oh! too feeble to sustain the god,
My labouring bosom sinks beneath the load:
My faultering tongue, unable to relate
The bright'ning visions of thy future fate,
Prostrate I fall; as when th' *Ammonian* priest
Prepar'd to welcome his illustrious guest,
His speech restrain'd, instructed from above,
He only hail'd the hero, son of *Jove*.

A PROLOGUE *on the Royal Marriage. Written by Mr.* Havard, *and spoken by Mr.* Giffard *at the Theatre in* Goodman's-Fields.

WHEN heav'n in bounty deigns to bless the land,
And deals out pleasures with a lavish hand;
The learn'd descry the happy blessing near,
By the conjunction of some fav'rite star;
Aw'd, they revere the all-dispensing pow'r,
Hail the fair omen, and its cause adore.
So, from the glorious union of to-night,
England assures herself supream delight:
Ascertain'd now see liberty and ease,
The horn of plenty, and the wreath of peace:
No low'ring storms this prospect can destroy,
We feel the future in the present joy.
Methinks, I hear the voice of all mankind,
Roll o'er our isle, and swelling in the wind;
They hail the happy nuptials of this day,
And to this pair their willing homage pay:
Stern faction stops, and ceases to destroy,
Is pleas'd, and growls out an ill-natur'd joy;
Ev'n anxious *Poland* feels her wounds no more,
Careless of who is king——till this is o'er.
And yet one damp falls cold on this excess,
This exaltation of our happiness; [tear
And *England* mourns, to think that they shall
From her fond bosom one she holds so dear.
But as that charge to *Orange* is assign'd,
Again she smiles, and throws her cares behind.
Orange, the theme of each impartial page,
Whose wond'rous youth has overtaken age:
O may the nuptial torch for ever blaze,
Bright as it now emits its primal rays:
May the fond heart bestow the willing hand;
The state be found a union, not a band:
Constraint be banish'd——far let it remove,
Be it their wishes and their choice to love.
A num'rous issue crown their later years,
Of virtue, honour, and of truth the heirs;
May they with them begin again to live,
And see their former youth in them revive.

On FLORELLA.

HER bloomiug looks confess the *Cyprian* queen;
And coy *Diana* chastens all her mein:
She speaks the goddess with the azure eye;
And all the *Muses* in her voice surprize:
Whilst in each awful motion is express
A *Juno*, in the zone of *Venus* dress.
On me, O love, the favourite fair bestow,
And I will ever at thy altars bow.
To me, O pow'r rever'd, her heart incline,
That I may call those heavenly graces mine:
Then each new sun that wakes her brighter eyes,
Shall see celestial charms thy sacrifice.

To Mr. Orator, *on his learned* Theological Dissertation on Flesh-days and Fish-days, *last* Ash-wednesday.

ASHES and dust have made this fast complete: [meat.
Much dust thou'st rais'd; and ashes given for
For splended shilling, sadly, madly spent,
Justly in dust and ashes we repent.
Free leave to eat thou gav'st; but not one dish
Of well-dress't, figurative flesh, or fish.
But opening wide thy stock, in white and black,
Held'st forth dry'd cods-head, stock-fish, and poor *Jack*.
Or red henceforth, or pickled herring give;
That we may laugh, tho' kept but just alive.
For this new *Lenten* fare there is no bearing;
Nor fish, nor flesh, nor red, nor pickled herring.

Verses *occasioned by viewing the* Face *of the* 'Medal struck in Honour to the Memory of the late great Dr. *Tindall*, and admired by all who have seen it.'

HAH! what strange figure's this, thus oddly clad,
The whore of Babylon, mounted on her pad,
The seven-headed beast in Revelations,
Of harlots mother and abominations?
-- No 'tis the *beast*, but not the scarlet colour;
A Doctor standing where she rode before.
--A Doctor!--How! I swear it is like no man;
'Tis rather some old, visionary woman.
Nothing but smock and gown has this old hag on; [dragon.
Who muttering seems inchantments o'er the
--'Tis Doctor *Tindall*, *learned*, *godlike*, great,
Has driv'n his once-lov'd mistress from her seat:
Where, light reveal'd out-facing with his own,
Pope *Mat* now shines superior to Pope *Joan*.

A Sequel to Mr. Duck's *Tale on* Truth *and* Falſhood.

AS in a gay and chearful mood,
Swift wander'd thro' a ſtately wood,
Swift, fam'd for pleaſantry and wit,
Which no ſoul living elſe could hit,
While *Philomel*, with mournful ſtrains,
To rapture ſooth'd the liſtning ſwains)
He met with *truth* quite unarray'd,
As by ingenious *Duck* diſplay'd.
He ſcarce his old acquaintance knew,
Diſguis'd in nakedneſs, at view;
Thought 'twas *Vaneſſa*, thro' ſurprize,
And ſudden turn'd away his eyes,
Afraid, leſt tatling fame ſhou'd hear
His converſe with a naked fair.
Truth, never of herſelf aſham'd,
Tho' inwardly with grief inflam'd,
With decent freedom told her name,
How ſhe was rifled, whence ſhe came,
Diſcharg'd the anguiſh of her heart,
And begg'd he'd ſome relief impart.
With everlaſting banter fraught,
He laugh'd to hear how ſhe was caught;
Then queſtion'd with a taunting ſleer,
Pray what new liv'ry's this you wear?
Tho' I from reaſon ſhould ſuppoſe,
Your ladiſhip the habit choſe,
Or which by * *Martin* you were dreſt,
Which you yourſelf preſcrib'd as beſt,
And, neatly plain, will ſtand the teſt:
Yet, by your plight, you ſeem to come
A pilgrimage from flogging *Rome*.
For ſadly ſhe appear'd behind
In buſhes torn, expos'd to wind.)
To *Falſhood* who vouchſafes an ear,
The penance of a gooſe muſt bear,
Which, as affirm'd by † authors ſound,
Is treading barefoot on the ground.
Now, ſmarting from lord *Peter*'s whip,
You to a worſe extream would ſkip,
To *Tindal* for advice repair,
And fagely go behind all bare.
Better like wife of frantick *Jack*,
With tawdry tatters hide your back.
Theſe, and unnumber'd jokes beſide,
Still pour'd upon her like a tide,
Nay, ſome his fancy would not ſpare,
The modeſt nymph would bluſh to hear.
'Twas hard to ſtop his flowing vein,
But growing grave at laſt, with pain,
He bid her eaſe her drooping mind,
And give all ſorrow to the wind.
Follow my ſteps, I'll lead you where
You'll more than all your loſs repair.
The mournful nymph he ſoon convey'd
Where ſhe ſo lately was betray'd,
Pick'd up the ſcraps of that array,
Which fidious *Falſhood* flung away.
Theſe he in brighteſt colours dy'd,
And choiceſt ornament ſupply'd.
Then he invok'd *Minerva*'s aid,
To help diſtreſs'd a ſiſter maid.

Minerva rummag'd all her ſtore
Of lace and cambrick never wore,
And jewels of invalu'd price
Threw to her *draper* in a trice.
While theſe were on her limbs beſtow'd,
The nymph with thouſand beauties glow'd.
Yet all ſet off with ſo much eaſe,
Such graceful negligence to pleaſe,
A critick would, tho' nicely viewing,
Suppoſe the whole were nature's doing.
And now in *Falſhood*'s habit ſhewn,
She charms us more than in her own.
Few could before endure her ſight,
Her preſence gave a conſtant fright,
In theſe fictitious colours ſeen,
She never fails to cure the ſpleen.
Thus dizen'd out, ſhe loves to pay
Her viſits o'er a diſh of tea;
But when ſhe's for the temple dreſt,
A plainer garb becomes her beſt.
The giddy muſe, for want of thought,
Had almoſt in her ſpeed forgot,
How *Pallas* and the Dean compos'd,
Of *Adamant*, in gold enclos'd,
A mirror, which did far ſurpaſs
The virtues of the mimick glaſs.
This let but fools or knaves inſpect,
Their pictures 'twou'd ſo well reflect,
They might each ſpot and blemiſh find,
Deforming either face or mind.
Yet plac'd in that diverting light,
'Twou'd make 'em laugh in anger's ſpite.
This toy they gave the ſacred maid,
And with it, as a *fan*, ſhe play'd.

* *Tale of a Tub.* † *Scotch.*

A Receipt *to be happy.*

HOW pleaſant is is to behold on ſhore,
The driving bark, and hear the billows roar!
Not that I'm pleas'd with other men's diſtreſs,
But glad to find the load I bear is leſs.
While all the fools, and more than half the wiſe,
Are puzzled at the bugbear word *Exciſe*;
Serene, I live a private country mouſe,
Nor * officers, nor coxcombs haunt my houſe:
While cringing candidates at every gate,
Bow to the fools they ſcorn, and knaves they hate:
While doubtful miniſters th' *Exchequer* drain,
And read each unpropitious † liſt with pain:
How bleſt am I in this my humbler ſphere,
Who nothing have to aſk, nor ought to fear!
You'll wonder now, my friend, and well you may,
By all this doggrel, what I mean to ſay:
Why this I mean, and this my moral ſtate,
Thoſe evils we complain of, we create.
Man perſecutes himſelf with pains and care,
Works his own woe, when heav'n would kindly ſpare.
'Tis avarice, 'tis pride, 'tis luſt of pow'r,
Torments the wretch with many a joyleſs hour:
In vain we drudge, in vain we fondly roam,
For true content is only found at home;
In our own breaſt the happy goddeſs lies,
And freely grants her favours to the wiſe.

* *Exciſe-Officers.* † *Liſt of the candidates for next Parliament.*

The

The GENTLEMAN's *Monthly Intelligencer.*

MARCH, 1734.

FRIDAY, *March* 1.

THE 7 following Malefactors receiv'd Sentence of Death at the *Old-Bailey*, *viz.* *William Davis*, *Edward Tudar*, and *Caleb Charlesworth*, for divers Burglaries; *Henry Crane* and *Ralph Holbrook*, for Robberies on the Highway; *Joseph Dutton*, for robbing his Fellow-Servant of 10 Guineas and a Gold Ring; and *Judith Leeford* alias *Dufour*, for the Murder of her own Child, between 2 and 3 Years old, by strangling it with an Handkerchief. About 40 were order'd for Transportation.

The Anniversary of the Queen's Birth-Day was celebrated, when her Majesty enter'd into the 52d Year of her Age.

The University of *Oxford* complimented his Highness the Prince of *Orange* with the Degree of Doctor of Laws. The Orator of the University, then made a *Latin* Oration to his Highness; after which his Highness, addressing himself to the Vice-Chancellor spoke in *Latin* for several Minutes *extempore*, and in the finest Manner imaginable; he express'd himself well satisfied with his Reception, and among other Things was pleased to say, he should for the future reckon the Honours then conferr'd upon him by the University of *Oxford* amongst his highest Titles. In Honour of his Highness the following Gentlemen were at the same Time created Doctors of Law; the Baron of *Linden*, the Baron *Dailla*, the Baron *de Groosstins*, Mon. *Godin*, a *Dutch* General, Mons. *Ronboom*, Sir *Clement Cotterel*, and Mr. *Leg*, a Son of the Lord *Dartmouth*; all Attendants upon his Highness.

The Mayor and Corporation of *Oxford* paid their Compliments to his Highness two Days before. He went in the Morning to see *Blenheim* House, and the Mayor and Corporation in their Formalities waited his Return, being attended by all the CityCompanies, with Musick playing, Streamers flying, &c. They met his Highness at the *Town-Hall Gate*, and from thence conducted him to the *Council-Chamber*, where being seated, Mr. Serjeant *Skinner*, their Recorder, made a Speech to him in the Name of the Mayor, &c. to which his Highness return'd a very obliging Answer, and drank Prosperity to the City.

As his Highness was going from *Abingdon* to *Oxford*, the Road lying thro' a Lane, almost impassable for a Coach, and very dangerous, a wealthy Farmer, whose Estate lay contiguous, threw down the Hedges, and open'd a Way for his Highness to pass thro' his Grounds; which the Prince being not acquainted with, was pleas'd to stop; whereupon the Farmer came up to the Coach Side, and in a handsome Speech acquainted his Highness, *That he had now receiv'd the most desir'd Honour of his Life, in being able to contribute to the Safety of a Prince of the House of* Orange; *that his Father had the like Honour, when the immortal King* William, *the Glorious Deliverer of these Kingdoms, past that Way*; *and that the sole Thing he had now to desire of Providence was, that his Son and Descendants to the latest Ages might have Opportunities to testify their Gratitude, by their Zeal to future Princes of that illustrious Family.*

SATURDAY, 2.

His Highness left *Oxford* this Morning, and dined at *Henley*; at the Entrance of which Town he was met by the Mayor and Corporation in their Formalities, and by the Rev. Mr. *Jackson* and the Rev. Mr. *Birch*, two Clergymen of that Town.

SUNDAY, 3.

The Prince of *Orange* was received likewise at *Windsor* by the Mayor and Aldermen in their Formalities, and received their Compliments with his usual Courtesy and Affability.

MONDAY, 4.

His Highness arriv'd between seven and eight this Evening at *Somerset-House*.

The Lottery for the Relief of the Sufferers by the *Charitable Corporation*, began to be drawn on this Day at *Exeter-Exchange*. By the 8th of *Jan.* the Commissioners appointed

r managing the Drawing of the ſaid Lottery, reſented a Petition to the Court of Alder- hen at *Guildhall*, deſiring the Uſe of the ſaid *Hall* for Drawing the Lottery; which Peti- on was then read and taken into Conſidera- on, but ſeveral material Objections being ade to the granting the Deſire thereof, par- cularly, that it was not known but that the lection of Members for a new Parliament ight come on before the Drawing of the id Lottery could be finiſhed; therefore it as reſolved not to grant the ſame; where- on the Commiſſioners were called in, and he Lord-Mayor acquainted them with the eſolution of the Court. Soon after this the id Commiſſioners agreed with the Company Upholders for Drawing the ſaid Lottery *Exeter-Exchange*, for which they are to y 100 l. and to make good all Damages the id Company may thereby ſuſtain.

TUESDAY, 5.

This Day at Noon his Serene Highneſs the rince of *Orange* waited on their Majeſties St. *James*'s, where he was about an Hour the Queen's Cloſet, and afterwards at the rawing-Room, where there was a very great ppearance of Nobility and Quality, to pay eir Compliments to his Highneſs on his Re- rn to Town, and the Recovery of his Health.

FRIDAY, 8.

Five of the condemn'd Malefactors were ecuted at Tyburn. *Davis* and *Dutton* were riev'd for Tranſportation. (See p. 150.)

One Man was capitally convicted at the ſſizes at *Bedford*, for Horſe-Stealing.

One Man was caſt at *Northampton* for ouſe-breaking, but reſpited before the Judges ft the Town.

Three Men were condemn'd at the Aſſizes the County of *Berks*, *viz.* two for Houſe- eaking, and one for Horſe-ſtealing.

SATURDAY, 9.

Eight Perſons receiv'd Sentence of Death *Chelmſford*, and three at *Wincheſter*.

SUNDAY, 10.

Admiral *Stewart* hoiſted his Flag on board e *Edinburgh* in the *Downs*.

WEDNESDAY, 13.

This Morning early the Tickets were di- ributed for ſeeing the Ceremony and Pro- ſion of the Royal Marriage of his Highneſs e Prince of *Orange* with the Princeſs Royal, hen 6 Tickets were deliver'd to every Noble- n and Foreign Ambaſſador, 4 to each of e Foreign Miniſters, and 2 to every Mem- r of Parliament, Officer of State, *&c.*

THURSDAY, 14.

This Night the Nuptials between his Se- e Highneſs the Prince of *Orange* and the incefs Royal were ſolemnized in a moſt gnificent and grand Manner, in the *French*- apel at St. *James*'s. The Proceſſion from *James*'s-*Houſe*, thro' the Gallery that was lt for that Purpoſe, to the Chapel, was ceeding ſplendid. In the Cities of *London*, and *Weſtminſter*, the Morning was uſher'd in by ringing of Bells and firing of Guns. All the Ships in the River were adorn'd with Flags and Streamers, and fired their Guns. The Evening concluded with general Acclamations, and other Signs of Joy; the Houſes being illuminated, and Bonfires blazing thro' all the Streets: *Ludgate* was alſo finely illuminated by a great Number of Lamps, in a very curious Manner, at the Charge of *Henry Vander Eſch*, Eſq; and Fire-Works were play'd off from the Leads on the Top; ſeveral Pieces of Cannon were alſo diſcharged at every Loyal Health that was drank by the Gentlemen who met at the *Crown-Tavern* on *Ludgate-Hill*, to celebrate the happy Day.

There having been no ſuch Thing in *England*, ſince the Marriage of the Princeſs *Elizabeth*, Daughter of *James* I. and Great Grand-Mother to his preſent Majeſty, with the Elector *Palatine*; we ſhall give our Readers an Account of the whole Ceremony.

About 7 o'Clock in the Evening, the Bridegroom, and all thoſe who were to attend his Highneſs in the Proceſſion, met in the Council-Chamber at St. *James*'s.

As did the Bride with her Attendants in the great Drawing-Room.

And, their Majeſties and the Nobility in the King's own Apartment.

The Proceſſion of the Bridegroom, was,

Four Drums, two and two.

Drum-Major.

Eight Trumpets, four and four.

Serjeant-Trumpeter, wearing his Collar of SS. and bearing his Mace.

Sir *Clement Cotterel*, Maſter of the Ceremonies, and Baron *d'Aylva*, his Highneſs's Maſter of the Horſe.

His Highneſs's Gentleman Uſher, between the two Senior Heralds.

His Highneſs the Prince of Orange, dreſs'd in a Cloth of Gold, and wearing the Collar of the Order of the Garter, conducted by his Grace the Duke of *Grafton*, Lord Chamberlain of the Houſhold, and the Right Hon. the Lord *Hervey*, Vice-Chamberlain, and ſupported by the Right Hon. the Earls of *Scarborough* and *Wilmington*, as Batchelors, both of whom were likewiſe richly dreſs'd, and had on the Collar of the Order of the Garter.

The Prince of *Orange*'s Attendants, two and two.

When his Highneſs came into the Chapel, he was led to the Stool prepar'd for him, next below his Majeſty's Chair of State. Then the Lord Chamberlain and Vice-Chamberlain return'd back, as did likewiſe the Drums and Trumpets, in order to play before the Proceſſion of her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs Royal, which immediately after began in this Manner.

The Drums, Trumpets, Serjeant-Trumpeter, *&c.* as before.

Her

Her Royal Highneſs's Gentleman-Uſher, between two Provincial Kings at Arms.

The Bride, in her Virgin-Robes of Silver Tiſſue, having a Train ſix Yards long, laced round with a Maſſy Lace, adorn'd with Fringe and Toſſels; on the Sleeves were ſeveral Bars of Diamonds of great Value; the Habit was likewiſe enrich'd with ſeveral Rows of oriental Pearl. Her Royal Highneſs was in her Hair, wearing the Coronet of Princeſs Royal of *England*. Her Train was ſupported by ten Dukes and Earls Daughters, *viz.* the Lady *Fanny Manners*, Siſter to his Grace the Duke of *Rutland*; the Lady *Caroline Campbell*, eldeſt Daughter to the Duke of *Argyll*; the Ladies *Caroline* and *Anne Pierpoint*, Siſters to the Duke of *Kingſton*; the Lady *Louiſa Bertie*, Siſter to the Duke of *Anceſter*; the Lady *Betty Seymour*, Daughter to the Earl of *Hertford*; the Lady *Caroline Darcy*, Siſter to the Earl of *Holderneſs*; the Lady *Fanny Mountagu*, Daughter to the E. of *Halliſax*; the Lady *Diana Grey*, Daughter to the Earl of *Stamford*; Lady *Anne Cecil*, Siſter to the Earl of *Saliſbury*; all of whom were dreſs'd in Robes of Silver Tiſſue like the Bride, and according to their Degrees walk'd neareſt the Bride. Her Royal Highneſs was conducted, as the Bridegroom had been before, by the Lord Chamberlain and Vice-Chamberlain, and had for her Supporters, their Royal Highneſſes the Prince of *Wales* and the Duke. All the Officers of the Prince of *Wales*, walk'd one by one in a Line before his Royal Highneſs, as did alſo thoſe belonging to the Duke, and thoſe of the Bride in like Manner.

After the Bride follow'd

The unmarry'd Ladies, Daughters of Peers of *Great Britain*, proceeding by Pairs, thoſe of the higheſt Quality going neareſt the Princeſs.

Then Peereſſes of *Great Britain* likewiſe by Pairs.

Her Royal Highneſs upon entering the Chapel, was conducted to a Stool placed for her below his Majeſty's Chair of State, and oppoſite to that of the Bridegroom; the Prince of *Wales* and the Duke went to thoſe prepar'd for them, and the Lord Chamberlain and Vice Chamberlain once more return'd in Order to attend his Majeſty.

His Majeſty then proceeded in this Manner.

Firſt came the Knight Marſhal: Then

Purſuivants, two and two.

Heralds, two and two.

Knights of the *Bath* not Peers, wearing the Collars of their Order, two and two.

Privy Counſellors not Peers.

Sir *Robert Walpole*, Knight of the Garter, in his Collar.

Sir *Conyers d'Arcy*, Comptroller of his Majeſty's Houſhold.

Barons of *Great Britain*.

Biſhops in Epiſcopal Habits.

Viſcounts of *Great Britain*.

Earls of *Great Britain*.

Marquiſſes of *Great Britain*.

Dukes of *Great Britain*. Each of whom walk'd two and two, wearing the Collars of their reſpective Orders.

Then two Provincial Kings of Arms.

Serjeants at Arms, Lord Viſcount *Lonſdale*, Privy Seal.

Earl of *Wilmington*, Preſident of the Council, who was return'd from ſupporting the Bride.

Archbiſhop of *York*. Lord Chancellor.

Garter Principal King at Arms, between two Gentlemen Uſhers.

The Right Hon. the Earl of *Effingham*, Deputy Earl Marſhal.

The Sword of State, born by his Grace the Duke of *Montagu*, ſupported by the Lord Chamberlain and Vice-Chamberlain.

His Majeſty in the Great Collar.

The Captain of the Guards, having upon his Right Hand the Captain of the Band of Gentlemen Penſioners, and on the Left the Captain of the Yeomen of the Guard.

The Lord of the Bed-Chamber in waiting.

Two Grooms of the Bed-Chamber in waiting.

Then came her Majeſty, preceded by the Hon. *Robert Coke*, Eſq; Vice-Chamberlain of her Houſhold, and ſupported by the Earl of *Grantham*, her Lord Chamberlain, and the Earl of *Pomfret*, her Maſter of the Horſe.

The Princeſſes *Amelia*, *Caroline*, *Mary* and *Louiſa*, ſupported by their Gentlemen Uſhers.

The Ladies of the Queen's Bed-Chamber, Maids of Honour, *&c.* follow'd by the Gentlemen Penſioners, which clos'd the Proceſſion.

Their Majeſties proceeded directly to their Chairs of State, erected upon a Haut-pas of ſeveral Steps; the Princeſſes retir'd to their Stools, and the Nobility, *&c.* to the ſeveral Places aſſign'd them, each ſeating themſelves according to their Precedency.

The Lord Biſhop of *London*, Dean of the Chapel, and the Lord Biſhop of *Winchester*, Clerk of the Cloſet, ſtood before the Communion-Table with Prayer-Books in their Hands; and after the Organ had play'd ſome Time, his Highneſs the Prince of *Orange* led the Princeſs Royal to the Rails of the Altar, and kneel'd down, and then the Lord Biſhop of *London* perform'd the Service; after which the Bride and Bridegroom aroſe, and retir'd to their Places, whilſt a fine Anthem compos'd by Mr. *Handell*, was perform'd by a great Number of Voices and Inſtruments.

Then the Return began.

Drums, Trumpets, *&c.* as before.

Sir *Clement Cotterel* and the Baron *d'Aſpremont*.

The Prince of *Orange*'s Gentleman Uſher and two Heralds.

His Highneſs ſupported by two more Dukes, *viz.* their Graces the Dukes of *Rut-*

nd and *Rutland*, the former of whom had Hatband, Button and Loop of Diamonds a great Value.

The Princes, Officers, *&c.* and the Kings Arms as before.

The Princeſs ſupported as when ſhe went, t now the married Ladies, according to their egrees, went next the Bride.

The unmarried Ladies, who went firſt be-re, now follow'd.

Their Majeſties and the Noblemen as before.

As ſoon as the Proceſſion came back to the oor of the Leſſer Drawing-Room, the Com-ny ſtopt, but their Majeſties, the Prince *Wales*, the Duke, the Bride and Bride-oom, and the Princeſſes went in, and then e Prince and Princeſs of *Orange* kneel'd, d aſk'd their Majeſties Bleſſing.

About 12 the Royal Family ſupp'd in Pub-k in the great State Ball-Room. Their ajeſties were placed at the upper End of the able under a Canopy: On the Right Hand the Prince of *Wales*, the Duke, and the rince of *Orange*, and on the Left Hand the rinceſs of *Orange*, and the Princeſſes, *Ame-*, *Caroline*, and *Mary*: The Counteſs of *rtford* carv'd. About Two the Bride and idegroom retir'd, and were afterwards ſeen the Nobility, *&c.* ſitting up in their Bed-hamber in rich Undreſſes.

All People of Quality, ſuch as Peers Sons d their Ladies, the married Daughters of eers, and other Perſons of Diſtinction that d not walk in the Proceſſion, had a Gal-y prepar'd for them in the Chapel, to ſee e Ceremony there.

FRIDAY, 15.

There was a more ſplendid and numerous ppearance of Quality to pay their Compli-ents to the Royal Family than ever was en on any Occaſion at the *Britiſh* Court, d at Night was a Ball equally magnificent, which the Prince of *Orange* danc'd ſeveral inuets.

MONDAY, 18.

The Lord-Mayor of *London*, with the Court Aldermen and Common Council, went to *James*'s, where Sir *William Thompſon*, their ecorder, read the following Addreſs.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

WE the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the City of *London*, in ommon Council aſſembled, moſt humbly g Leave to congratulate your Majeſty on e happy Concluſion of the Marriage of the rinceſs Royal with his moſt Serene High-ſs the Prince of *Orange*.

Our Minds preſage the greateſt Glory, the ighteſt Triumphs, and the moſt diſtinguiſh'd roſperity to theſe Nations, both in the pre-nt and future Ages, from another Alliance ith that truly illuſtrious Houſe, the Houſe *Naſſau*, from whence ſo many Heroes have rung, the Scourges of Tyrants, and the Aſ-tors of Liberty.

Among theſe, we muſt for ever remember that Glorious Prince King *William* III. who deliver'd theſe Kingdoms from the imminent Dangers of *Popery* and arbitrary Power, and during the Courſe of his important Reign eſtabliſh'd the Conſtitution, and ſecured our Liberties in ſuch a Manner, that he ſeems to have left nothing more to be done, than what we hope was reſerv'd to compleat the Glories of your Majeſty's Reign: A Reign in which we juſtly promiſe ourſelves that nothing will be omitted which may appear neceſſary for the confirming our antient Conſtitution; for eaſing the People from thoſe heavy Burthens which the Defence of their Liberties induc'd them to impoſe on themſelves; for encouraging the Trade, and advancing the Maritime Power of this Kingdom; for making us happy at Home, and reſpected Abroad.

And as we have a grateful Senſe of the many Bleſſings we enjoy under your Majeſty's Auſpicious Reign, we beg Leave to aſſure your Majeſty of our hearty Endeavours, in our Sphere, to promote an affectionate Zeal for your Majeſty's Perſon and Government, that your Reign may be eaſy and happy.

To which Addreſs his Majeſty was pleaſed to return the following moſt gracious Anſwer.

My Lord Mayor, and Gentlemen,

I Return you My Thanks for this Dutiful and Loyal Addreſs; and am very glad, that the Marriage of My Daughter with the Prince of *Orange* gives ſuch General Satisfaction.

It is a great Pleaſure to Me, to ſee this Metropolis remember with ſo much Gratitude the Deliverance of theſe Kingdoms from Popery and Slavery, by My *Great Predeceſſor King* William.

A juſt Senſe of the imminent Dangers that this Nation then eſcaped, and of the inеſtimable Bleſſings that We now enjoy, will beſt ſecure to My People the Continuance and Preſervation of our preſent Happineſs, which it has been, and always ſhall be, My Care to ſupport and maintain to the utmoſt of My Power.

They were afterwards introduc'd to the Queen, when Sir *William Thompſon* made the following Speech.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

THE Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the City of *London*, moſt humbly beg Leave to congratulate your Majeſty on the Marriage of her Highneſs the Princeſs Royal to his Serene Highneſs the Prince of *Orange*.

As you, Madam, gave Birth to this amiable Princeſs, and had the forming of her excellent Mind, and adorned her with all

thoſe Accompliſhments, which make her ſo juſtly and univerſally admired, to your Majeſty will be owing, not only the Happineſs of the Prince her Conſort, but the Effects of your Majeſty's Cares, Wiſdom and Goodneſs, will be extended for the Welfare of all thoſe Countries, where ever her Royal Highneſs ſhall have any Influence.

And the People of this Nation will have Reaſon to retain a grateful Senſe of your Majeſty's beneficent Intentions towards them in promoting this happy Union, as it gives them an additional Proſpect of Princes from the Branches of ſuch illuſtrious Families, who have ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the Cauſe of Liberty and the *Proteſtant* Religion.

Theſe his Majeſty's moſt faithful Subjects beg Leave to render their humble Acknowledgments to your Majeſty, with their moſt ſincere Wiſhes for the Continuance of your Majeſty's Health and Welfare; that your Majeſty may live to ſee this happy Pair bleſſed with a numerous Iſſue; that they alſo may live to be formed by your Majeſty's Inſtructions and Example, and then they cannot fail of proving Comforts to your Majeſty, and Bleſſings to the World.

Her Majeſty anſwer'd them very graciouſly, and admitted them to the Honour of kiſſing her Hand.

Sir William Thompſon's *Speech to her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs of* Orange.

May it pleaſe your Royal Highneſs,

THE Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the City of *London*, humbly beg your Highneſs's Permiſſion to congratulate your Highneſs upon your Marriage with his Serene Highneſs the Prince of *Orange*.

As all his Majeſty's Subjects are nearly intereſted in the Welfare and Proſperity of your Royal Highneſs, 'tis with the utmoſt Satisfaction we ſee your Royal Highneſs deſigned by Providence and your Royal Parents, to give Joy and Happineſs to a Prince of the illuſtrious Houſe of *Naſſau*; whoſe eminent Virtues, and the moſt ſhining Qualities, give juſt Reaſon to hope that this happy Union will be attended with all the Felicity to your Royal Highneſs that your Heart can wiſh or deſire.

And as you, Madam, by your Natural Perfections, are formed to pleaſe; as your Sweetneſs of Temper, diſtinguiſh'd Senſe, and your other Accompliſhments, have the moſt engaging Charms; they cannot fail to endear you to the Prince your Conſort, to create in him the moſt affectionate Tenderneſs and Love, and to procure the Univerſal Eſteem and Veneration of the World.

May your mutual Joys and Comforts for ever continue without the leaſt Allay: May our ardent Deſires be fulfilled, by your yielding to the World a numerous Progeny: May they live to flouriſh and proſper, and by imitating the great Examples of their illuſtrious Parents, make your Royal Highneſs the Author of many Bleſſings, not only to this Age, but to the lateſt Poſterity.

Sir William Thompſon's *Speech to his Serene Highneſs the Prince of* Orange.

May it pleaſe your Serene Highneſs,

THE Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the City of *London*, humbly entreat the Liberty of congratulating your Highneſs on your Marriage with her Highneſs the Princeſs Royal.

As you, Sir, are deſcended from the illuſtrious Houſe of *Naſſau*, and nearly ally'd to that great Deliverer of this Nation at a Time of the utmoſt Diſtreſs, the glorious King *William* III. of immortal Memory; as you, Sir, are now united to a Branch of that Family which he thought moſt worthy to be the Protectors of our Rights and Liberties; and to a bright a Princeſs, formed by the Care, and after the Example of her Royal Parents; a your own great Character made this Alliance the Object of the united Wiſhes of all his Majeſty's Subjects; it now gives an univerſal Joy and Satisfaction, that your Highneſs is thus related to *Great Britain*. And it yields us a pleaſing Hope, that there will never be wanting a Succeſſion of Princes, (the Offſpring of this happy Marriage) endued with all the heroic Virtues of your Highneſs and your glorious Anceſtors, who then will have it in their Nature to be Friends to this Nation, and Defenders of the Liberties of Europe.

We eſteem it an Honour, Sir, that we have this Opportunity of tendering our moſt hearty Wiſhes to your Highneſs, for the Continuance of all that Joy and Delight, that ſolid Comfort, which muſt flow from the Endearments and Affection of a Princeſs of ſo much Merit and Beauty. We wiſh you your Health, Welfare and Proſperity; that you may live to exert your Nobleneſs of Soul, and all your inherent and hereditary Virtues in the Support of Truth, Religion, and Liberty, in relieving the Injured, and protecting the Diſtreſſed, and by a diffuſive Benevolence, promoting the Happineſs of Mankind.

May you thus, Sir, accompliſh true Honour and Glory.

THURSDAY, 21.

The Prince of *Wales* and the Prince of *Orange* went about half an Hour before his Majeſty to the Houſe of Lords, and were ſeated on his Right and Left Hand, while he gave the Royal Aſſent to an Act for Prohibiting a Bill for Naturalizing his Serene Highneſs the Prince of *Orange*, to the Bill for continuing the Salt-Duty for 7 Years, the Mutiny Bill, to an Act for laying

uty of Two-pence Scots on every Pint of le and Beer ſold in the Town of *Montroſs*, d to ſeveral private Bills. The Preamble the firſt-mention'd Bill was as follows.

WHEREAS the King's moſt Excellent Majeſty, whom God long preſerve, s been pleaſed, to the univerſal Joy and Sa-faction of his People, and for the better engthening of the *Proteſtant* Intereſt in *Eu-e*, to give his eldeſt Daughter the Princeſs yal, poſſeſſing the moſt exalted Virtues, adorned with all poſſible Accompliſh-nts, in Marriage to his Serene Highneſs Prince of *Orange*, deſcended from that il-rious Houſe to whom this Nation owes a liverance from Popery and Slavery, and to oſe Memory the Kingdom will always ex-s the utmoſt Gratitude for the many Bleſ-s we enjoy, particularly for the happy Set-ment of the Crown upon the preſent Royal mily.

And whereas a more grateful Proof of the eem and Affection of this Kingdom cannot iven to the Heir of that illuſtrious Fami-and the Inheritor of their Virtues, than Act of Naturalization, to make him ca-e of enjoying thoſe Rights and Liberties ch our great Deliverer preſerved to theſe gdoms: Therefore, *&c.*

FRIDAY, 22.

n Addreſs was preſented to his Majeſty the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, congratu-g his Majeſty on Account of the Mar-e of the Princeſs Royal with the Prince of ge; to which his Majeſty return'd a moſt ous Anſwer.

MONDAY, 25.

he Univerſity of *Oxford* addreſs'd his Ma-on the ſame Occaſion; and congratulato-ddreſſes on this Account arriv'd daily from veral Counties and Boroughs in *England*. the Aſſizes at St. *Edmund's-Bury* in Month, two Men received Sentence of h; one of which for poiſoning his Wife. were condemn'd at *Thetford*, one of for firing a Houſe: Two Men and two en at *Glouceſter*; ſix Men at *Kingſton*; wo for Murder at *Hereford*.

MARRIAGES *and* BIRTHS.

EV. Dr. *Martin*, Prebendary of *Windſor*, to Miſs *Hawkins*, a 40,000*l.* Fortune.

. *Hendly*, of *Gray's-Inn*, Eſq; to Mrs. ſy *Singleton*, of *Bloomſbury-Square*.

e Lady Viſcounteſs *Liſburne* brought to a Son and Heir.

was alſo the Lady of *Charles Bertie*, near Relation to the Duke of *Ancaſter*.

Criſp, belonging to the *Cuſtom-houſe*, d to Mrs. *Cholmley* of *Gould-Square*, Crutched-Fryars, a 40,000*l.* Fortune.

. *Morriſon*, Eſq; to Miſs *Barrodel* of *Glouceſter-Street*, *Queen-Square*, a 10,000*l.* Fortune.

Geo. Oatley, of *Grimſby* in *Lincolnſhire*, Eſq; to Miſs *Parker*, ſole Heireſs of the late *Geo. Parker*, of *Kingſton*, Eſq;

James Frederick, of *Beaumaris* in *Angleſea*, Eſq; to Miſs *Sherwin*.

George Warren, of *Peterſham* in *Surrey*, Eſq; to Miſs *Moor*, Daughter of *Tho. Moor* of *Richmond*, Eſq;

The Lady of Sir *Wm. Yonge*, deliver'd of a Daughter.

The Lady of Col. *Schutz*, deliver'd of a Son.

The Dutcheſs Dowager of *Bedford*, Wife of the Earl of *Jerſey*, deliver'd of a Son and Heir.

DEATHS.

WM. *Wakeman*, Eſq; who had long enjoy'd a conſiderable Place in the Cuſtoms.

Francis Clarke, Eſq; Capt. of an Independent Company of Invalids.

Roger North, of the *Middle-Temple*, Eſq; aged 90.

Geo. Moody, Eſq; Brother to —— *Moody*, Eſq; late Governor of *Placentia*.

Capt. *Clark*, a brave and experienc'd Officer belonging to the Army, who ſerved many Campaigns in *Flanders*, under his Grace the Duke of *Marlborough*.

Bridget, Dutcheſs Dowager of *Leeds*.

Col. *Samuel Robinſon*, Chamberlain of this City.

Dr. *Giffard*, a famous Prelate of the Church of *Rome*, in the 99th Year of his Age.

Geo. Garbert, Eſq; of a great Eſtate in *Warwickſhire*.

Rev. Mr. *Bond*, one of the Fellows of *Magdalen* College in *Oxford*, aged 90.

Tho. Dorell, Eſq; near *Rippon* in *Yorkſhire*, reputed to have died worth 130,000*l.*

Admiral *Mighels*, Comptroller of the Navy.

Capt. *Lawes*, Commander of his Majeſty's Ship the *York*.

Mr. *John Oſborne*, a noted Bookſeller in *Pater-Noſter-Row*.

Right Hon. *Elizabeth* Lady *Craven*, Mother of the preſent Lord.

Right Hon. *Wm. Cunningham*, Earl of *Glencairn*, and Lord *Kilmaures*, Governor of *Dunbarton-Caſtle*.

Rev. Dr. *Ridgley*, an eminent Diſſenting Miniſter of this City.

Lady *St. Barbe*, Relict of Sir *John St. Barbe*, of *Broadlands* in *Hampſhire*, Bart.

The Lady *Mary Craven*, Widow of Sir *Thomas Craven*, of *Staffordſhire*.

Eccleſiaſtical PREFERMENTS.

THO. *SOMERS*, M. A. preſented to the Rectory of *Shipton-Moyne*, in the County and Diocеſe of *Glouceſter*.

Mr. *Thomas Harriſon*, to the Rectory of *Bridge-Caſterton* in *Rutlandſhire*.

Mr. *Timothy Gilbert*, to the Living of *Banbury* in *Oxfordſhire*.

Mr. *Walter Williams* had the Degree of D. D. conferr'd on him by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

Mr. *John Richardſon*, appointed by the Bp. of *London* to be Rector of St. *George* in *Placentia*.

The Rev. Mr. *Rice* preſented to the Rectory of *Monardivy* in *Pembrokeſhire*.

PROMOTIONS *Civil* and *Military*.

SIR *Edw. Croſton*, Bart. one of the Privy Council in *Ireland*, appointed Surveyor-General of his Majeſty's Fortifications in that Kingdom, in the room of Sir *Edward Lovet*, deceas'd.

Dr. *James Lidderdale*, one of his Majeſty's Phyſicians in *Scotland*, appointed chief Phyſician to the *Navy*.

Henry Maſters, Eſq; appointed Deputy Judge-Advocate and Commiſſary of the Muſters at *Gibraltar*, in the room of *John Beaver*, Eſq;

Henry Gaultier, Eſq; *Henry Muilman*, Eſq; *Robt. Wood*, L. L. D. and *Henry Lloyd*, Eſq; choſen Directors of the *S. S.* Company, to fill up the Vacancies in that Court.

The Lady *Herbert* and Lady *Southwell*, appointed Ladies of the Bedchamber to the Princeſs of *Orange*; Miſs *Schuyz*, Miſs *Herbert*, Miſs *How* and Miſs *Sutton*, Maids of Honour to her Royal Highneſs.

George Lewis, Eſq; made Capt. in the Reg. of Foot late Brigadier *Pocock*'s.

The Right Hon. *Anthony Aſhley Cooper*, Earl of *Shafteſbury*, made Lord Lieut. of the County of *Dorſet*, and Town and County of *Pool*.

Mr. *La Lee* made Chamberlain to the Princeſs of *Orange*, and Mr. *Talbot* ſecond Gentleman Uſher.

The Earl of *Glencairn* made Governour of *Dumbarton* Caſtle in *Scotland*, in the room of the late Earl his Father.

John Garrard, Eſq; made Lieut. Col. of *Phillips*'s Reg. of Foot, in the room of Col. *George Smithſon*, deceas'd.

Ambroſe Philips, Eſq; choſen Knight of the Shire for *Leiceſterſhire*, in the room of Sir *Clobury Noel*, Bart. deceas'd.

PERSONS *declared* BANKRUPTS.

JOHN HEATON, of St. *George*, *Middleſex*, Tobacconiſt.

Andrew Tondup, of *South-Shields*, in the County of *Durham*, Taylor and Draper.

John-Frederick Jales, of *London*, Merchant.

Matthew Simpſon, of *Whitby*, in *Yorkſhire*, Shipwright and Timber-Merchant.

Tho. Hill, of *Fiſhlock*, in *Yorkſhire*, Corn-factor.

John Peckover, late of *Stratford Langthorne*, in *Eſſex*, Chapman and Victualler.

Tobias Norris, of *Willingham*, in *Cambridgeſhire*, Merchant.

Joſiah Cocke, late of *Wigan*, in *Lancaſhire*, Vinter and Victualler.

Archibald Hill, of *Yarmouth*, in *Norfolk*, Chapman.

Richard Woolley, now or late of *Tooley-ſtreet* in *Southwark*, Merchant and Soap-boiler.

Joſeph Dancer, of *Edmunton* in *Middleſex*, Dealer in Brandy.

Benjamin Mitchell, of St. *Alban*'s in *Hertfordſhire*, Brewer.

Ebenezer Bratbwaite, of *Cornhill*, *London*, Upholſterer.

Francis Lynch, late of *Cloake-lane*, *London*, Merchant.

Moſes Vanderbank, of *Cragg's court* near *Charing-croſs* in *Middleſex*, Painter and Tapeſtry-maker.

Joſeph Trobridge, late of *Exon*, Grocer.

Ambroſe Paradice, of *Devizes*, *Wilts*, Woolſtapler and Chapman.

Joſeph Collyer, of *Newgate-ſtreet*, *London*, Haberdaſher.

Richard Parker, of *Eaſtwoodley* in *Hants*, Maltſter.

Joſeph Farwell, of *Bridgwater* in *Somerſhire*, Maltſter.

Thomas Lawes, now, or late of *Framlingham* in *Suffolk*, Mercer and Shopkeeper.

Iſaac Hilldrup, of the Pariſh of St. *Botolph Aldgate*, *London*, Currier.

Mary Brown, now, or late of *Bradley* *Worceſterſhire*, Widow and Grocer.

Truelove Green, late of St. *George Hanover Square* in *Middleſex*, Upholſterer.

FROM *Naples:* All is in Confuſion again in *Corſica*, where the Malecontents have choſen *Girolamo Ria* for their Head, and dignified him with the Title of King. They have Plenty of Proviſions and Ammunition ſent them by *Giaffceri*, one of their Heads in the laſt Riſing; and thus the Soldiers in Garriſon dare not ſtir out for fear of being knock'd on the Head.

From *Vienna:* His Excellency Mr. *Robinſon*, the *Britiſh* Miniſter, received an Expreſs from *London*, with Diſpatches of extraordinary Conſequence, which he went immediately to communicate to the *Imperial* Miniſters: The ſame Day Prince *Eugene* had a private Conference with his *Imperial* Majeſty, which laſted ſome Hours. There is Advice from *Italy*, that Count *Merci* has ſecured the Paſſage both of the *Po* and the *Oglio*, and that he is actually entrenched at *Port-Forte* with 20,000 Men.

From *Naples*: A Collateral Council being held the other Day, it was therein reſolved to abandon one of the Caſtles of this City; to put but 500 Men into the other three; and to reinforce the Garriſon of the Caſtle that commands the Port of *Baya* with 200 Foot. At the ſame Time it was reſolved, that no Camp ſhould be formed; but that all the Troops ſhould march to *Capua* and *Gaeta*, to defend thoſe two Places; and that the Lines which have been making near *San Germano* upon the Frontiers, ſhould be demoliſhed.

From the *Hague*, A Heap of greater Uncertainties you never received than what I could furniſh you at preſent from this Place. Our Advices keep a Revolution with the Sun; for the Morning lowers with Storms and miliary Thunder, the Evening ſets in ſerene, and the Report runs Peace! War lifts up her Head again next Day, and a Succeſſion of different Rumours ſerves to prove one confeſs'd Certainty, *viz.* That we know nothing at all of the Matter. When I ſpeak of a War, I mean not Sieges like thoſe made the laſt Campaign on the *Rhine*, nor of the Fiddling before the Citadel of *Milan*, but I have my Thoughts on a Rupture that will engage all *Europe*, and may poſſibly bring back the Battle of *Hockſtet*, or Sir *George Byng*'s Expedition to the *Mediterranean*.

From *Leige*: That the Palace of the Biſhop and Prince of that City, reckoned one of the ſtreſt and moſt magnificent in *Europe*, was burnt to the Ground, his Highneſs himſelf eſcaping the Flame with great Difficulty. The Fire began about four in the Morning, but how occaſioned is not known.

From *Milan*: We have received Advice, that 15 Battalions of *French* Troops have paſſed Mount *Cenis*, on their Way from *France* to reinforce the Army in *Italy*; and that they are to be followed by as many more. The Allies have embarked 80 Pieces of heavy Cannon upon the *Po*, which looks as if they meditated ſome Enterprize of Importance. Our Letters from the *Mantuan* ſay, that 22,000 *Imperialiſts* are actually arrived there; and that 8000 more are ſpeedily expected.

From *Venice:* The News of a Peace between the *Turks* and the *Perſians* has occaſioned a general Conſternation here.

From *Spain:* That the 15,000 *Spaniſh* Troops deſigned to reinforce the *Spaniſh* Army in *Italy* had embarked at *Barcelona*, and were by this Time on the Coaſt of *Naples*, where, 'tis ſaid, they were to make a Deſcent, whilſt *Don Carlos* made an Irruption into that Kingdom from the Eccleſiaſtical Territory.

There has been a ſmall Action lately at *Oran*, between the *Spaniards* and *Moors*; the latter having attempted to force an advanced Guard of the former, were ſurprized by them in an Ambuſcade, and made all Priſoners, having alſo loſt their famous Standard, which had been bleſſed at *Mahomet*'s Shrine at *Mecca*.

From *Dantzick:* General *Munich* has communicated to our Magiſtrates the Orders he is charged with from the Czarina his Miſtreſs, which are very rigorous, unleſs they deliver him the Keys of the Town in 24 Hours; for they are not to hope for any Capitulation afterwards: But the *Dantzickers* ſeem to give no Attention to his Threats, flattering themſelves with the Arrival of 15,000 *French*, before the *Ruſſians* are in a Capacity to do them any great Hurt. Mean while, the Town is pretty cloſely ſhut in on the Land Side, the Enemy having made themſelves Maſters of the *Nebring* and the Suburbs called *Schotland*, and erected a Battery upon a Hill on the Weſt Side, from which they have thrown a few Grenades and ſmall Bombs into the Town, but without Effect, almoſt all of them burſting in the Air. Yeſterday we had a Report, that a certain Envoy was arrived, with Orders to ſeek out the Generals of the *Ruſſian* Army, and acquaint them, that if they proceeded any farther againſt *Dantzick*, his Maſter would take that Town under his Protection. Thus we hope for the beſt, but in other Reſpects have at preſent but a melancholy Proſpect.

Price

Towards the End of the Month.

STOCKS.

S. Sea 75, 74 ¼ ⅜	*Afric.* 23
—*Bonds* 18*s*	*Royal Aſſ.* 91
—*Annu.* 100 ½	*Lon. ditto* 11 ½
Bank 133, 132 ½	*Y. Build.* 3 ¼ a ½
—*Circ.* 4*l.* 10*s.* 0*d.*	3 *p. C. An.* 90
Mil. Bank 106 ½	*Eng. Copper* 1*l.* 15*s*
India 135½, 136	*Welſh dit.* 1*l.* 3*s.*
—*Bonds* 1*l* 1*s*	*Equiv.* 102 ¼

The Courſe of EXCHANGE.

Amſt.	36	*Bilboa*	36
D. Sight	35 9	*Legborn*	50
Rotter.	36 1*a*2	*Genoa*	52 ⅛
Hamb.	35 10	*Venice*	48 ¾
P. Sight	30 ⅞	*Lisb.*	5 4 ⅜ a ¼
Bourd. ½ uſ	30 ⅜ a ½	*Oport.*	5 4 ¼ a 4
Cadiz	40	*Antw.*	35 4 a 5
Madrid	39 ½	*Dublin*	12 ⅛ a ¼

Prices of Goods at *Bear-Key.*

Wheat	25 28	*Oates*	10 14
Rye	17 18	*Tares*	18 23
Barley	14 18	*Peaſe*	22 24
H. Beans	16 20	*H. Peaſe*	16 19
P. Malt	17 20	*B. Malt*	16 19

Abſtract of the *London* WEEKLY BILL, from *Feb.* 19 to *March* 26.

Chriſtned	Males 974	Females 933	1907
Buried	Males 1216	Females 1266	2482

Died under 2 Years old			960
Between	2 and	5	257
	5	10	104
	10	20	69
	20	30	164
	30	40	211
	40	50	245
	50	60	162
	60	70	160
	70	80	98
	80	90	66
	90 and upwards		8
			2482

Prices of Goods, &c. in *London.* Hay 39*s.* *to* 42*s.* a Load.

Coals per Chaldron 28
New Hops per Hun. 5*l.* *a* 5*l.* 10
Old Hops 3*l.* 10*s.* *a* 4*l.*
Rape Seed 10 *a* 11
Lead the Fodder 19 *Hun.* 1 *half on board,* 14 *a* 14*l.* 10*s.*
Tin in Blocks 3*l.* 18
Ditto in Bars 4*l.*
Copper Eng. beſt 5*l.* 5*s.*
Ditto ordinary 4*l.* 16*s.* *a* 5*l.*
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THE
LONDON MAGAZINE.
APRIL, 1734.

following Piece *was published in* Septem- *last; but as it may be thought as seasonable at this Juncture, as at any other Time; and we have been frequently and earnestly ress'd by great Numbers of our Readers to sert it in our* Magazine; *we have given it* ntire, without any Abridgment; *which* as never done before in any monthly or other erformance.

Freeholder's *Political Catechism.*



HO are you?

Anſ. I am *T. M.* a Freeholder of *Great Britain.*

Q. *What Privilege enjoyeſt thou by being a Freeholder of* Great ain?

. By being a Freeholder of *Great Bri-* I am a greater Man in my Civil Capa- than the greateſt Subject of an Arbi- Prince; becauſe I am govern'd by Laws, hich I give my Conſent; and my Life, Li- , and Goods cannot be taken from me, ccording to thoſe Laws: I am a Freeman.

. *Who gave thee this Liberty?*

. No Man gave it me: Liberty is the ral Right of every human Creature; he orn to the Exerciſe of it as ſoon as he ttain'd to that of his Reaſon; but that my rty is preſerv'd to me, when loſt to a Part of Mankind, is owing, under God, e Wiſdom and Valour of my Anceſtors, holders of this Realm.

. *Does not every Man give up his Liberty the Government of the Political Society, reof he is a Member?*

. Mankind give up ſome Part of their al Liberty to the Government for the Benefit of Society and mutual Defence (for in political Society an Infant has the whole Force of the Community to protect him) but no Man can make himſelf a Slave.

Q. *Why?*

A. Becauſe no Man can give an abſolute Dominion over his Life, for that is not in his Power, and belongs only to his Creator.

Q. *How comes it then that the Civil Magiſtrate has a Right to take away Lives?*

A. Becauſe by the Laws of Nature, every Man has a Power of taking away the Life of another in Self-Defence, which Power is given up to the Magiſtrate, and which Power returns to every Man, when the Magiſtrate cannot defend him, as in Caſe of being attack'd with ſudden and lawleſs Violence.

Q. *Has not the Magiſtrate a Power to compel thee to be of what Religion he thinks fit?*

A. No. Becauſe neither in the State of Nature, nor in the State of Civil Society, has any Man an abſolute Power over another Man's Mind or Conſcience; from whence it follows, that in the firſt of thoſe States, no Man could give the Magiſtrate a Power which he hath not to give; and that in the ſecond of thoſe States, the Exerciſe of this Power is impoſſible; Compulſion without Conviction making a Man a Hypocrite, that is, a Criminal, but can never ſecure the publick Peace.

Q. *Wherein does this Liberty which thou enjoyeſt conſiſt?*

A. In Laws made by the Conſent of the People, and the due Execution of thoſe Laws; I am free not from the Law, but by the Law.

Q. *Wilt thou ſtand faſt in this Liberty wherewith thou art born and entitled by the Laws of thy Country?*

A. Yes verily, by God's Grace I will; and I thank his good Providence that I am

born a Member of a Community govern'd by Laws and not by Arbitrary Power.

Q. *What dost thou think incumbent upon thee to secure this Blessing to thy self and Posterity?*

A. As I am a Freeholder, I think it incumbent upon me, to believe aright concerning the fundamental Articles of the Government to which I am subject; to write, speak, and act on all Occasions conformably to this orthodox Faith, to oppose with all the Powers of my Body and Mind, such as are Enemies of our good Constitution, together with all their secret and open Abettors, and to be obedient to the King, the supreme Magistrate of the Society.

Q. *Rehearse unto me the Articles of thy Political Creed.*

A. I believe that the supreme or legislative Power of this Realm resides in the King, Lords, and Commons; that his Majesty King *George* the second is Sovereign, or supreme Executor of the Law, to whom, upon that Account, all Loyalty is due. That each of the three Members of the Legislature are endowed with their particular Rights and Offices; that the King by his royal Prerogative has the Power of determining and appointing the Time and Place of the Meeting of Parliaments. That the Consent of King, Lords, and Commons, is necessary to the Being of a Law, and all the three make but one Law-Giver. That as to the Freedom of Consent in making of Laws, those three Powers are independent, and that each and all the three are bound to observe the Laws that are made.

Q. *Why is the Legislative Power supreme?*

A. Because what gives Law to all, must be supreme.

Q. *What meanst thou by Loyalty to the King?*

A. I have heard that *Loy*, signifies Law; and Loyalty, Obedience, according to Law; therefore he who pays this Obedience is a loyal Subject, and he who executes the King's Commands, when contrary to Law, is disloyal, and a Traitor.

Q. *Is it not a Maxim in the Law, that the King can do no Wrong?*

A. It is: For since Kings do not act immediately by themselves, but mediately by their Officers, and inferior Magistrates; the Wisdom of the Law provides sufficiently against any undue Exercise of their Power, by charging all illegal Acts, and all Kinds of Male-Administration upon their Ministers; by the great Regard which is paid to the King by this Maxim, laying him under an indisputable Obligation, not to screen his Ministers from publick Justice, or publick Enquiry.

Q. *What dost thou mean by the royal Prerogative?*

A. A discretionary Power in the [K.] to act for the Good of the People where Laws are silent, never contrary to Law, always subject to the Limitations of the [Law.]

Q. *Dost thou owe no other Duty to the King but Obedience according to Law?*

A. Yes. I am bound to pray for him, honour him, to behave myself respectfully towards him, and to speak respectfully of him, as it is written, *Thou shalt not speak evil of the Ruler of thy People.*

Q. *Thou hast promis'd that in Order to preserve this thy Liberty, thou wilt resist to the utmost of thy Power, the Enemies of our good Constitution; who are those Enemies?*

A. Such as deny the Title and Authority of the King who is acknowledg'd to be so by the Legislature: Such as by hereditary Doctrines exalt the royal Authority above the Laws: Such as endeavour to destroy the Authority and Independence of any of the three Members of the Legislature.

Q. *How comes it that denying the Title and Authority of the King, who is acknowledged by the two Branches of the Legislature, is subverting a fundamental Law of the Constitution?*

A. Because if private Judgment is to be opposed to that of the Publick, there can be no Peace in that Society: Besides every Man in the Society is suppos'd to have given his Assent in that Matter already, for the Act of the Majority is the Act of every Individual.

Q. *What are those Heretical Doctrines which exalt the King's Authority above the Law?*

A. Asserting, That there is somewhat particularly divine in kingly Government, as being the first Government of the World, and appointed by God: And that there is in a King an Authority and hereditary Right of Succession independent of the Laws.

Q. *How canst thou prove those to be heretical and false Doctrines?*

A. Because they are so far from being founded upon Scripture (as is pretended) that they are contrary to it. For, first, it does not appear from Scripture how the first political Societies were formed. Secondly, The first Government of God's People was not monarchical; the Patriarchs were not Kings; the Government of the *Israelites* before their Time was Republican; the People sent Ambassadors, *Joshua* xxii. the People in full Assembly demands Justice, *Judges* xix. and xx. Thirdly, God Almighty gives a disadvantageous Character of absolute Monarchy, which see 2 *Sam.* viii. 4. If by God's Appointment be meant a divine Revelation or Mission, no Monarch upon Earth has it: If by God's Appointment be meant the divine Authority enjoining Obedience to the lawful Ordinances of Man, the supreme Power of a Commonwealth has it as much as a King: If

Appointment be meant God's Provi-
, a Robber, Tyrant, or Uſurper may be
o be ſo. Fifthly, There are ſeveral Paſ-
in Scripture, that favour the original
r of the People. *Abraham* demands a
ing-Place for *Sarah* of the People. The
Governors ſeem to have been Captains
n for their Valour, by the People; *who-
will give Battle* (ſay the Princes and Peo-
f Gilead) *to the Children of* Ammon,
be Head over the Inheritance of Gilead;
dingly *Jephtha* was choſen. God Al-
ty demands the Conſent of the People
to his own Laws, accordingly *Moſes* pro-
h them in a full Aſſembly, and demands
Conſent as to a Covenant, *See Deut.* v.
Almighty condeſcends to this natural
t of the People in changing the Form of
Government (tho' contrary to his Ad-
ition) when they demanded a King to rule
them, and commands *Samuel* to *hearken
e Voice of the People*, 2 *Sam.* viii. There
many more Proofs of this Truth to be
d in Scripture, by any Man who reads
Attention.

. *Does not Conqueſt give a Right to abſo-
Monarchy?*

. No: For unjuſt Force can never give
juſt Dominion: And Conqueſt in a juſt
, gives the Conqueror abſolute Dominion
over the Individuals he has ſubdu'd.

. *What thinkeſt thou of hereditary Right?*

. No Man can have hereditary Right by
Title of King, for there are Kingdoms
tive; ſeveral Kingdoms have different Cuſ-
s and Laws in determining the Succeſſions
their Monarchs; thoſe of *Britain* and
nce are different, and both from the Cuſ-
s of ſome other Monarchies; therefore
e can be no Right of Succeſſion but by the
of the Land; and accordingly by the Act
Settlement his preſent Majeſty King
rge II. has an hereditary Right in himſelf
lineal Deſcendants, ſubject to the Limita-
s of the Law; a more authentick Deed
hereditary Right, than can be produced
any Prince in the World.

. *Is not then the King above the Laws?*

. By no Means: For the Intention of
vernment being the Security of the Lives,
erties, and Properties, of the Members of
Community, they never can be ſuppoſed
the Law of Nature, to give an arbitrary
wer over their Perſons and Eſtates. King,
Title, which tranſlated into ſeveral Lan-
ges, ſignifies a Magiſtrate with as many
erent Degrees of Power, as there are
gdoms in the World, and he can have no
wer but what is given him by Law; yea,
n the ſupreme or legiſlative Power, is
nd by the Rules of Equity, to govern by
ws enacted, and publiſhed in due Form;
what is not legal is arbitrary.

. *How comes it that thoſe who endeavour to
roy the Authority and Independence of any
of the Branches of the Legiſlature, ſubvert the
Conſtitution?*

A. By the fundamental Laws of the Conſtitution, the free and impartial Conſent of each of the three Members is neceſſary to the Being of a Law; therefore if the Conſent of any of the three is wilfully omitted, or obtain'd by Terror or Corruption, the Legiſlature is violated; and inſtead of three there may be really and effectually but one Branch of the Legiſlature.

Q. *Canſt thou illuſtrate this by any Example?*

A. The Royal Authority and that of the Houſe of Peers were both deſtroy'd by the Houſe of Commons, and by a ſmall Part of that, in the late Civil War; ſo that the very Form of Government was annihilated.

Q. *Can you give me an Inſtance where the Form of Government may be kept, and yet the Conſtitution deſtroy'd?*

A. Yes. The Forms of the Free Government of *Rome*, were preſerv'd under the arbitrary Government of the Emperors: There was a Senate, Conſuls, and Tribunes of the People; as one might ſay King, Lords, and Commons; and yet the Government under the Emperors was always deſpotick, and often tyrannical; and indeed the worſt of all Governments is Tyranny ſanctified by the Appearance of Law.

Q. *By what Means fell that great People into this State of Slavery?*

A. I have read the *Roman* Hiſtory, and by what I can judge, it was by Faction, Corruption, and Standing Armies.

Q. *All that might happen to* Romans; *but did ever any Parliament of this Nation give up the Liberty of the People?*

A. Yes: A pack'd Parliament in *Richard* IId's Time, eſtabliſhed by a Law, the King's arbitrary Power, and with Leave to name a Commiſſion with Parliamentary Authority. Parliaments in *Henry* VIIIth's Time were Slaves to his Paſſions, and one gave the King a legiſlative Authority. And there are many Inſtances of Parliaments making dangerous Steps towards the Deſtruction of the Liberty of the People.

Q. *Who were the* Engliſh *Monarchs who were moſt indulgent to the Liberties of the People?*

A. The great King *Alfred*, who declar'd, *That the* Engliſh *Nation was as free as the Thoughts of Man.* The glorious Monarchs, *Edward* I. *Edward* III. and *Henry* V. who would not let his People ſwear to him till he had an Opportunity of ſwearing to them, at his Coronation. And the immortal Queen *Elizabeth*, who declar'd it by Law, High Treaſon, during her Life, and a *Præmunire* afterwards, to deny the Power of Parliament in limiting and binding the Deſcent or Inheritance of the Crown, or the Claim to it.

Q. *When were thoſe ſlaviſh Maxims of he-*

reditary indefeazable Right and Prerogative, ſuperior to Law, firſt introduc'd?

A. In the Time of *James* I. who by endeavouring to eſtabliſh them, laid the Foundation of all the Miſeries which have ſince happened to his Family; and it is the greateſt Security to the preſent Branch of it, that ſuch Doctrines which ſow the Seeds of Jealouſy between the King and his People, are by the preſent Eſtabliſhment quite exploded.

Q. *What doſt thou learn from thoſe Hiſtories?*

A. That a King of this Realm, in the full Poſſeſſion of the Affections of his People is greater than any arbitrary Prince, and that the Nation can never be effectually undone but by a wicked Parliament; and, laſtly, to be thankful to God that under our preſent moſt gracious King our Conſtitution is preſerv'd entire, tho' at the ſame Time there are many Circumſtances which call loudly for Vigilance.

Q. *What are thoſe?*

A. Such as have been the Fore-runners and Cauſes of the Loſs of Liberty in other Countries, Decay of Virtue and publick Spirit, Luxury and Extravagance in Expence, Venality and Corruption in private and publick Affairs.

Q. *How comes there to be a Decay of publick Spirit, when there is more than uſual a Deſire to ſerve the Publick?*

A. If a Deſire to live upon the Publick, be a publick Spirit, there is enough of it at this Time, when Extravagance makes People crave more, and the Adminiſtration of a publick Revenue (perhaps treble what it was before the Revolution) enables the Crown to give more than formerly.

Q. *What doſt thou fear from this?*

A. That ſuch as ſerve the Crown for Reward, may in Time ſacrifice the Intereſt of their Country to their Wants; that Greedineſs of publick Money may produce a ſlaviſh Complaiſance as long as the Crown can pay; and Mutiny when it cannot; and in general, that Motives of Self-Intereſt will prove an improper and weak Foundation for our Duty to our King and Country.

Q. *I much rejoice to ſee a Perſon of your Knowledge and publick Spirit; therefore I aſk you what is the Sum and Subſtance of the Virtue of a good Citizen?*

A. The Love of our Country comprehends in it the Virtues of a good Citizen, as the Love of God thoſe of a good Chriſtian: It is the Love not only of one, but of Millions of Neighbours; not only of our Neighbours now living, but of them and of their Poſterity. It is an Inſtinct as well as Duty of Nature; the very Soil from which as from a common Mother, Mankind are nouriſh'd; and the laſt common Repoſitory of their dead Bodies, has been reputed amongſt human Creatures, as a Bond of Union; *Joſeph* comforted himſelf with his dying Breath, [illegible] recting that his Bones ſhould reſt [illegible] his Brethren. I read of one *Temo*[illegible] who, though he had been baniſh'd [illegible] *Greece* and Hoſpitality, and receiv'd in [illegible] *ſia*, ordered his Corps to be carried back [illegible] buried by Stealth in his own Country. [illegible] Nations ſink and riſe in Proportion as [illegible] Virtue prevails. When I read the [illegible] Hiſtory I am tranſported with Joy, [illegible] profound Reverence for thoſe Worthies [illegible] ſacrificed their Lives, and what was [illegible] dearer to them, to the Love of their Country. Nor is our own Country deſtitute of Examples of ſuch heroick Virtue, of which ſome have tranſmitted the glorious Fruits to their Poſterity; and ſuch as have fail'd of this have attain'd to a glorious Immortality, and advanc'd the temporal Felicity of Generations paſt and to come. The Love of our Country is both a moral and religious Duty.

Q. *How doſt thou prove that?*

A. The Love which we owe to all Mankind, is not only allow'd but enjoin'd in greater Degrees to particular Societies, which we are Members, as Nations, Neighbours, Kindred, Families, and Children: There are many Precepts and Examples in Scripture enforcing this Duty of the Love of our Country; and holy Men of Old, as they were endowed with a religious, ſeem'd proportionably fill'd with a publick Spirit; the *Old Teſtament* is full of ſuch Examples: This was the ſhining Virtue of *Moſes*, and of all the Captains, Princes, and Prophets of God's People. One of the Books of the Prophets is a Lamentation for the Captivity and Deſolation of *Judah*; *woe unto me* (ſaid *Matthias*, 1 Maccabees ii.) *wherefore was I born, to ſee the Deſolation of my People?* Then he and his Sons rent their Cloths and put on Sack-cloth and Mourning; *we are ready to die*, ſaid the young Men, *rather than tranſgreſs the Law of our Country.* It is ſaid of *Judas Maccabeus*, *that he made the Jews* bold, *and ready to fight for the Laws of their Country.* This Virtue was more eminent in our Bleſſed Saviour than in any of the Sons of Men: He confin'd firſt the Benefit of his Goſpel and Miracles to his own Country; he heals the Centurion's Servant upon the Motive of his being a Friend to the *Jewiſh* Nation; and moſt tender at the Lamentation over the approaching Deſolation of his Country, and his Interceſſion for it [illegible] his dying Breath. St. *Paul* could even wiſh himſelf accurſed for his Countrymen, his Brethren, and Kinſmen after the Fleſh. I am of Opinion, that the Decay of Publick Spirit at this Time is much owing to the Decay of Virtue, and of that true Religion, which is always free from Bigotry and Superſtition, and a perſecuting Spirit.

Q. *What would'ſt thou do for thy Country?*

A. I would die to procure its Proſperity

And I would rather that my Poſterity were cut off, than that they ſhould be Slaves; but as Providence at preſent requires none of thoſe Sacrifices, I content myſelf to diſcharge the ordinary Duties of my Station, and to exhort my Neighbours to do the ſame.

Q. *What are the Duties of your Station?*

A. To endeavour as far as I am able, to preſerve the publick Tranquillity; and as I am a Freeholder, to give my Vote for the Candidate whom I judge moſt worthy to ſerve his Country: For if for any partial Motive I ſhould give my Vote for one unworthy, I ſhould think myſelf juſtly chargeable with his Guilt.

Q. *Thou haſt perhaps but one Vote of Five Hundred, and the Member perhaps one of Five Hundred more; then your Share of the Guilt is but ſmall?*

A. As he who aſſiſts at a Murder is guilty of Murder, ſo he who acts the loweſt Part in the enſlaving his Country, is guilty of a much greater Crime than Murder.

Q. *Is enſlaving one's Country a greater Crime than Murder?*

A. Yes: Inaſmuch as the Murder of human Nature is a greater Crime than the Murder of a human Creature; or as he who debaſeth and rendereth miſerable the Race of Mankind, is more wicked than he who cutteth off an Individual.

Q. *Why is enſlaving Mankind murdering human Nature?*

A. Becauſe Mankind, in a State of Slavery and Freedom, is a different Sort of Creature; for Proof of this I have read what the Greeks were of old, and what they are now in a State of Slavery.

Q. *What is become of the Heroes, Philoſophers, Orators, and free Citizens of* Greece?

A. They are now Slaves to the *Great Turk*.

Q. *What is become of the* Scipio's *and* Cato's *of* Rome?

A. They ſing now on the *Engliſh* Stage.

Q. *Does not the Tranquillity occaſioned by abſolute Monarchy make the Country thrive?*

A. Peace and Plenty are not the genuine fruits of abſolute Monarchy; for abſolute Monarchies are more ſubject to Convulſions, than free Governments, and Slavery turneth the fruitful Plains into a Deſart; whereas Liberty, like the Dew from Heaven, fructifieth the barren Mountains. This I have learn'd from Travellers, who have viſited Countries in both Conditions; therefore, as I ſaid before, I ſhould reckon myſelf guilty of the greateſt Crime human Nature is capable of, if I were any Ways acceſſary to the enſlaving my Country; tho' I have but one Vote, many Unites make a Number, and if every Elector ſhould reaſon after the ſame Manner, that he has but one; what muſt become of the Whole? A Law of great Conſequence, and the Election of the Member who voteth for that Law, may be both carried by one Vote; great and important Services for the Liberties of their Country, have been done by ordinary Men: I have read that the Inſtitution of the Tribunes of *Rome*, or the whole Power of the Commons, was owing to a Word ſpoke in Seaſon by a common Man.

Q. *Is it not lawful then to take a Bribe from a Perſon otherwiſe worthy to ſerve his Country?*

A. No more than for a Judge to take a Bribe for a righteous Sentence; nor is it any more lawful to corrupt, than to commit Evil that Good may come of it: Corruption converts a good Action into Wickedneſs. Bribery of all Sorts is contrary to the Law of God; it is a heinous Sin, often puniſhed with the ſevereſt Judgments; it involves in it the Sin of Perjury as the Law ſtands now, and is beſides the greateſt Folly and Madneſs.

Q. *How is it contrary to the Law of God?*

A. The Law of God ſaith expreſsly, *Thou ſhalt not wreſt Judgment; Thou ſhalt not take a Gift:* If it is a Sin in a Judge, it is much more in a Lawgiver, or an Elector; becauſe the Miſchiefs occaſioned by the firſt reach only to Individuals, that of the laſt may affect whole Nations, and even the Generations to come. The Pſalmiſt deſcribing the Wicked, ſaith, *his right Hand is full of Bribes:* The Prophet deſcribing the Righteous, tells us, *he ſhaketh his Hands from holding a Bribe: Samuel* juſtifying his Innocence, appeals to the People, *of whoſe Hands have I taken a Bribe?* Then as to divine Vengeance, holy *Job* tells us, *that God ſhall deſtroy the Tabernacle of Bribery. Achan's* Avarice who had appropriated to his own Uſe the golden Wedge and the *Babyloniſh* Garment, brought the Judgment of God upon the whole People, ſo that they fled before their Enemies, till the Criminal was diſcovered and ſtoned to Death. The Leproſy adhered to *Gehazi* (the Servant of *Eliſha*) and his Houſe for ever, for taking a Bribe from *Naaman* a rich Miniſter of a great Prince: Therefore he that taketh a Bribe may juſtly expect what is threatned in Holy Writ; *He ſhall not proſper in his Way, neither ſhall his Subſtance continue; his Silver and Gold ſhall not be able to deliver him in the Day of the Wrath of the Lord.*

Q. *Why is he that taketh a Bribe guilty of the Sin of Perjury?*

A. Becauſe he ſweareth,

I A. B. *do ſwear* (or being one of the People called Quakers, *I* A. B. *do ſolemnly affirm*) *I have not received, or had by myſelf, or any Perſon whatſoever in Truſt for me, or for my Uſe and Benefit, directly or indirectly, any Sum or Sums of Money, Office, Place, or Employment, Gift, or Reward, or any Promiſe or Security for any Money, Office, Employment, or Gift, in order to give my Vote at this Elec-*

tion

tion, and that I have not before been polled at this Election.

Q. *What thinkeſt thou of thoſe who are bribed by Gluttony and Drunkenneſs?*

A. That they are viler than *Eſau* who ſold his Birth-right for a Meſs of Porridge.

Q. *Why is taking a Bribe Folly or Madneſs?*

A. Becauſe I muſt refund ten-fold in Taxes of what I take in Election; and the Member who bought me, has a fair Pretence to ſell me, nor can I in ſuch a Caſe have any juſt Cauſe of Complaint.

Q. *What wilt thou ſay then to the Candidate that offers thee a Bribe?*

A. I will ſay, 'Thy Money periſh with 'thee; as thou art now purchaſing thy Seat 'in Parliament, I have juſt Reaſon to ſuſpect 'that thou reſolveſt to ſell thy Vote; what 'thou offereſt, and what thou promiſeſt may 'be the Price of the Liberty of my Country: 'I will not only reject thy Bribe with Diſdain, 'but will vote againſt thee.'

Q. *Is not the Juſtice of a King, ſufficient Security for the Liberty of the People?*

A. The People ought to have more Security for all that is valuable in the World, than the Will of a mortal and fallible Man: A King of *Britain* may make as many Peers, and ſuch, as he pleaſeth; therefore the laſt and beſt Security for the Liberties of the People, is a Houſe of Commons Genuine and Independent.

Q. *What meaneſt thou by a Genuine Houſe of Commons?*

A. One that is the lawful Iſſue of the People, and no Baſtard.

Q. *How is a Baſtard Houſe of Commons produc'd?*

A. When the People by Terror, Corruption, or other indirect Means, chuſes ſuch as they otherwiſe would not chuſe; when ſuch as are fairly choſen, are not returned; when ſuch as are returned, are turn'd out by partial Votes in controverted Elections, and others not fairly choſen ſet in their Places.

Q. *How may a Houſe of Commons become dependent?*

A. When the Freedom of Voting is deſtroy'd by Threatnings, Promiſes, Puniſhments, and Rewards, by the open Force of the Government, or the Inſults of the Populace; but above all by private Influence; for they who are armed with the Power of the Crown, have many Ways of gratifying ſuch as are ſubſervient to their Deſigns, and many Ways of oppreſſing ſuch as oppoſe them, both within the Bounds of the Law.

Q. *Can a King have a more faithful Counſil than a Houſe of Commons, which ſpeaketh the Senſe of the People?*

A. None: For they will not only give him impartial Counſel, but will powerfully and chearfully aſſiſt him to execute what they adviſe.

Q. *What are the Marks of a Perſon worthy to ſerve his Country in Parliament?*

A. The Marks of a good Ruler given in Scripture will ſerve for a Parliament-man; *Such as rule over you ſhall be Men of Truth, hating Covetouſneſs, they ſhall not take a Gift, they ſhall not be afraid of the Face of a Man, Deut.* xvi. Therefore I conclude, That the Marks of a good Parliament-man are Riches with Frugality, Integrity, Courage, being well affected to the Conſtitution, Knowledge of the State of the Country, being prudently frugal of the Money, careful of the Trade, and zealous over the Liberties of the People, having ſtuck to the Intereſts of their Country in perilous Times, and being aſſiduous in Attendance.

Q. *Who is moſt likely to take a Bribe?*

A. He who offereth one.

Q. *Who is likely to be frugal of the People's Money?*

A. He who puts none of it in his own Pocket.

Q. *You ſeem by this to be averſe from chuſing ſuch as accept Places and Gratuities from the Crown; what is your Reaſon for this Partiality?*

A. I am far from thinking that a Man may not ſerve his King, and Country faithfully at the ſame Time: Nay their Intereſts are inſeparable. Mr. Such-an-one, my Lord's Steward is a very honeſt Man, and yet if I had any Affairs to ſettle with my Lord, I would chuſe my Neighbour for a Referree rather than my Lord's Steward.

Q. *Why is Frugality of the People's Money ſo neceſſary at this Time?*

A. Becauſe they have run out much, and are ſtill much in Debt: My Father and I have paid our Share of One Hundred Millions, and I have heard there are near Fifty more to pay: I grudge not this prodigious Expence, as far as it has been the neceſſary Price of Liberty; but as it would grieve me much to ſee this Bleſſing raviſh'd from me which has coſt me ſo dear; ſo on the other Hand I think it expedient to ſave, now the Affair is over, and the Government ſettled.

Q. *Who are thoſe who are careful of the Trade of the Nation?*

A. Such as are willing to keep it free from all vexatious Interruptions by Inſpections, entering into Houſes, Seizures, Suits, and the Oppreſſion of Tax-gatherers, as much as poſſible; ſuch as are willing to take off the burdenſome Duties which encreaſe the Expence of the Workman, and conſequently the Price of our Manufacture.

Q. *But as you have an Freehold, would you not be willing to be exeus'd from paying Two Shillings in the Pound by laying Exciſe upon other Parts of our Conſumption?*

A. No Doubt but every landed Man would

be glad to be free from paying two Shillings in the Pound; but at the ſame Time I would not raiſe by another Tax two Shillings in the Pound, nor one Shilling in the Pound for a Perpetuity. For Parliaments who have no more to give, may be diſappointed in the Redreſs of their Grievances. Beſides, I would not be deluded by an Impoſſibility; for if my Tenant has any new Tax laid upon him, I am afraid he will not pay me ſo much Rent; ſo that the new Tax muſt ſtill affect Land. Then it is utterly impoſſible to raiſe by Exciſes what ſhall be equivalent to two Shillings in the Pound without the Ruin of Trade; for the Exciſes which are ſettled already, generally ſpeaking, raiſe double the Duty upon the People, of what they bring in to the Government.

Q. *How canſt thou prove that?*

A. By Experience of ſeveral Exciſes, as of Leather, Candles, Soap, *&c.* Whatever is brought into the Publick by thoſe Exciſes, is raiſed double upon the People; therefore if a Million of Money, or what is equivalent to two Shillings in the Pound, were levy'd by Exciſe, it would be two Millions upon the exciſed Commodities, which muſt deſtroy every Subject of Trade in *Britain*.

Q. *Why doſt thou inſiſt, That a Knowledge of the State of the Country is a neceſſary Qualification for a Parliament-Man?*

A. Becauſe this is a Qualification, of late, very much unheeded: I have heard that there are many Corporations that never ſaw their Members.

Q. *Is then a Writ of Parliament only a* Congé d' Elire *for a Biſhop, where the King nominates?*

A. God forbid; the Crown is never to meddle in an Election.

Q. *Why is aſſiduous Attendance ſo neceſſary?*

A. Becauſe a Parliament-Man is entruſted with the Lives, Liberties and Properties of the People, which have often been endangered by the Non-Attendance of many Members; becauſe if Repreſentatives do not attend, I may have a Law impoſed upon me, to which I had no Opportunity of giving my Aſſent.

Q. *Thou haſt prudently and juſtly reſolv'd to promote, to the utmoſt of thy Power, the publick Tranquillity; what are the Advantages thou propoſeſt from that?*

A. All the Advantages reſulting from political Society depend upon the publick Tranquillity: Beſides, by publick Tranquillity, Armies, which are a Mark of Diſtruſt of the Affections of the People, may be diſbanded.

Q. *Why doſt thou not love Armies in Time of Peace?*

A. Becauſe Armies have overturn'd the Liberties of moſt Countries; and all who are well affected to Liberty, ever hated them; becauſe they are ſubject to an implicit Obedience to their Officers, and to a Law of their own; becauſe they are ſo many luſty Men taken from Work, and maintain'd at an extravagant Expence upon the Labour of the reſt; becauſe they are many Ways burdenſome to the People in their Quarters, even under the beſt Diſcipline, eſpecially in dear Countries; becauſe there are ſo many more Preferments in the Hands of deſigning Miniſters; and, laſtly, becauſe the King will never be deny'd an Army as great as he pleaſeth, when it is neceſſary.

Q. *Thou rightly judgeſt of thy Happineſs in being a Member of a political Society, govern'd by Laws, to which the People give their Conſent: Thou haſt been likewiſe well inſtructed in the fundamental Laws of the Government, and art well aware of the wicked and abominable Practices that undermine, and are likely to overturn the Conſtitution: Be thou likewiſe verily perſuaded that the equitable and fundamental Laws of a Nation are, in a ſound Senſe, ſtamp'd with a divine Authority; and that the good Order, Peace, and Happineſs of the Society is firmly connected with a ſtrict Obſervance of them. That the Proſperity of Nations depends upon their Virtue, not only as an Effect upon its natural Cauſe, but by the immutable Appointment of divine Juſtice, by which political Societies muſt receive their Rewards and Puniſhments in this World, ſince they have no Being in the next; conſequently the Threatnings and Promiſes which occur in the Old Teſtament are, in a proper ſenſe, as applicable to other Nations as the* Iſraelites; *therefore thou and all the People of this Land may ſuppoſe that God Almighty ſpeaketh to them as he ſpoke by* Moſes *unto the* Iſraelites, Deut. xxviii. 1. And it ſhall come to paſs, if thou ſhalt hearken diligently unto the Voice of the Lord thy God, to obſerve and do all his Commandments, *(that is the Laws of their Conſtitution)* which I command thee this Day; that the Lord thy God will ſet thee on high above all Nations of the Earth, *&c. Verſe* 15. But it ſhall come to paſs, if thou wilt not hearken unto the Voice of the Lord thy God, to obſerve to do all his Commandments and his Statutes which I command thee this Day; that all theſe Curſes ſhall come upon thee and overtake thee. Curſed ſhalt thou be in the City, and curſed ſhalt thou be in the Field. Curſed ſhall be thy Baſket and thy Store. Curſed ſhall be the Fruit of thy Body, and the Fruit of thy Land, the Increaſe of thy Kine, and the Flocks of thy Sheep. Curſed ſhalt thou be when thou comeſt in, and curſed ſhalt thou be when thou goeſt out, *&c. &c.*

Die Mercurii, 13° Februarii, 1733.

THE Duke of *Marlborough* preſented to the Houſe a Bill intituled, *An Act for the better ſecuring the Conſtitution, by preventing the Officers of ſuch Land Forces, as ſhall at any Time be allow'd by Authority of Parliament, from being depriv'd of their Commiſſions, otherwiſe than by Judgment of a Court Martial, to be held for that Purpoſe, or by Addreſs of either Houſe of Parliament:* And the ſame was read.

Mov'd, to order, that the ſaid Bill be read a ſecond Time on *Tueſday* next.

Which being objected to, and it being alſo mov'd to reject the ſaid Bill,

After Debate,

The Queſtion was put upon the firſt Motion,

It was reſolved in the Negative.

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Diſſentient

1. Becauſe the Exigence of Affairs in Times paſt, or Complaiſance of former Parliaments, have, for ſeveral Years, occaſioned the keeping up a conſiderable Body of Land Forces in this Kingdom; and, as various Events may happen, to oblige future Parliaments to purſue the ſame Meaſures, which nothing but the utmoſt Neceſſity can juſtify, they being repugnant to the Nature of our Conſtitution, and dangerous to the Liberties of a free People; and, as the whole Diſpoſition of the ſaid Forces is abſolutely in the Crown: We cannot but think it highly reaſonable, that when ſo great an Increaſe of Power and Influence, which was formerly occaſional and rare, comes to be annually veſted, and conſtantly exerciſed by the Crown, that ſome ſuch Limitations, as propos'd by this Bill, are not only proper, but neceſſary. And we are confirm'd in that Opinion, by the Doctrine ſo often and ſo ſtrongly laid down in this Houſe, that the greateſt Danger to this Nation from a ſtanding military Force, muſt ariſe from the Abuſe of the Power which now ſubſiſts, of Caſhiering Officers without any Crime prov'd or alledg'd, and of garbling the Army at Pleaſure. And we heartily wiſh, that nothing had ſince happen'd, to put us in Mind of that Doctrine.

2. Becauſe the employing or removing of all General Officers would have been left in the Crown, if this Bill had paſs'd into a Law; for the enacting Clauſes were only to this Purpoſe, That no Colonel, or other Officer of inferior Degree, having his Commiſſion from the Crown, ſhall be caſhier'd or remov'd (other than to a higher Poſt) or diſcharg'd from his Commiſſion, or be depriv'd of the Pay belonging to the ſame, in any other Manner than by a Court Martial, to be appointed by a Commiſſion under His Majeſty's Sign Manual to any Officer, not under the Degree of a Field Officer; at the ſame Time there is no Proviſion in the Bill, that nothing ſhall extend to prevent His Majeſty, or His Succeſſors, from diſbanding, breaking, or reducing all, or any of the Regiments, Troops, or Companies now in Being, or which ſhall, or may be rais'd hereafter. And it is further provided, That His Majeſty and His Succeſſors may remove any Officer, upon an Addreſs of either Houſe of Parliament. We conceive therefore, that, as theſe Poſts would ſtill have remain'd, upon all Vacancies, in the ſole Diſpoſal of His Majeſty, and that the Perſons now poſſeſſing them are liable to be remov'd for any Breach, or Neglect of Duty, by a Court Martial, or by Addreſs of either Houſe of Parliament, the Prerogative of the Crown would be no other Ways abridg'd or alter'd, than it has been on many other Occaſions, particularly in that Inſtance, of making the Judges to hold their Places, *Quamdiu ſe bene geſſerint*, which were formerly during Pleaſure only? Which Alteration has been always approv'd, and we hope will, in no Time to come, ever be attempted to be repeal'd.

3. Becauſe the Practice of all the Nations in *Europe*, even where the Government is moſt arbitrary, juſtifies the Intention of this Bill; for no Inſtance can be produced in any other Kingdom or State (as we believe) where Officers are caſhier'd or depriv'd of their Commiſſions, otherwiſe than by the Judgment of a Court Martial; how much ſtronger Reaſon then have we of this Nation to eſtabliſh ſuch a Rule, ſince our Officers are many of them in a Capacity of having a Share in the Legiſlature, where it is abſolutely neceſſary for the Preſervation of the Conſtitution, that every Member ſhould be free and independent; and more particularly at this Time, when we find the Number of Officers having Seats in Parliament far greater than ever it was, even in Time of War, when above three Times the Number of the preſent Troops were kept on Foot?

4. Altho' it was objected in the Debate, that, in Time of Danger, upon Suſpicion of traiterous Practices, it might be neceſſary to remove an Officer from his Poſt, tho' the Informations might not be ready to be produc'd, or proper to be laid before a Court Martial; and yet by ſuch Officers continuing in their Poſt, great Miſchiefs might accrue to his Majeſty and the Publick: We apprehend, that Objection receiv'd a full Anſwer, that, in ſuch a Caſe, an Officer might be immediately put under Arreſt, or ſent to ſome other Poſt, where he could not be ſo dangerous. And we conceive, ſuch a Method of Proceeding will always be thought moſt proper, when the Crime is only ſuſpected, but not capable of legal Proof; for it muſt be allow'd as unjuſt to condemn a Man upon Suſpicion only,

nly, as it would be unreaſonable, to let a *Man continue in Power*, who is *juſtly* under *ſuſpicion*; that Part of the Prerogative, which will always be eſteem'd the brighteſt Jewel of the Crown, the Power of conferring Grace and Favour, would have remain'd entire, had this Bill paſs'd into a Law; only the diſagreeable Part, of inflicting Puniſhments, was deſign'd to be limited, or rather ſecur'd by this Bill, from being turn'd to an ill Uſe, by the private Whiſpers of ſome *malicious* or *vindictive Miniſter*, who may, at any Time hereafter, unhappily get Poſſeſſion of the Royal Ear.

5. Becauſe the Time for the new Elections drawing near, we look upon this as the moſt favourable Opportunity of paſſing ſo neceſſary a Bill, ſince hereafter the very great Increaſe, which may probably happen, of the Number of Officers in Parliament, may render the future paſſing of ſuch Bill totally impracticable: For while the Officers of the Army remain in their preſent precarious Situation, they may be intimidated by the Threats of an *unforgiving Miniſter*, from voting even for a Bill of this Nature, and chuſe to purchaſe preſent Security at the Price of their own Intereſt, and their future Independence in Parliament, in which the Liberty of their Country is ſo much concern'd.

6. Becauſe we conceive the ſmall Degree of Independence propos'd to be given to the Officers of the Army by this Bill, to be neceſſary to prevent their being expoſed to Temptation, in which (tho' we are ready to do Juſtice to the Sentiments of Honour and Virtue in theſe Gentlemen) we ſhould rather lament than wonder, to find a diſcourag'd and indigent Virtue yield to a criminal, but proſperous Compliance; eſpecially ſhould we have the Misfortune, to ſee an *imperious*, *all-graſping*, *Power-engroſſing Miniſter*, who may make their political Submiſſion to his oppreſſive and deſtructive Schemes, the only Teſt of their Merit, and the only Tenure of their Commiſſions.

Wincheſſea &	*Willoughby de Br.*	*Bruce*
Nottingham	*Clinton*	*Strafford*
Scarſdale	*Boyle*	*Batburſt*
Warrington	*Berkſhire*	*Bedford*
Suffolk	*Maſham*	*Bolton*
Marlborough	*Denbigh*	*Cobham*
Marchmont	*Litchfield*	*Tadcaſter*
Weymouth	*Craven*	*Bridgewater*
Tweedale	*Montroſe*	*Cardigan*
Cheſterfield	*Ker*	*Gryffin*
Carteret	*Gower*	*Foley*
Oxford & Mort.		

Then the Queſtion was put, whether the aforemention'd Bill ſhall be rejected,

It was reſolv'd in the Affirmative.

Mov'd, that an humble Addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, that he will be graciouſly pleas'd to acquaint this Houſe, who adviſ'd his Majeſty to remove the Duke of *Bolton*, and the Lord Viſcount *Cobham*, from their reſpective Regiments, and what Crimes were laid to their Charge.

The ſame was likewiſe objected to.

After further Debate, the Queſtion was put thereupon,

And it was reſolved in the Negative.

Content 48. Not Content 77.

Diſſentient

1. Becauſe we conceive 'tis the inherent Right of this Houſe to addreſs the Crown, to be inform'd, who are the Adviſers of any Meaſures that may be prejudicial to his Majeſty's Government, or dangerous to the Liberties of the Nation.

2. Becauſe the Removal of two Officers, of ſuch Rank and Dignity, and of ſuch known Fidelity to his Majeſty's Perſon and Government, without any Cauſe aſſign'd, or any known or alledg'd Neglect of their Duty, gave the greateſt Alarm to many of his Majeſty's moſt faithful Subjects; we therefore thought it for his Majeſty's Service, to give him this Occaſion to publiſh to the World, the juſt Grounds of his Diſpleaſure, or to detect the Calumny of their Accuſers; and conſequently to withdraw his Confidence from ſuch pernicious Counſellors.

3. Becauſe, that as the Practice of diſplacing Officers has grown more frequent in Proportion to the Increaſe of their Numbers in both Houſes of Parliament, the World may entertain (however unjuſtly) an Opinion, that the free Uſe of their Votes has been the real Cauſe of their Diſgrace, and the more ſo, ſince moſt of the Perſons, who have been remov'd, have happen'd to be Members of one or other Houſe of Parliament.

4. Becauſe Applications of this Nature to the Crown may hereafter protect many of his Majeſty's faithful Subjects from the ſecret malicious Repreſentations of ſome Miniſter in future Time, who (tho' unreſtrain'd by any Senſe of Truth, regardleſs of his Prince's real Intereſt, and animated only by his own Paſſions) may however be check'd by the juſt Apprehenſions that the Applications of Parliament may lay open his Calumnies, and bring upon himſelf the Diſgrace he had prepared for others.

Wincheſſea	*Northampton*	*Boyle*
and	*Weymouth*	*Maſham*
Nottingham	*Oxford* and	*Carteret*
Strafford	*Mortim.*	*Cardigan*
Warrington	*Willoughby de Br.*	*Ker*
Angleſey	*Clinton*	*Bruce*
Denbigh	*Batburſt*	*Scarſdale*
Marlborough	*Briſtol*	*Suffolk*
Marchmont	*Abingdon*	*Berkſhire*
Tweedale	*Bedford*	*Craven*
Montroſe	*Gryffin*	*Litchfield*
Bridgwater	*Montjoy*	*Gower*
Tadcaſter	*Cheſterfield*	*Foley*

Diſſentient.

Becauſe we were not conſcious, that any Neglect or Breach of our Duty can be laid to our Charge, much leſs any Want of Zeal and Attachment for his Majeſty's Perſon and Government; we therefore muſt teſtify our earneſt Deſire, that this Motion had paſs'd in the Affirmative, that we might have had an Opportunity given us of knowing our ſuppoſed Crimes and Accuſers; and we hope, of juſtifying ourſelves to his Majeſty and the World.

Bolton, Cobham.

COPY of the BILL.

WHEREAS, in Time of Peace, no Standing Army can be raiſed but by the Authority of Parliament: And whereas the Safety and Liberties of this Nation do (in a great Meaſure) depend upon the Experience and Virtue of the Officers to whom the Command of the Army ſhall be entruſted, whenever any military Force ſhall be judged proper to be raiſed or kept on Foot. Now, to the End that Perſons of Fortune and Virtue may be encouraged to expoſe their Lives for the Safety and Liberties of their Country, and not be ſubject, by ſecret and malicious Repreſentations, to be caſhier'd or remov'd from their reſpective Poſts in the Army, without any Charge or Pretence of Neglect or Breach of Duty, or without any Examination or Trial whatſoever: May it pleaſe your Moſt Excellent Majeſty, that it may be enacted, and be it enacted by the King's Moſt Excellent Majeſty, by and with the Conſent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in this preſent Parliament aſſembled, and by the Authority of the ſame, that from and after the Day of no Captain of any of his Majeſty's Troops of Guards, or any Commiſſion Officer under them, nor any Colonel, Lieutenant Colonel, or Major of any Regiment, or Captain, Lieutenant, Cornet or Enſign of any Troop or Company, belonging to any Regiment, or of any independent Troop or Company, or any Officer under them, having his Commiſſion from the Crown, ſhall be caſhier'd or remov'd (other than to an higher Poſt) or diſcharged from his Commiſſion, or be depriv'd of the Pay belonging to the ſame, in any other Manner than is hereafter preſcribed; any Uſage to the contrary notwithſtanding.

And be it further Enacted by the Authority aforeſaid, that if any of the Officers before named ſhall be guilty of any Breach of Duty, or otherwiſe miſbehave themſelves in the ſaid Offices, that then it ſhall and may be lawful for his Majeſty, his Heirs and Succeſſors, to grant a Commiſſion under his or their Sign Manual, to any Officer, not under the Degree of a Field Officer, to try ſuch Perſon by a Court Martial, in ſuch Manner and Form, and ſubject to ſuch Rules, Regulations and Methods of Trial, as have been uſually obſerved in Courts Martial, for trying Perſons for Neglect of Duty, or other Miſbehaviour in the Army, and to caſhier, remove, or diſcharge any Officer whatſoever, if ſuch Court Martial ſhall adjudge the ſame; any Thing herein contained to the contrary notwithſtanding.

Provided always, that nothing herein contained ſhall extend, or be conſtrued to extend, to hinder or prevent his Majeſty, his Heirs or Succeſſors, from diſbanding, breaking, or reducing all, or any of the Regiments, Troops, or Companies now in being, or which ſhall or may be raiſed hereafter, whenever his Majeſty, his Heirs or Succeſſors ſhall think fit to diſband or reduce the ſame.

Provided alſo, that it ſhall and may be lawful for his Majeſty, his Heirs and Succeſſors, to caſhier or remove, any Officer whatſoever, upon an Addreſs from either Houſe of Parliament for that Purpoſe.

Die Mercurii, 6° Martii 1733.

THE Order of the Day being read, for the Houſe to take into Conſideration Matters relating to the Election of the Peers of that Part of *Great Britain* called *Scotland*.

Moved to reſolve, that no Peer who hath claimed, or ſhall claim Right by Succeſſion to any Peerage of *Scotland*, other than a Deſcendant of a Body of a Peer, or Peers, who has been in the Poſſeſſion of the Peerage claimed, ſince the 25th of *April* 1690, ſhall be admitted to vote at any Election of a Peer or Peers to ſit in Parliament, for that Part of *Great Britain* called *Scotland*, until his Right and Title be claimed and determined in this Houſe.

After Debate,

Ordered, That on *Monday* next this Houſe ſhall be put into a Committee of the whole Houſe, to take into Conſideration Matters relating to the Election of the Peers of that Part of *Great Britain* called *Scotland*.

Then it was moved to reſolve, for the better ſecuring the Freedom of the Election of a Peer or Peers to ſit in the Parliament of *Great Britain*, on the Part of *Scotland*, that the Election ſhall be by Way of Ballot.

And a Queſtion being ſtated thereupon,

After further Debate,

The Queſtion was put upon the ſaid Motion, and it was reſolved in the Negative.

Diſſentient.

1. Becauſe this Motion tending only to make a Variation in the Manner of electing the Peers for *Scotland*, we apprehend it was entirely agreeable to the Intention of the 22d Article of the Union. For, whatever can contribute to make the Election more free and independent, the more it anſwers the Deſign of that Article; and we muſt obſerve, that this Houſe has been ſo far from thinking the Manner of Election unalterable, that it

Bill paſſed this Houſe, by which the Election itſelf was entirely aboliſhed.

2. Becauſe, in an Election of this Nature, the Method of voting by Ballot appears to us infinitely preferable, on many Accounts. For, as it is well known, there are ſeveral Alliances among that Body of Nobility, many of the Peers may be put under great Difficulties, their Alliances drawing them one Way, and their Opinion and Inclination another Way. It is alſo poſſible, that by Penſions from the Crown, or by Civil or Military Preferments, ſome of them may lie under Obligations to a Court, and be reduced to the hard Neceſſity (under the Power of an *arbitrary Miniſter*) either of loſing their Employments, or of voting againſt their neareſt Relations, and their own Opinion alſo. We apprehend, that no Election can be called perfectly free, where any Number of the Electors are under any Influence whatſoever, by which they may be biaſs'd in the Freedom of their Choice.

3. Becauſe we apprehend, that this Houſe is in a moſt eſſential Manner concern'd in the Freedom of this Election; for if ſixteen new Members are to be brought in every new Parliament, under uny undue Influence, it may tend to ſubvert the Independence of this Houſe, and, of Conſequence, the Conſtitution of the whole Kingdom. By Means of ſuch an Election, an *ambitious Miniſter* may make Uſe of the Power of the Crown, at one Time to deſtroy the Intereſt of the Crown, at another to oppreſs the Liberty of his Fellow-Subjects, and by different Turns protect himſelf from the juſt Reſentment of both.

4. As this Houſe is the higheſt Court of Judicature, and the laſt Reſort in all Matters relating to the Properties of the Subjects of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, we conceive, that every Perſon who is Maſter of any Property, is concern'd in the Conſequence of this Motion; for if ſixteen of theſe Members, in whoſe Hands this great Truſt is veſted, ſhould ever be thought to be in the *Nomination of a Miniſter*, the Subjects of theſe Kingdoms may have great Reaſon to dread the Conſequence of ſuch an unwarrantable Influence, by which their Liberties, Lives, and Properties might be rendered precarious.

Boyle	*Cardigan*	*Berkſhire*
Bedford	*Bolton*	*Oxford*
Carteret	*Haverſham*	and
Weymouth	*Marchmont*	*Mortimer*
Cobham	*Bathurſt*	*Willoughby de Br.*
Cheſterfield	*Marlborough*	*Clinton*
Montroſe	*Winchelſea*	*Ayleſford*
Coventry	*Bruce*	*Montjoy*
Strafford	*Ker*	*Tweedale*
Northampton	*Warrington*	*Stair*
Denbigh	*Gower*	*Briſtol*
Foley	*Tadcaſter*	*Litchfield*

Die Lunæ, 18° Martii 1733.

THE Order of the Day being read for taking into Conſideration Matters relating to the Election of the Peers of that Part of *Great Britain* called *Scotland*,

It was moved to reſolve, that it is the Opinion of this Houſe, that any Perſon or Perſons taking upon him or them to engage any Peers of *Scotland* by Threats, Promiſe of Place or Penſion, or any Reward of Gratuity from the Crown whatſoever, is an Encroachment on the Freedom of Elections, and highly injurious to the Honour of the Peerage.

And a Queſtion being ſtated thereupon.

After Debate,

It was moved to put the previous Queſtion.

After further Debate,

The previous Queſtion was put, Whether the ſaid ſtated Queſtion ſhall be now put?

It was reſolved in the Negative.

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Diſſentient

1. Becauſe we apprehend, that this Reſolution, being only declaratory of undeniable Truths, ought not to be avoided by a previous Queſtion, ſince we fear the leaving it undetermined may tend to encourage Practices dangerous to our Conſtitution in general, and to the Honour and Dignity of this Houſe in particular.

2. Becauſe we think this Houſe cannot ſhew too ſtrong an Abhorrence of Practices, which, whether they have been committed or not in former Elections, are yet of ſuch a Nature, as may poſſibly be attempted by a Miniſter, who may find it neceſſary to try all Methods to ſecure a Majority in this Houſe, either to promote his *future ambitious Views*, or *ſcreen* his *paſt criminal Conduct*.

Suffolk	*Bolton*	*Abingdon*
Marchmont	*Cheſterfield*	*Strafford*
Shaftſbury	*Willoughby de Br.*	*Bathurſt*
Gower	*Tadcaſter*	*Coventry*
Winchelſea	*Cardigan*	*Berkſhire*
Bedford	*Foley*	*Thanet*
Ker	*Litchfield*	*Stair*
Briſtol	*Tweedale*	*Ayleſford*
Cobham	*Oxford* and	*Bruce*
Craven	*Mortimer*	*Northampton*
Griffin	*Marlborough*	*Montroſe*

Die Martis, 26° Martii 1734.

THE Houſe was moved, that the ſelect Committee appointed the 7th Inſtant, to conſider of the Repreſentation of the Commiſſioners for Trade and Plantations, relating to the Laws made, Manufactures ſet up, and Trade carried on, in any of his Majeſty's Colonies and Plantations in *America*, which may have affected the Trade, Navigation and

Manufactures of this Kingdom, be empowered to enquire of the proper Methods for the Encouragement and Security of all Trade and Manufactures in the ſaid Plantations, which no Way interfere with the Trade of *Great Britain*, and which may be of Uſe to the Trade of *Great Britain*, and for the better Security of the Plantations themſelves. And a Queſtion being ſtated thereupon,

It was propoſed after the Word [*Encouragement*] to leave out [*and Security.*]

Which being objected to, and Debate thereupon, the Queſtion was put, whether the Words [*and Security*] ſhall ſtand Part of the Queſtion?

It was reſolved in the Negative.

Content 28. Not Content 52.

Then it was propoſed, that theſe Words, at the latter End of the Motion, *viz.* (*and for the better Security of the Plantations themſelves*) be left out,

And the ſame being objected to,

The Queſtion was put, whether thoſe Words ſhall ſtand Part of the Queſtion?

It was reſolved in the Negative.

Diſſentient'

Becauſe we apprehend, that if the Safety of the Plantations themſelves is not thought a Matter worthy the Conſideration of the Parliament, it is of little Conſequence to conſider of their Laws, Manufacture, or Trade.

Bedford	*Tadcaſter*	*Aylesford*
Bathurſt	*Litchfield*	*Gower*
Berkſhire	*Thanet*	*Stair*
Tweedale	*Carteret*	*Northampton*
Abingdon	*Winchelſea* and	*Montroſe*
Coventry	*Nottingham*	*Briſtol*
Strafford	*Bolton*	*Marchmont.*

Then the Queſtion was put, whether the ſaid Committee ſhall be empowered to enquire of proper Methods for the Encouragement of all Trade and Manufactures of the Plantations in *America*, which no Way interfere with the Trade of *Great Britain*, or which may be of Uſe to *Great Britain*?

It was reſolved in the Negative.

Diſſentient'

1. Becauſe we apprehend, that the new Powers propoſed to be given to the Committee, were not only expedient, but abſolutely neceſſary, ſince (by the Account given by ſeveral Lords who attended the Committee, and contradicted by none) it appeared to the Houſe, that from the Informations of Merchants of undoubted Credit, *Jamaica*, *Barbadoes*, and the Leeward Iſlands, were in ſo defenceleſs and miſerable a Condition, that they might be taken in twenty four Hours; and we conceive, that ſuch imminent Danger of ſuch valuable Poſſeſſions required an immediate and minute Examination, in order to diſcover the Cauſes and Nature of the Danger, and to apply proper and adequate Remedies.

2. Becauſe we conceive, that the chief Reaſon urged in the Debate againſt this Enquiry, is the ſtrongeſt Argument imaginable for it, *viz.* That it might diſcover the Weakneſs of theſe Iſlands in the preſent critical Juncture of Affairs, and invite our Enemies to invade them: Whereas we think, that this critical Juncture calls upon us, to put our Poſſeſſions in a State of Defence and Security in all Events; and ſince we cannot ſuppoſe, that their preſent defenceleſs Condition is unknown to thoſe Powers who are the moſt likely to take the Advantage of it, we apprehend it to be both prudent and neceſſary, that thoſe Powers ſhould at the ſame Time know, that the Care and Attention of this Houſe was employed in providing for their Security. We conceive likewiſe, that ſuch an Argument may tend to debar a Houſe of Parliament from looking into any of our Affairs either foreign or domeſtick, if, in any Tranſaction at any Time there ſhall appear to have been a *weak*, *treacherous*, or *negligent Management*, the Directors will never fail to lay hold of that Argument, to ſtop any Parliamentary Enquiry; and the Fear of diſcovering a national Weakneſs may be urged only to prevent the Detection of *Miniſterial Negligence* or *Guilt*.

3. Becauſe we have found by Experience, that we can never be too attentive to the Preſervation of the Poſſeſſions and Dependencies of this Kingdom, ſince Treaties alone will not bind thoſe Powers, who from the Proximity of their Situations, from favourable Opportunities, or other Inducements, may be tempted to attack or invade them; but the Interpoſition of a *Britiſh* Parliament will be more expected, and more effectual, than the *Occaſional Expedients* of *fluctuating* and *variable Negotiations*, which, in former Times, have been often more adapted to the preſent Neceſſities of the *Miniſter*, than to the real Honour, and laſting Security of the Nation.

4. Becauſe we apprehend, the debarring this Houſe from any Enquiry into the Conduct of Miniſters for the Time paſt, or from giving their Advice in Matters of great Concern to the Publick, for the Time to come, tend to deſtroy the very Being of this Houſe, and of Conſequence, the whole Frame of our Conſtitution: And how melancholy a View muſt it be to all his Majeſty's Subjects, to ſee the private Property of ſo many Particulars, and ſo advantageous a Trade to the Whole, refuſed to be brought under the Inſpection of this Houſe, and yet (as far as it appears to us) totally neglected by the Adminiſtration? And we are the more ſurprized to find this Backwardneſs, with Regard to the Intereſt of our Colonies, ſince we are perſuaded, that the Balance of Trade at preſent, is againſt us in moſt Parts of the World, and only com-

mpenſated in ſome Degree by what we gain our *Weſt India* Trade: Neither can we al-w, that they ought to be left to look after emſelves, ſince they have a Right to claim en more than the Protection of their Mo-er Country, by the great Wealth they nually tranſmit to it, and the great Duties ey pay to the Increaſe of the publick nds, and the Civil Liſt; and we are fully nvinced, that if this beneficial Trade ould once be loſt, it will be irrecoverably t, to the infinite Damage of this King-m. For tho' the Iſlands ſhould be reſtored us afterwards, the Utenſils and Stock of egroes being carried away, it would take up long Tract of Time, and would be a very eat Expence to the Publick, to re-inſtate em in their preſent Condition: We rather ink it impracticable to reſtore them, tho' e can by no Means ſuppoſe it difficult by nely Precaution, to prevent their Deſtruction.

eſterfield	*Stair*	*Berkſhire*
dcaſter	*Bedford*	*Bathurſt*
ventry	*Northampton*	*Litchfield*
anet	*Strafford*	*Tweedale*
rteret	*Bolton*	*Gower*
inchelſea and *Nottingham*	*Montroſe*	*Marchmont*
	Abingdon	

Die Veneris, 29° *Martii*, 1734.

THE Order of the Day being read, for taking into Conſideration his Majeſty's ſt gracious Meſſage deliver'd to this Houſe ſterday,

t was moved to reſolve, That an humble dreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, to ex-ſs the dutiful and grateful Senſe which this uſe conceives of his Royal Care and At-tion for the Honour and Security of his gdoms: To declare their unalterable Fi-ty to his Majeſty, and their earneſt De-, that his Endeavours for an Accommoda-may be effectual, and that his Majeſty , in all Events, be in a Condition to e good ſuch Engagements as Honour, ice and Prudence may call upon him to or contract, and that his Dominions not be expoſed to any deſperate Attempts, ially at a Time when it may be impoſſi-for the great Council of the Nation to be diately convened: To give his Majeſty ſtrongeſt Aſſurances, that this Houſe will rfully ſupport him, in making ſuch further mentation of his Forces, either by Sea or , as ſhall be neceſſary for the Honour and nce of his Kingdoms; and in concerting ſuch ures as the Exigency of Affairs may re-; and to return his Majeſty the Thanks his Houſe for his gracious Declaration, an Account of any Augmentations made, ervices performed, ſhall be laid before the Parliament; this Houſe repoſing an en-onfidence in his Majeſty's royal Wiſdom aternal Concern for the true Intereſts of eople.

Which being objected to, and Debate thereupon,

The Queſtion was put, Whether ſuch Addreſs ſhall be preſented to his Majeſty?

It was reſolved in the Affirmative.

Contents	76	101	Not Cont.	39	58
Proxies	25		Proxies	19	

A *Diſſentient'*

Becauſe we are of Opinion, that no free People ſhould, on any Occaſion whatever, veſt in any Perſon an unlimited Power for an indefinite Time; and whenever they do, they at the ſame Time reſign their Liberty.

Abingdon	*Bathurſt*	*Ker*
Cobham	*Cheſterfield*	*Coventry*
Briſtol	*Carteret*	*Montjoy*
B *Marchmont*	*Berkſhire*	*Foley*
Burlington	*Oxford & Mort.*	*Thanet*
Litchfield	*Montroſe*	*Bedford*
Willoughby de Br.	*Weymouth*	*Tweedale*
Gower	*Shaftſbury*	*Cardigan*
Clinton	*Grabame*	*Craven*
Northampton	*Boyle*	*Winchelſea &*
Strafford	*Stair*	*Nottingham*

C *Ayleſford*

Diſſentient'

1. Becauſe we conceive an Addreſs of this Kind, impowering the Crown to raiſe Men and Money, without ſpecifying the Numbers or the Sum, is unwarranted by any Precedent, and is of the moſt dangerous Conſequence; for it ſeems to us totally to ſubvert the very Foundation of our Conſtitution, the Wiſdom D of our Anceſtors having provided many regular Steps, and ſolemn Forms, for granting Supplies to the Crown; whereas this new Method of a ſudden Addreſs upon a Meſſage, at once fruſtrates and eludes all thoſe wiſe and antient Precautions.

2. Becauſe the Hiſtory of ſeveral Countries, formerly free, furniſhes us with many fatal E Examples of the Abuſe of ſuch unlimited Powers, whenever the Eſtates of thoſe Countries have transferred the legiſlative Authority, of raiſing Money, from themſelves, by an ill-plac'd Confidence, into the Hands of a few. The *Cortes* of *Spain*, by truſting the Power of raiſing Money, without their being aſſembled, tho' but for one Year, and the Eſtates of *France*, by allowing the Aids for F the Defence of the Kingdom, to be raiſed for three or four Years together, without their being ſummoned to meet, have never been able to retrieve their antient Liberties and Conſtitution; but by their weak Compliance with ſuch a fatal Meaſure, were the unhappy Inſtruments of rendering themſelves uſeleſs, and of enſlaving their reſpective Countries.

G 3. Becauſe, tho' we have all poſſible Confidence in his Majeſty's Wiſdom and Juſtice, and all imaginable Zeal for the Honour and Support of his Perſon and Government, we cannot approve of a Meſſage, which, we are perſuaded, was both formed and adviſed by the

ſame

ſame Miniſters in whom thoſe extenſive and diſcretionary Powers are lodged by this Addreſs; and we ſee no Reaſon, by any Experience of their *paſt OEconomy*, to truſt them with the *arbitrary Diſpoſal* of an unlimited Sum, and as little Reaſon, from the *Succeſs* of their *former Alliances*, to give any Approbation to *paſt Treaties*, which have never been communicated to this Houſe, or a previous Sanction of any *future Treaties* they ſhall contract; eſpecially ſince, by their Multiplicity of Negotiations, they have involved the Nation in Engagements with divers foreign Powers, inconſiſtent (as we conceive) with one another; and, in ſo great a Variety, we can by no Means be ſure, that the *beſt* will be ſingled out to be fulfilled.

4. Becauſe the preſent unfortunate Situation of the Affairs of *Europe* cannot be repreſented as unforeſeen, or unexpected; ſince, from the gradual Progreſs of our Negotiations for ſome Years laſt paſt, the gradual Increaſe of the Diſorders and Confuſions in *Europe* has conſtantly been foretold. We therefore conceive, that had there not been ſome *ſecret Reaſon* for proceeding in this Manner (which *Reaſon* we will rather paſs over in Silence, than attempt to point out) the neceſſary Demands of Men and Money would have been laid before the Parliament at the Beginning of the Seſſion, according to the antient and regular Uſage, and which would as certainly have been granted by a Parliament, which has diſtinguiſhed itſelf by a remarkable Zeal, Duty and *Liberality* to the Throne.

5. We cannot think it prudent, in order to extricate ourſelves out of our preſent Difficulties, to lodge thoſe unlimited, and (as we apprehend) dangerous Powers, in the Hands of thoſe very Perſons, under whoſe Management and Conduct theſe Difficulties have been brought upon us; if (as we conceive) the National Debts are hardly leſſen'd by more than twenty Years Peace; if our ſucceſsful Fleets have proved a Terror to no Nation, but only a Burthen to our own: If our great Armies have diſturbed the Minds of none but his Majeſty's own Subjects; this extenſive Power of raiſing Money, Fleets and Armies, intruſted to us improperly intruſted in the Hands of *thoſe Miniſters*, who have made no better Uſe of the Confidence already repoſed in them.

6. We would, with the utmoſt Zeal, concur in whatever might increaſe to his Majeſty the Affections of his People at Home, or the Reſpect of his Neighbours Abroad: But this Zeal without Knowledge, we think, can tend to neither of thoſe deſirable Ends, but on the contrary, rather bring Contempt (as we apprehend) upon the too eaſy and implicit Faith of Parliaments, than add Weight and Dignity to thoſe Powers we lodge, without a viſible Reaſon, in the Hands of the Miniſters.

Gower	*Stair*	*Oxford & Mor.*
Litchfield	*Clinton*	*Marchmont*
Bathurſt	*Shaftſbury*	*Strafford*
Boyle	*Bedford*	*Carteret*
Cheſterfield	*Berkſhire*	*Ker*
Foley	*Northampton*	*Coventry*
Briſtol	*Thanet*	*Montjoy*
Grahame	*Craven*	*Cardigan*
Winchelſea &	*Cobham*	*Weymouth*
Nottingham	*Aylesford*	*Willoughby*
Tweedale	*Montroſe*	

A View of the Weekly ESSAYS *and* DISPUTES *in this Month.*

Weekly Miſcellany, March 30. N° 68.

The prevailing Itch of Politicks cenſur'd.

I Have read of a Perſon (ſays a Correſpondent of Mr. *Hooker's*) who by long Study found out all *Arts* and *Sciences* in *Homer*, and of another who undertook to draw out an exact Plan of *Church Government* from *Virgil*. If I were to form my Judgment of our *weekly political* Papers, from their Credit with their ſeveral Readers, I ſhould imagine they were not only excellent in their Way, but that they contain'd *every Thing* excellent, or uſeful: If any Thing of a different Nature offers itſelf, tho' written with great Force and Clearneſs of Argument, with great Propriety and Beauty of Expreſſion, yet it is rejected as flat and inſipid, or at leaſt not of Conſequence enough to deſerve Attention. If a *political* Paper be ever ſo inconcluſive in the argumentative Part, lifeleſs and inelegant in Stile and Language, yet ſo much Force and Beauty is there in the *Subject*, it requires no Ornament to ſet it off. *Serious* Subjects have been always taſteleſs to the Young, the Sprightly and the Gay; but now the Young, the Sprightly, and the Gay can reliſh the moſt ſerious Compoſition, if the Subject be *Politicks*. The *Belles Lettres* are no more; the *Muſes* diſcarded; even *Romances* are become *waſte Paper*: The *Beaux*, the *Poets*, and the *Ladies* attend the Lectures of your Brothers, *Cato D'Anvers*, and Mr. *Oſborne*. I can aſſure the Reader a very ſtrange Truth, that will ſerve as a ſufficient Inſtance of the Taſte of the Town: Dr. *Swift* publiſh'd a Piece of Wit about ſix Months ago, and the Impreſſion is now to be ſeen in the Bookſeller's warehouſe.

Such as Mens Taſte is for *Writings*, will be their Notion of *perſonal Merit*. Diſreliſh for every Thing that is not *political* will beget a Diſregard for every other Conſideration in *Characters*. If a chimney-ſweeping Writer may paſs for a *clever Fellow*,

llent one be undervalu'd, only becauſe he
es *for*, or *againſt our* Party; Men will
me *honeſt* or *diſhoneſt*, as they *agree* or
ree with us in our *Meaſures*. A little
ib, of not above a Sheet, let off at a pro-
Juncture, will eſtabliſh an Author's *Re-*
ation; he becomes at once a *great Genius*,
hout Parts. An *Election* is the only *Cri-*
n of *Virtue*. An *Infidel*, or a *Debauchee*,
vote himſelf a *worthy Gentleman*, the
nd and Favourite of the moſt *Orthodox*,
the moſt *Religious*; while another, with
he moſt valuable Accompliſhments, in an
ant is transform'd into a worthleſs, a-
lon'd Wretch: But let each of theſe Per-
the very next Week or Day, give a *con-*
Vote, and they immediately recover their
Characters; as in ſome *chymical* Preparati-
a ſingle Drop will ſtain and make foul a
Quantity of the cleareſt Liquor, and ano-
Drop, of a different Compoſition, ſhall
e it to its genuine Colour and Clearneſs.
would not willingly be miſunderſtood. It
from my Intentions, to depretiate the
racters, or Labours, or Conduct of any
lemen, who by their Writings or Inte-
endeavour to promote the Good of their
try. Your Brothers *D'Anvers* and *Oſ-*
may go on to defend their ſeveral Schemes
Meaſures; their Friends to maintain their
l Intereſts in the Country. They have a
t to do it; and if their Motives and Views
neſt, no Body can blame them for exer-
it. But thus far I take upon me to
nine, that *no* Party can be true Friends
ir *Country*, who are not Friends to *Reli-*
or promote the *laſting* Intereſt of one,
they neglect the Intereſt of the other.
religious and *wicked* People, can never be
riſing and *happy* People. It never was
Fact, nor ever can be ſo in *Nature*.
n ſhews the one, and Hiſtory the other.
ut ſome *ſettled* Principles, there can be
form Rule of Action, nor any *uniform*
, without an *uniform Senſe* of *Duty*.
lar Circumſtances may make it a Man's
Intereſt to conſult the *common Good*;
theſe Circumſtances will be continually
, his *Intereſt* and his *Conduct* will
with them. This is undoubtedly true
eſpect to *publick* Meaſures and Beha-
but in *private* Life it is more *appa-*
ſo. The various Paſſions and Inc ina-
Mankind will create *ſeparate* and *op-*
tereſts and Views. One Man's *Plea-*
be productive of another's *Uneaſineſs*;
leſs Men believe the great Truths of
, every Man's *Pleaſure* or *Satisfaction*
his *apparent Happineſs*; and his *appa-*
ppineſs will be his *Rule*, and *Motive*
. But if you take in the Conſidera-
a *God*, a *Providence*, and a *future*
ll theſe *claſhing Inclinations*, all theſe
Intereſts are reconcil'd. Upon the
t will be the real *Intereſt* and *Happi-*
neſs of every Individual, to obſerve ſuch Rules
of Behaviour, as will provide for the general
Peace, Order, and Harmony. Every one,
as far as he is under the Influence of *religious*
Principles and Motives, will act *properly* in
his Station; from whence the Health of the
Society muſt ariſe, as neceſſarily as the Health
of the Body reſults from a due Texture, Situa-
tion, and Operation of its ſeveral Parts.

Grubſtreet Journal, April 4. N° 223.

Grievances of the Law, with a Propoſal for redreſſing them.

I Think (ſays one who ſigns himſelf *Tom Telltruth*) it is a Maxim, uncontеſted by any but Parties concerned in Intereſt, that the Law, under its modern Management, is the greateſt Grievance under which the People of *England* labour. Some have given it the Name of a *General Exciſe*; and argue thence, that all other Exciſes are mere ſupernumerary Burdens.

I was, t'other Day, in ſome Company of the better Sort, among which was a Parliament-Man or two; ſome of whom lamented the ſlow Advances towards the Redreſs of the Subject under that almoſt peſtilential Viſitation; when one of the Company, directing himſelf to *Clearder*, one of thoſe Members of the Houſe, declared his Surprize, that ſo great and wiſe a Body had not been able to find a Remedy equal to the Evil. *Cleander* began, with ſome Warmth, to offer Excuſes for it. The Multiplicity of publick Affairs afforded one; the Unacquaintedneſs of moſt, thro' whoſe Hands the Redreſs muſt paſs, yielded another; and a third was raiſed from the too great Intereſt Lawyers have in the Houſe.

Timon, who made one of the Company, as ſoon as *Cleander* had finiſhed, took up the Argument in this Manner.— I grant, *Cleander*, the Excuſes you mention, have been frequently made; and, by Men a little too indolent, have been as frequently allowed authentick; but I will demonſtrate, that every one of them is unworthy the Mouth or Mind of a Senator.

As to the firſt, which is founded on the Multiplicity of publick Affairs, how weak is it! Can any Thing demand a more ſpeedy and intenſe Regard, than an Evil which is epidemical? If a trading Veſſel come from a Place infected, the whole Nation is alarmed, and very juſtly! Proclamations, and Orders are immediately iſſued for the better Security of the People. Why then are we ſo ſupine under a Viſitation, which more than four Times in the Year ſweeps away its Thouſands? What County is there, of all the Twenty-four, that does not every Aſſizes produce us Inſtances of Parents offering up their Children to this modern *Moloch*; or of Children reciprocally ſacrificing their Parents to the avari-

tious

tious Petulance of ſome neighbouring Attorney? Or which of all of them will not afford you oſtentatious Structures, raiſed by thoſe Sons of *Mammon*, upon the Ruins of their Fellow Subjects? Does not this intreat, nay, ſhould it not demand, as ſpeedy a Conſideration, and as arduous a Debate, as the mending of a Road, or the Naturalization of half a hundred Foreigners?

The ſecond Excuſe is of leſs Weight than the former. For if by Unacquaintedneſs is intended an Unſkilfulneſs in the Matters to be debated on; I would aſk, are there not every Seſſion brought before them Affairs equally intricate? How few of that great and auguſt Aſſembly are verſed in mercantile Matters? Notwithſtanding which, ſcarce a Seſſion paſſes, without having ſomewhat or other of that Nature laid before them. Our Laws, Thanks to our Anceſtors, are not compoſed of ſuch unintelligible or immalleable Stuff, as to ſet at Defiance the Head or Hand of a good Workman. And if it be the Intereſt or Trade of thoſe who deal in them, to render them obſcure by their forenſial Gloſſes; every Perſon which makes a Part of that awful Aſſembly is, or ought to be, endued with ſo much Perſpicacity and good Senſe, as to diſtinguiſh between Light and Darkneſs, when both, or either, are ſet before him.

But I imagine the third Excuſe, as it is the moſt general, may be thought the moſt material, as it is raiſed from the great Intereſt, the Practiſers pretend to have in that auguſt Aſſembly; and from the Oppoſition and Artifice by that Means made uſe of on every Attempt towards a Regulation. That our Laws are grown ſo voluminous, as to want ſome Reduction, has been allowed by the great *Verulam*, *Hales*, *Holt*, and other the greateſt Ornaments of that Profeſſion. But tho' that would be an advanced Step towards the Work in Queſtion; I dare not flatter myſelf with one Hope towards Succeſs, till ſet on Foot by Majeſty, who, like another *Juſtinian*, having it ſincerely at Heart, ſhall have Soul and Spirit to accompliſh that, which would be the juſteſt Act of Glory ſince the Conqueſt. However, that Difficulty ought not to preclude or retard ſubſervient Inquiries and Regulations. Piſmires and Caterpillars raiſe our immediate Indignation, in Order to prevent their further Devaſtations: And to fruſtrate the intended Ruin of honeſt Families, is a Work ſo worthy an *Engliſh* Heart, that it ought to incite all ſuch to ſet their Hands to the Plough with Zeal and Vigour. Breezes live upon the Sores of our Cattle; but not on Sores of their own creating: Yet theſe, worſe than Breezes, make the Sores they fatten upon; and when they have gorged themſelves, ſtarve their unfortunate Feeders.

Engliſh-Men are allow'd to be dexterous at Improvements; and I will not therefore deſpair of our cleanſing this Stable of Pollution, having *Hercules* for a Preſident. Some late Examinations ſeem to confeſs a Degeneracy extortionary Fees: But, alas, theſe are the Roots, tho' they may make Part of the Evil. Nevertheleſs, the Exam itſelf muſt be allowed Praiſe-worthy, ever miſtaken we find the Inquirers. ſure it cannot be denied to be a poor Speci of modern Politicks, in order to arrive Veracity, to make Jury-Men of Pra But, in ſhort, Extortion of Office-Fees, but the leaſt Part of the Mal-Practice plain'd of. To arrive therefore at the Core of the Malady, I would humbly propo that a Committee be ballotted for, exclu ing, for very obvious Reaſons, all Profeſſ of the Law: Which Committee, as in o Caſes, ſhould be inveſted with Power to ſ for Perſons, Papers, and Records, and to amine in the moſt ſolemn Manner. I w next adviſe, that ſome particular Caſe of every Court, from the *Marſhalſea* to *King's-Bench*, ſhould be ſelected for the ſ ject of Enquiry; the Attornies on each ſ to attend to anſwer Queſtions, and give Account of their Proceedings, and the R ſons they went upon: That if, upon Ent ry, Irregularities are found, they ſhoul noted for an Amendment; and the Auth concerned in them, after a Report is made the Houſe, given up to publick Infamy. this Means, the moſt unſkilful and m quainted might arrive at a full Informatio the Delays and other Mal-practices daily c mitted: And thus the Evil having b ſearched to the Bottom, a future Act m provide for the Security and Safety of Subject. Such an unprejudiced and fre quiry would ſoon ſatisfy Mankind, that liffs and Catch-Poles are only Law in Grain, whoſe Legitimacy is termly a by Holland Coif, and ſable Gown. would ſoon appear to View, how lovingly plays into the Hands of the other; both the contending Parties are made Martyrs of their Avarice and Knavery. ſhort, ſuch an Enquiry would open a Pr into the flagrant Scene of all the Villa and thereby lay a Foundation for a thor Reformation, which might ſave Thou yearly. True it is, it may be objected a numerous Band of Gentry, which make a grand Figure, would, by this be in Danger of ſtarving: But let ſuch jectors take into Conſideration our new tlements in *Georgia*, and our annual P ſportations on publick Accounts; and Gentlemen found Guilty, are not ſo let them be ſhipped to find out a North Paſſage to *Japan*.

Weekly Miſcellany, April 6. N° [illegible]

Meditation on the Vanity and Brevity of man Life, wrote in Imitation of the [illegible]

…racted from a Book lately publiſhed, en-…ed, A ſelect Manual of divine Medita-…ns and Prayers, *&c. The Author the …v. Mr.* Joſhua Smith, *late Miniſter of …* Mary Aldermanbury, *and Lecturer of …* Mary Le Bow.

NHAPPY we, children of the duſt! why were we born to ſee the ſun?
Why did our mothers bring us forth to …y; and unkindly rejoice to hear us cry?
Whither, alas! has their error led us! how ſad a condition doth our birth en-…us?
We enter the world with weeping eyes; go out with ſighing hearts:
All the few days we live are full of va-…; and our choiceſt pleaſures ſprinkled …bitterneſs:
The time that's paſt, is vaniſh'd like a …m; and that which is to come, is not at all:
The preſent we are in, ſtays but a moment, then flies away, and returns no more:
Already we are dead to the years we have …; and ſhall never live them over again.
But the longer that we live, the ſhorter is life; and in the end, we become a little …p of clay.
O vain, and miſerable world! how ſadly …e is all this ſtory!
And yet, alas! this is not all; but new …plaints remain, and more, and worſe:
We begin our race, in contemptible weak-…; and our whole courſe is a progreſs of …gers:
If we eſcape the miſchances of a child; …paſs on to the raſh adventures of youth:
If we outlive thoſe ſudden ſtorms; we fall …o far more deſtructive evils:
Our ſuperfluous cares deliberately conſume …; and the croſſes of the world wear out …r lives.
Should we, by ſtrange ſucceſs, o'ercome all …ſe; and ſtill bear up our proſperous head:
We are ſure, at laſt, old age will find us; …t bow our ſtrength down to the grave:
The grave, from which no privilege exempts; …oſe power no creature is able to controul.
The rich muſt leave their wealth behind …m; and the great ones of the world be …mbled into duſt:
The beauteous face muſt be turn'd into …tenneſs; and the pamper'd body become the …d of worms:
The buſy man muſt find a time to die; …o' his full employment ſpares none, to pro-…de for it:
Even the wiſe and virtuous, muſt ſubmit …fate; and the heirs of life, be made the …ſioners of death.
This when I ſee, I weep, and am afraid; …nce we muſt all drink of the ſame cold cup:
All muſt go down to the ſame dark grave; …d none can tell how ſoon he may be called.

To day we are in health, among our friends and affairs; and to-morrow arreſted by the hand of death:
Nature may faintly ſtruggle for a time, but muſt yield at laſt, and be buried in the earth:
At laſt we muſt take leave of our neareſt relations; and bid a long farewel to all the world:
Perhaps, the people may talk of us a while; ſometimes as we deſerve, and often as they pleaſe:
Perhaps, our bodies once laid out of ſight; we are remember'd no more, than if we had never been.
Only our good works follow us to the grave; and go faithfully with us, beyond our funerals:
Give me, eternal reſt, O merciful Lord, and may thy glorious light ſhine upon me for ever!

Weekly Regiſter, April 6. N° 213.

Supplement to the Review of the publick Buildings, &c. (See p. 142.)

GUILD-HALL is ſituate very happily, in Sight of the moſt frequented Thoroughfare in the whole City, and at the End of a very tolerable Viſta, which ſhews the Building in the moſt favourable Manner: But, at preſent, the Front of it has not much Title to this Advantage: 'Tis old and Gothick, and has no great Matter in it either of Deſign or Execution. The Hall within is a very fine Room, allowing for the Taſte 'tis built in; but then the Entrance ſhould have been at the lower End, and not in the Middle; for, by this Means, all the Beauty of the Perſpective is loſt. Another material Defect in it, is this: The Aſcent of Steps, on the other Side, is not exactly oppoſite to the Gate, as it ought to be, both for the Sake of Regularity and Beauty: And if thoſe two execrable Giants, on each Side of it, were taken down, 'twould argue much more Taſte in thoſe who deſtroyed 'em, than thoſe who ſet 'em up.

Surgeon's-Hall and *Theatre*, were both built by *Inigo Jones*, and, tho' moſt obſcurely ſituated, better deſerve Notice and Regard, than many glaring Piles, which have the Advantage of being more publick. The Hall is plain, but elegant; the Arch at the Entrance beautiful, and the Alcove, at the End, in the moſt perfect Taſte. The Theatre is beyond Diſpute a Maſter-Piece, and tho' as ſimple as 'tis poſſible, both in Deſign and Finiſhing, fruitful in Beauties, and affording the Spectator the higheſt Satisfaction. Theſe Edifices were repair'd and beautify'd by the Direction, and at the Expence of my Lord *Burlington*. A Compliment not greater than is due to *Inigo Jones*; but the greateſt any Modern can receive, or any Modern beſtow.

The Measures of St. *Peter*'s Church are taken out of the authentick Dimensions of the best Architects of *Rome*, and compared upon the Place, with the *Italian* and *English* Measures.

THE DIMENSIONS of St. *Peter*'s Church at *Rome*, and St. *Paul*'s Cathedral, at *London*; as taken in the Year 1725.

The Dimensions of St. *Paul*'s Cathedral are taken from several Prints engraved by *Tho. Platt*, *H. Hulsberg*, *J. Simon*, *B. Sens*, and *John Harris*.

The PLAN, or Length and Breadth.	ROMAN PALMS.		FEET.		Difference in FEET.	
	St. Peter	St. Paul.	St. Peter	St. Paul	Plan	Height
The whole Length of the Church and Porch	1000	685 ½	729	500	229	97 ½
The whole Length of the Croſs	700	343	510	250	260	67 ½
The Breadth of the Front with the Turrets	500	247	364	180	184	40
The Breadth of the Front without the Turrets	300	151	318	110	208	41
The Breadth of the Church and three Naves	350	178	255	130	125	5
The Breadth of the Church and wideſt Chapels	500	147	364	180	184	5 6
The Length of the Porch within	300	68	218	50	168	5
The Breadth of the Porch within	55	27	40	20	20	9 0
The Length of the Platea at the upper Steps	400	137	291	100	191	
The Breadth of the Nave at the Door	120	55	67	40	47	
The Breadth of the Nave at the third Pillar, and Tribuna	100	55	73	40	33	
The Breadth of the Side Iſles	40	23	29	17	12	
The Diſtance between the Pillars of the Nave	60	34	44	25	19	
The Breadth of the ſame double Pillars at St. *Peter*'s	40	13 ½	29			4
The Breadth of the ſame ſingle Pillars at St. *Paul*'s		13 ½		10		
The two right Sides of the great Pilaſters of the Cupola	90	48 : 34	65 : 7 ½	25 : 35		
The Diſtance between the ſame Pilaſters	100	54 ½	72	40	32	
The outward Diameter of the Cupola	260	199	189	145	44	13
The inward Diameter of the ſame	190	137	138	100	38	3 8
The Breadth of the Square by the Cupola	60		43			
The Length of the ſame	450		328			10 ½
From the Door within to the Cupola	430	260	313	190	123	39
From the Cupola to the End of the Tribuna	230	233	167	170		40
The Breadth of each of the Turrets	140	48	77	35	42	6
The outward Diameter of the Lantern	50	24 ½	36	18	18	4
The whole Space, upon which one Pillar ſtands	8100	1200	5906	875		
The whole Space, upon which all the Pillars ſtand	32400	9600	23625	7000		

	St. Peter	St. Paul	St. Peter	St. Paul	Difference in Palms.
From the Ground without to the Top of the Croſs	437 ½	340	600	466	134
The Turrets as they were at St. *Peter's* and are at St. *Paul's*	289 ½	222	597	304	293
To the Top of the higheſt Statues on the Front	175	135	240	185	55
The firſt Pillars of the Corinthian Order	74	33	102	45	57
The Breadth of the ſame	9	4	12	5	7
Their Baſis and Pedeſtals	19	13	26	17	9
Their Capital	10	5	14	16 ½ ½	2 -½-½
The Architrave, Frize, and Cornice	19	10	26	13 ½-½	12
The Compoſite Pillars at St. *Paul's* and Toſcan at St. *Peter's*	25 ½	25	35	34 ½-½	1 -½-½
The Ornaments of the ſame Pillars above, and below	14 ½-½	16	20	21 ½-½	1 -½-½
The Triangle of the Mezzo Relievo, with its Cornice	22 ½-½	18	30	24	6
Wide	92	74			
The Baſis of the Cupola to the Pedeſtals of the Pillars	36 ½-½	38	50	52	2
The Pillars of the Cupola	32	28	44	38	6
Their Baſis and Pedeſtals	4	5	6	6 ½-½	1 -½-½
Their Capitals, Architrave, Frize, and Cornice	12	12	16	16	
From the Cornice to the outward Slope of the Cupola	25 ½-½	40	35	54	19
The Lantern from the Cupola to the Ball	63	50	86	68	18
The Ball in Diameter	9	6	12	8	4
The Croſs with its Ornaments below	14	6	19	8	11
The Statues upon the Front with their Pedeſtals	25 ½-½	15	35	20	15
The outward Slope of the Cupola	89	50	122	68	54
The Cupola and Lantern from the Cornice of the Front to the Top of the Croſs	280	240	384	329	55
The Height of the Niches in the Front	20	14	27	19	8
Wide	9	5	12	6 ½-½-½	5 -½-½-½
The firſt Windows in the Front	20	13	27	17 ½-½-½	9
Wide	10	7	14	9	5

We have now gone thro' theſe Papers *on the* Publick Buildings, *&c. without omitting any one of them; and as it may be agreeable to the Reader to have them all at one View, and to read them in order from the Beginning, (tho' we have all along refer'd to the laſt foregoing) for his greater Eaſe, it may not be amiſs to point out at once the ſeveral Places where they are to be found* viz. *in our* Magazine *for* 1733, *Page* 509, 554, 561, 568, 573, 575, 613, 622, 630. *In our* Magazine *for the preſent Year, Page* 9, *(which ſhould come before the laſt in the former* Vol.) 11, 19, 28, 29, 67, 75, 132, 138, 142.

For a Conclusion, it will not be improper to insert the following Essay *on* Taste, *written by the Author of the* Review, *&c.*

WHAT we understand by Taste, is the peculiar Relish that we feel for any agreeable Object; and is more or less perfect, according to the Degree of Judgment we employ in distinguishing its Beauties. It ought always to be founded on Truth, or Veri-similitude at least; but we often find it to be only the Child of Opinion, or the mere Result of Accident. True Taste is not to be acquir'd without infinite Toil and Study; and we are generally too indolent to accept of an Advantage on such Terms. This is the real Occasion, why a false one is so apt to prevail, and, on a Division of Mankind, would number three to one in its own Favour. All Men are fond of being esteem'd witty, wise or learned; but are willing to procure their Reputation as easily as possible. They have Sense enough to observe how cheaply this is acquir'd by Humour and Fashion, to the Prejudice of true Understanding, and genuine Politeness; and how zealous we are in promoting the Follies we intend to practise. Like Men of much Ambition, and narrow Fortune, we counterfeit the Gaiety we can never purchase; and frugally flatter ourselves, that our Tinsel will be mistaken for the real Gold it was intended to imitate. I am sorry 'tis in my Power, to appeal to numberless Facts for the Truth of this Assertion. Nothing is so common, as the Affectation of Taste; and hardly any Thing is so seldom found. Indeed the Misfortune is infectious, and Variety of Incidents agree to make it almost universal. Bad Principles of Education, when young; an ill Choice of Acquaintance at entering into the World; the Ignorance of those that undertake to inform us, and continual Prejudices of our own. But the Frequency, or Confirmation of an Evil, should never discourage us from endeavouring to surmount it; and if it is grown quite desperate, there is the more Necessity for opposing it with the greater Vigour. There is so much depends on a true Taste, with Regard to Elegance, and even to Morality, that I can't resist the Temptation of throwing in my Mite to the Publick, and recommending, to the utmost of my Power, what I judge to be of so much Advantage. The Design of Schools, the Use of Universities, the Benefit of Conversation, should all centre in this great Point; and no one can properly be stiled a Gentleman, who has not made Use of every Opportunity to enrich his own Capacity, and settle the Elements of Taste, which he may improve at Leisure. There are Numbers of Persons, who may justly claim Reputation for a single Excellence, that in all others are defective, and inconsiderable, for the Want of this general Accomplishment. A good Taste is the Hea-ner of every Science, and the Polish of Virtue: 'Tis the Friend of Society, and Guide to Knowledge: 'Tis the Improve-of Pleasure, and the Test of Merit. By we enlarge the Circle of Enjoyment, and fine upon Happiness. It enables us to dis-guish Beauty, wherever we find it, and tect Error in all its Disguises. It oblig to behave with Decency and Elegance, quickens our Attention to the good Qual of others: In a Word, 'tis the Assembling Propriety, and the Centre of all that's

Truth and Beauty include all Excellen and together with their Opposites, are only Objects for the Exercise of our Cens or Admiration. The rightly distinguishing them, is the Proof of a good Taste, and naturally leads to the Perfection of Judg-ment and Apprehension. Truth, should consider'd as the Design in Painting; Beauty, the Colouring and Decoration. Fair-hood and Deformity, are the Contrasts of Groupe; and to be able to detect the one, should be capable of admiring the other. The Mind, which is always employ'd contemplating the first, or condemning the last, will be partial in its Knowledge, and unjust in its Decision. Prejudice, on either Side, is foreign to a good Taste; and not thro' the Frailty of human Nature, both may meet in the same Person together.

To acquire that Excellence perfectly, there-fore, we must be impartial in our Enquiry, and cool in our Judgment; quick to ap-prehend, and ready to determine what is Error, and what a Beauty, carefully examin-ing, when we condemn, if the Defect is not in our Mind; and when we praise, whether we truly understand the Object of our Ap-probation. Many a Mistake has been made by not observing this Rule. Beauties have been censur'd, for Want of Understanding; and Errors extoll'd, because in the Masque of Truth.

To reduce these Hints into Practice, I would again observe, that the Influence of good Taste is to be extended much further than is generally imagin'd. 'Tis not confin'd only to Writings of every Kind, but intimate-ly regards Painting and Sculpture, compre-hends the whole Circle of Civility and Good Manners, and regulates Life and Conduct, as well as Theory and Speculation. In every one of these Relations, 'tis always to be observed both in Judging and Acting. For Want of it, in all, we daily see a thousand Absurdi-ties, that Politeness would be asham'd of, and Reason condemn. Pertness passes for Wit; Dulness for Decorum; Lewdness for Humour; Dissimulation for Honour; and Vanity for every Accomplishment.

'Tis hard to determine whether there is an eternal Difference in the Essence of Souls

or whether they exert themſelves, more or leſs vigorouſly, in Proportion to the Delicacy of the Organs of the Body they inform; or whether the Force of Education, Habit, or Society, gives a ſuperior Turn to the Genius that poſſeſſes theſe Advantages.

'Tis certain there is a wide Difference in Men, and, whatever is the Cauſe, ſome are diſtinguiſh'd by ſo many Perfections as almoſt elevate them above the Rank of their Fellow-Creatures, and ſet them at an awful Diſtance for the Vulgar of Mankind to wonder at. But how great ſoever is the Capacity, infinite Toil and Labour are neceſſary to form it into Beauty, and Regularity; ſo many Difficulties are to be ſurmounted, ſo many Mortifications are to be endur'd, and ſuch a Labyrinth of Knowledge is to be ſtruggled thro', that, were not Ambition to prompt us, and Vanity to flatter, ſcarce one in a thouſand would have the Courage to undertake ſo arduous a Taſk, and not one in five hundred of them, have the Reſolution or Addreſs to accompliſh the End they had in View. The very Proſpect would frighten us from attempting it; or Paſſion, or Indolence hinder our Attaining it: But very few arrive even at the Point they propos'd. None can ſay, they have finiſh'd their Journey; Knowledge is infinite, and, when Mortality has ſpun out its lateſt Thread in the Purſuit, we look forward with Aſtoniſhment at the unbounded Scene before us, and backward with Contempt at the little Portion our whole Lives could compaſs. Nature ſeems to have done as much for us as we can do for ourſelves, and the utmoſt of our Endeavours can be little more than to regulate, and poliſh the Hints that ariſe from her. What is Learning but a Collection of that Knowledge which Nature had inſpir'd? And what Politeneſs, but a Refinement on thoſe Pleaſures which ſhe has dictated? Let us look upon the Grave and Serious among the Vulgar, and we ſhall ſee Oeconomy and Morality in Miniature, and both as perfect as is needful to their Circumſtance. Let us obſerve the Frolick and Gay, and their Pleaſures are the ſame as ours, and have the Decorings of Elegance as well. Let us purſue this Thought a little further, and we ſhall find our Poetry, Painting Statuary, and Muſick indulg'd among them; and, as in their Original, labouring for Perfection. What gathers together the numerous Crowds that liſten to a wretched Song in every Street; but the Rapture which Poetry never fails to inſpire, and that Softneſs of Heart which engages the Attention, and charms every Faculty? Why are their Walls hung with ſcurvy Pictures; but becauſe their Hearts delight in every Imitation of Nature, and whatever they are fond of they are willing to poſſeſs? For Statuary they have Images of Wax, and Earth, and Clay, in Abundance, made fine with Painting and Gilding, to atone for the Want of true Beauty, and real Excellency. How many of them are ſo enchanted with Muſick, as to make it the Buſineſs of their Lives, and ſometimes practiſe it with Succeſs? All in general bear witneſs to its Power, and, like *Amphion*'s Stocks and Stones, are tranſported with Harmony. Such is the mechanical Influence that the rudeſt Sketch of Beauty and Pleaſure has upon the moſt low and uncultivated Minds, and ſo general is the Confeſſion of all Mankind in their Favour! I think I may be indulg'd too in recommending this Thought to Men of Education and Quality. I think ſuch Studies, and ſuch Employments would afford them more Satisfaction than the preſent Mode of Diverſions, and would be far more worthy of their Characters. Nature, 'tis plain, points them out to their Conſideration, and their own Stations in Life ſhould make them their inſeparable Companions. But inſtead of that, I ſpeak it with great Concern, there are very few who have not ſtrove to mortify their Reliſh for them, and done a Violence to Nature, in Compliment to Faſhon. Gaming and Horſe-Races are now the Amuſements in Vogue; and there are few who have Courage enough to declare againſt them, even tho' they are contrary to their Inclinations. True Politeneſs ſeems in Diſgrace with Mankind, and 'tis abſurd to be its Advocate. Where is the Perſon who glories in being her Admirer, in ſtemming the Torrent of Barbariſm in an abandon'd Age, and doing juſtice to Learning and Virtue? Where is the Guardian Genius to Merit, its Nurſe, its Patron, its Friend, its Father? Hence it is, that Folly and Affectation become univerſal; and Elegance and Knowledge are ſo little regarded. The Man with half a Head, appears as wiſe now, as *Janus* of old, with two. The imaginary Difference of Stature, between the Moderns and the Antediluvians, is hardly more remarkable, than the real Diminution of the Wit of this Age, in compariſon with the laſt. We are quite degenerating to *Lilliputians*; a Race of Dapperwits; and there is not above a Hair's Breadth Difference, between us and our Leaders. If any of my Readers ſhould be vain enough to diſbelieve me, I refer him to my Pupils for Demonſtration. In ſhort, the Man who ventures barely to recommend a good Taſte, is gaz'd at as a Monſter; the Growth of another Clime; and without Queſtion we ſhould be glad of a new *Don Quixote*, to deſtroy him as an Enemy to our Repoſe.

Craftſman, April 6. N° 405.

Some Remarks *on Mrs.* Oſborne's *late Diſſertation, concerning our* antient *and* modern Conſtitution.

NOTHING hath occaſioned more Complaints, than the *Abuſe of Words*, and the

the wrong Ideas annex'd to them; nor did any Word ever ſuffer more groſly, in this Reſpect, than the Term *Conſtitution*. We have often ſeen it debaſed to the Service of *Courts*, and pleaded in Defence of *modern Laws*, which the beſt Judges of our *antient Conſtitution*, have thought repugnant to it. Thus the modeſt Mr. *Walſingham* calls a *Defence of the Septennial Law*, which was enacted but a few Years ago, as an Expedient in Time of Danger, an *Argument againſt the Alteration of our Conſtitution*; and an Endeavour to reſtore the antient Cuſtom of *annual*, or *triennial Parliaments*, hath been repreſented, by the *ſame Author*, as a Deſign againſt our *Conſtitution*. (See p. 121.) At this Rate, *Exciſes*, *Riot-Acts*, *ſtanding Armies* and *Votes of Credit* may, in Time, be call'd the *Fundamentals of our Government*, and whoever attempts to relieve the Nation from them, will be treated as an Enemy to our *Conſtitution*. Nay, I will undertake to prove, by the ſame Method of Reaſoning, that the *Star-Chamber*, the *High-Commiſſion Court*, and the *Court of Wards*, or any other *legal* Encroachments on the Liberties of the People, became *eſſential Parts of our Government*, and that the Abolition of them was a Breach of our *Conſtitution*.

By *Conſtitution*, in a political Senſe, We always mean ſomething fix'd and permanent; founded on Principles, immutable in themſelves; and from which no Laws, made to ſerve any particular Occaſions, ought to derogate. But according to the Reaſoning of Mr. *Walſingham*, and ſome of his *Brother-Scribblers*, our *Conſtitution* is nothing but a looſe, fluctuating Jumble of Atoms, which varies every Year, according to the Views of a *Miniſter*, or the Humour of a *Party*.

The profound Mrs. *Oſborne* ſeems to be aware of this Abſurdity, and therefore takes another Method of ſerving the ſame Cauſe; for inſtead of endeavouring to prove any of our *late Meaſures* to be conſiſtent with our *antient Conſtitution*, ſhe makes no Scruple to aſſert *that the* modern Conſtitution *is infinitely better than the* antient Conſtitution, *&c.* and after ſome pompous Encomiums on her own ſuperior Knowledge, ſhe proceeds in the following didactick Style.

The antient Monarchy of England *was ſettled upon an Overbalance of Lands veſted in the* King, *the* Nobility, *and the* Church, *&c.* (See the whole Paragraph, p. 128.)

I have quoted theſe Paſſages at large, (ſays Mr. *D'Anvers*) that our *learned Siſter* may not complain of any Miſrepreſentation; and yet ſcarce a Line happens to be true, either in Point of Law, or Hiſtory.

In the firſt Place, it is abſolutely falſe that *the antient Monarchy of* England *was ſettled upon an Overbalance of Lands, veſted in the* King, *the* Nobility *and the* Church. The Footſteps of our *original* Britiſh *Conſtitution* are ſo obſcure, that we can't ſpeak with any Certainty about it; tho' *Dion Caſſius* obſerves *that our Anceſtors, in the Time of* Severus, *held a great Part of the Government in their own Hands*. But it is well known, that our *Saxon Conſtitution* was founded, like all other *Gothick Governments*, upon an equal Diſtribution of *Power* and *Property*; for the *northern Armies*, which over-run theſe Parts, did not conſiſt of *mercenary Troops*, like our *modern Armies*; but were voluntary Societies, who left their native Country, in Queſt of a better Habitation, and agreed to divide the conquered Lands amongſt themſelves. When they were ſettled according to their Liking, they form'd a Government upon the ſame Model; that is, their *Leader*, or *General*, was appointed the *chief Magiſtrate*, tho' with much leſs Power than our *modern Kings*; the *other great Men*, or *Officers of the Army*, held the next Rank in the Commonwealth, like our *Lords*; and the *Body of the People*, who followed them, had a third Share in the Government. Theſe *three Orders* compoſed what is now called the *Legiſlature*; and tho' the *executive Power* was lodg'd in *one Man*, for the neceſſary Diſpatch of Buſineſs, he was reſtrain'd in the Exerciſe of it by *certain Laws and Inſtitutions*, made by common Conſent. This is what we mean by our *antient Conſtitution*; and tho' it hath been often interrupted, or depreſs'd by Conqueſt, Uſurpation, and arbitrary Power, the *Stamina* of it have been ſtill preſerved, and tranſmitted down to us thro' all Ages, and Changes of Government.

Mrs. *Oſborne* is guilty of another fundamental Error, when ſhe makes Uſe of the Words *Barons*, *Lords* and *Nobles*, as ſynonymous Terms; for the *ancient Barons* were very far from being the ſame with our *preſent Nobility*, or *Peers of the Realm*. Many of them were *Commoners* only, like the preſent *Lords of Manners*, who are ſtyled *Barons* in our Law-Books, as their Courts are term'd *Courts Baron*; and the Repreſentatives of our *Cinque Ports* ſtill retain the ſame Name.

The Removal of this Miſtake will ſet Mrs. *Oſborne* right as to another Point, upon which ſhe inſiſts with great Confidence; *viz. that the* People *knew no Property, under our antient* Conſtitution, *but what they held from the* Barons, *or the* Church; *and that none of them held any Land immediately from the* Crown; for it appears that great Numbers of the *antient Barons* were only *Commoners* themſelves, or what we call Gentlemen of large Eſtates. This Aſſertion is, indeed, a meer *old Woman's* Dream; and Dotage is the beſt Apology for her. It might be eaſily proved that Multitudes of the *common People* held Lands *in Capite*; nay, that the *Commons of England*, in their collective Capacity, always had a larger Share of Land than the *King*, the *Lords*, or the *Church*; and perhaps, I might venture to add

ld than all of them put together; for it ap-
ars by an Abſtract from *Doomſday Book*, that
e King, at that Time, had not above a
nth Part of the Land of England, including
reſts, &c. and we may conclude that his
rofit of this *tenth Part* was not above a
ird, or fourth, of what the *People* made of
eir Eſtates.

But ſuppoſing Mrs. *Oſborne*'s Aſſertion to
true, how does it follow *that the antient*
onarchy of England *was ſettled upon an*
verbalance of Lands, becauſe the *Nobility*
d the *Church* were inveſted with large
ſtates? The Reverſe is certainly true; for
e Land poſſeſſed by the *Barons* and the
urch, was generally a Barrier againſt the
wer of the *Crown*; and the *People*, when
y united either with the *King*, or the
rds, were always ſuperior to *that Power*,
ainſt which they united.

What our *Authoreſs* ſays about the *antient*
ures is likewiſe either falſe, or nothing
the Purpoſe. *Tenures* of all Kinds imply,
eed, ſome Degree of *Dependency*; and yet
ny of theſe are ſtill continued, under our
ſent glorious Sunſhine of *Liberty*. As to the
ient Tenures, I think *Eſcuage* was the only
, which required *military Service*, and
only in Time of *War*, for the publick
fence of the Realm, not for a Guard of
King's Perſon, or to make a vain Shew
ut *Court*. Beſides, only ſome of the
ds were ſubject to *this Tenure*; and the
ner of the Land, tho' never ſo mean, was
bound to attend the *King*, in his *own*
ſon; for ſo long ago as the 7th of *Edward*
3d, it was adjudged that the *Landholder*
ht perform *this Service*, by ſending any
Man to the War, as we do in the *Mili-*
at preſent. Nay, Hiſtory informs us
, even in the Time of *William* the Con-
or, there was generally no *perſonal At-*
ance, but only a Payment made in Lieu
; which muſt certainly have been very
erate, becauſe the *Tenants* would have
rwiſe choſen to perform the *perſonal*
.

t laſt, the *old Lady* goes ſo far as to al-
very roundly, 'that our Anceſtors ne-
had *annual Parliaments*; and that the
rliaments of thoſe Days, were neither
ſen by the People, nor *compoſed of the*
ple.' To ſupport this, ſhe quotes the
wing Article of *Magna Charta*; not
exactly indeed; and therefore I will
it verbatim from the *State Tracts*, to
ſhe refers us.

'We will moreover and grant, that *all o-*
Cities, and *Boroughs*, and *Towns*, and
ts, have in all Reſpects their Liberties
free Cuſtoms. And as for coming to
'the *Common-Council of the Kingdom*, and for
'aſſeſſing *Aids* (excepting in the **three Caſes*
'aforeſaid) and as for aſſeſſing of *Eſcuage*,
'we will cauſe to be ſummoned the *Arch-*
'*biſhops*, *Abbots*, *Earls*, and *greater Barons*,
'each in particular by *our Letters*; and more-
'over we will cauſe to be ſummoned in ge-
'neral, by our Sheriffs and Bayliffs, *all that*
'*hold of us in chief* at a certain Day; to wit,
'*forty Days* after at leaſt, and at a *certain*
'*Place*; and in our ſaid Letters we will ex-
'preſs the *Cauſe* of the Summons.'

Mrs. *Oſborne* obſerves that *this Quotation puts what ſhe hath affirm'd out of all Doubt*; but I muſt take the Liberty to aſſert the contrary; *viz.* that the *Right of the People to ſend Deputies to Parliament* is fully declared and confirmed by *this Article*; for here is an expreſs Diſtinction made between the *Lords Spiritual and Temporal*, whom the King ſummoned in *particular*, by his *own Letters*; and the *common Landholders*, whom he cauſed to be ſummoned *in general*, by his *Sheriffs and Bayliffs*; that is, as our Law-Books explain it, to appear by *Delegation*.

It is obſervable from the Manner of wording *this Clauſe*, that the Royal Grant, or Covenant, of ſending *ſuch Summons*, was a Covenant of *Right*, not of *Grace*; and that *all Cities*, *Boroughs*, *Towns*, and *Ports* were to ſend their *Repreſentatives*, as well as the *leſſer Barons*, or *Knights*. The Reaſon is, that a *Tenure in Capite* being what gave Right to a Seat in Parliament, and the *Body politick of a Borough holding by that Tenure*, they muſt have a Right to ſit, as well as the *leſſer Barons*, and like them muſt exerciſe that Right by *Deputation*.

Thus it appears from this Article of *Magna Charta*, that the *Commons of England* were formerly ſummoned to Parliament in the ſame Manner as they are now, and that the *Writs of Summons* were returnable *forty Days after the Teſte*, as they are at preſent. The only Difference is that the *Repreſentatives of the People*, at that Time, were not choſen for ſo *long a Term* as they are in theſe Days, and that they always came up with *Inſtructions from their Principals*; for what other Interpretation can be put on that Part of the Article, where the King covenants to *expreſs the* Cauſe *of the Summons*.

But the true Meaning of this Article is beſt explain'd by the ſubſequent Practice; and tho' King *John*'s Reign, which was a continued Scene of Violence and Confuſion, does not furniſh us with any Inſtances of a *regular Election*, the very next Reign does; for † *Rapin* obſerves that a Parliament being ſummoned, in the Year 1265, *each County was ordered to ſend* two Knights, *and each City and*

* *Viz. The King's Ranſom, making his eldeſt Son a Knight, and marrying his eldeſt Daughter*
† *See the Reign of* Henry III, Anno 1265.

and Borough two Burgeſſes, *as their Repreſentatives*; upon which the *Tranſlator* makes the following Remark, in a marginal Reference.

'These Writs of Summons to the *Sheriffs* 'of the *Counties*, to return the *Knights of* 'the *Shires* and *Burgeſſes*, are the *firſt Writs* 'of *this Kind*, that are now extant on the 'Rolls; which made Dr. *Brady* infer that A 'they were the firſt that were ever iſſued; 'and that this Parliament of *Henry* the 3d 'was the firſt, to which *Knights of the* 'Shires and *Burgeſſes* were ſummoned. But 'how truly, ſee the Works of Mr. *Petit*, 'Mr. *Tyrrel*, and Mr. *Hody*.'

Now ſuppoſing that we could not trace *our Right of ſending up Deputies to Parliament* B any higher than *this Æra*, which is almoſt 500 Years ago; I think it may be fairly enough called our *antient Conſtitution*; at leaſt, more ſo than *Exciſes*, *Riot Acts*, and *ſeptennial Parliaments*.

Mrs. *Oſborne*'s Cavil, *that we had no* Houſe of Commons, *diſtinct from the* Lords, *either in the* Saxon *Times*, *or for a long Time after the Conqueſt*, deſerves no Anſwer; for if it C can be proved that the *People of* England *had a Share in the Legiſlature*, either *perſonally*, or by *Delegation*, it is of no great Conſequence whether they ſate in the *ſame Houſe with the Lords*, or in a *diſtinct Houſe by themſelves*, as they do at preſent.

But ſtill, ſays *old Mother Mumpſimus*, this does not prove our Right to *frequent Elections*; D and ſhe calls upon us to *ſhew her the* Law *for* annual, new Parliaments *choſen by the People*. *Let us know*, ſays ſhe, *when it was* made, *and when* repeal'd. To which I reply, that we might as well call upon her to ſhew us the *Law*, for what is term'd *Prerogative*, and to let us know when it was *made*. She would, perhaps, anſwer that the *Prerogative* E is founded on *common Law*, or *antient Cuſtom*; and ſo I ſay of our Right to *frequent Elections*, which was derived to us from our *old Saxon Conſtitution*; and if Mrs. *Oſborne* will conſult ſome of her Friends in the *Temple*, they will inform her that great Part of the *Saxon* Law is incorporated into our *common Law*. ——— What a ſtrange *old Wretch* is this, to write in ſo magiſterial a Manner about our *Conſti-* F *tution*, without knowing the firſt Rudiments of it!

She farther aſſerts that the Statute of *Edward* the IIId (which expreſly requires that *Parliaments ſhall be held once a Year, and oftener, if need be*) was only an Act for *frequent Seſſions*, and not for *frequent new Parliaments*. But I will defy her to prove this, or that any one Parliament ſate *two Years*, without a *new Election*, from the 4th of *Edward* the IIId, to the 22d of *Henry* the VIIIth, when the modern Practice of *Prorogations* was firſt introduced.

I ſhall conclude (ſays *D'Anvers*) with a ſhort State of the Caſe between our *antient* and *modern Conſtitution*, in Imitation of my *Antagoniſt*, and leave the World to determine who hath done it beſt.

Under our *antient Conſtitution*, the People were out of *Debt*, and but moderately taxed. Under our *modern Conſtitution* we are loaded with *Fifty Millions*, as well as very *high Duties* on moſt of the Neceſſaries of Life. Under our *antient Conſtitution*, the People were tryed only by a *Jury*. Under our *modern Conſtitution*, in all Caſes of *Exciſe*, and in many other Reſpects, they are convicted by *arbitrary Commiſſioners and Judges*, without any *Jury* whatſoever. Under our *antient Conſtitution*, every Man's Houſe was his *Caſtle*, and neither a *Lord*, nor the *King* himſelf could enter it, without the *Maſter*'s Leave. Under the *modern Conſtitution*, every *petty Exciſeman* hath Power to enter, rummage and ſearch Houſes at his own Will and Pleaſure, by Night as well as by Day. In our *antient Conſtitution*, the King had no *Guards*, nor *ſtanding Armies*, but the Heart of his Subjects. Under our *modern Conſtitution*, we have ſeen a *numerous Army* at home, and have paid for *another abroad*, in Time of profound Peace. By our *antient Conſtitution*, the People had an *Election of Repreſentatives every Year*. By the *modern Conſtitution* only once in *ſeven Years*. Under our *antient Conſtitution*, the *Repreſentatives of the People* received Wages from thoſe who choſe them, and from them only; which engaged them to regard the Intereſt of their *Electors*, and to act according to their *Inſtructions*. What hath been the Practice, under the *modern miniſterial Conſtitution*, the Records of Parliament demonſtrate. By the *antient Conſtitution*, the *King* and the *People*, when joined, were more powerful than the *Lords*; and the *King* and the *Lords*, when united, were more powerful than the *Commons*; and the *Lords* and the *Commons* united were more powerful than the *King*; ſo that the Balance of Power was kept in a due *Equilibrium* by theſe various Checks. But under the *modern Conſtitution*, I leave it to be conſider'd, whether a *wicked Miniſter*, who hath a ſtanding Army of *Officers* and *Penſioners* at his Devotion, may not eaſily invade the Rights of the *King*, as well as the Freedom of *both Houſes of Parliament*, and, in the room of our *antient Conſtitution*, ſet up a *miniſterial Power*, and uſurp the Government of the whole Kingdom.

Fog's Journal, April 6. N° 284.

G Fog's *Method of Charging all thoſe Steps, which have been treated as Blunders, in the Treaty of* Utrecht.

TO ſee Gentlemen (ſays *Fog*) who have made more Treaties in 16 Years, than

Predeceſſors in 16 Times 16, (or if ſaid in 60 Times 16 I ſhou'd not be out) I ſay, to ſee ſuch thorough Negotiators treated as the verieſt Noodles in Poliſh; and which is worſe, to ſee a giddy Nation, or, I may ſay, three Nations, join in the Cry, is a Matter which moves my Indignation. But, when I conſider with how much Truth, Eloquence, and Wit, they have been defended by thoſe ſublime Wits, whom the hire and pay *(but with whoſe Money, I dare not ſay)* for ſinging their Praiſes, I am comforted again.

My preſent Deſign is to ſpeak to ſome Parts of the Conduct of the Great Men ſo calumniated, which have not yet been particularly defended by theſe ingenious Gentlemen. I own my Capacity to fall vaſtly ſhort of theirs for the Taſk, but I hope ſome Indulgence will be allowed to a Man, whoſe Talents are not yet enlightened by a Penſion; however, I promiſe I will do the beſt I can.

But firſt, I think fit to give Thanks, in the Name of the Publick, to that ſhining Ornament of the Age, the illuſtrious *Walſingham*, for having hit upon a Diſcovery that anſwers all the Objections that have been yet made, or that ever will be made, to the Conduct of the Great Men beforementioned. This ingenious Gentleman being furniſhed with Materials for a Pamphlet, (I mean a Treaſure of uſeful Hints) by that moſt profound Politician *Diaccum*, *Zani* to Sir *Sidrophel the Roſicrucian*, (See Vol. II. p. 353.) and they having put their wiſe Heads together, and conſider'd what a Clamour has run thro' the Nation about *Blundering*, reſolved to ſilence it at once, by a Method altogether new, and that is, by owning that there have been a plentiful Crop of Blunders; the Wit of the Thing is yet to come, for you ſhall ſee how he turns it upon the Adverſaries of his Patron; if there have been a plentiful Crop of Blunders for 16 Years paſt, to what are they to be charg'd? Why to the Treaty of *Utrecht*. Tho' this Diſcovery has been received with a great Deal of contemptible Laughter, and been treated as a moſt ridiculous and impudent Chicane, I will undertake to prove what Mr. *Walſingham* has truly aſſerted.

It never has been denied by any Political Writer that I cou'd hear of, that a long Miſunderſtanding with *Spain* muſt always prove a pernicious Conſequence to *England*; and I know it to be ſo, even by a very late Experience. The *Spaniards* ſome Years ago took it into their Heads to be offended at our attacking and deſtroying their Fleet in the *Mediterranean*; but why did we take that up? was it not owing to a Contention that happened in Relation to the Iſland of *Sicily*? The Imperial Majeſty had a Mind *to ſell the Rabbit*, that is, he had a Mind to exchange the Iſland of *Sardinia* for the Iſland of *Sicily*; and who can blame him? For I think it was a very good Bargain on his Side. The Duke of *Savoy*, then King of *Sicily*, not having an Inclination to buy *the Rabbit*, ſignified as much to the Court of *Spain*; and there being ſome Articles in the Treaty of *Utrecht*, that no Alteration was to be made in the Diſpoſitions ſtipulated by the ſaid Treaty, without the Conſent of all the contracting Parties, as the *Spaniards* pretend, *Spain* fits out a Fleet to prevent any Exchange to be made with or without the Conſent of the King of *Sardinia*; but their Fleet was deſtroy'd, and the Exchange took Effect.

As it is well known, that the *Spaniards* highly reſented this Treatment, and that this Reſentment continued long; if therefore any Promiſes were made by Letters, or otherwiſe, to give them up *Gibraltar*, in order to put them into better Humour, was it not right? certainly it was. But you will ſay the ill Humour muſt break out again in worſe Symptoms, when it ſhould be found that theſe Promiſes were not to be effectuated; but on whom can all this be juſtly charg'd? Was it not thoſe wicked Miniſters, who made the Treaty of *Utrecht*, who procured the Iſland of *Sicily* for the Duke of *Savoy*? whereby, it has proved a Bone of Contention; whereas, had it been left to the King of *Spain*, none of theſe Diſputes wou'd have happened about it. Was it not the ſame wicked Miniſters who obliged the *Spaniards* to give up all their Right to the impregnable Fortreſs of *Gibraltar*; whereas, had it been reſtored to them by the Treaty of *Utrecht*, no Promiſe need to have been made, no ill Humour, no Contention wou'd have happened about it.

Another Thing which alarm'd the Nation, and gave all the Proprietors of the *South Sea* Stock in particular no ſmall Uneaſineſs, was the *Spaniards* ſeizing their annual Ship in the *Weſt Indies*; for this a Cry was raiſed againſt our Miniſters at home, and they were abuſed by a diſaffected Multitude, for not giving the Company Notice of the Miſunderſtanding with *Spain*, that the Ship might be ſtopt from going out; whereas, had there been common Juſtice amongſt them, they would have charg'd it, where it ought to be charg'd, upon the Treaty of *Utrecht*; for it was the wicked Miniſters who made that Treaty, who obliged the *Spaniards* to agree that an annual Ship loaded with the Manufactures of *England* ſhould be ſent to the *Weſt Indies*, and to receive nothing but Dollars, and ſome other Things of as little Value in Return; and this was done with ſuch Circumſtances of Selfiſhneſs, that they did not procure the ſame Privilege for any other Nation, no not ſo much as for the *Dutch*; whereby we alone were left ſubject to theſe Misfortunes. I therefore maintain, if they had not made that wicked Article, the Ship could never have been ſeized.

A third Affair that furniſhed Matter for Clamour was, the *French* opening the Harbour of *Dunkirk*; and indeed the Noiſe which the Diſaffected made about it here, might have embroil'd us with *France*, had it not been for the matchleſs Prudence of our wiſe and able Miniſters; but will any Man deny that this Diſturbance was likewiſe intirely owing to the Treaty of *Utrecht*; for did not the Miniſters who made that Treaty inſiſt upon it by Way of Preliminary, that the Harbour of *Dunkirk* ſhould be filled up, and all thoſe Fortifications, which coſt ſo many Millions of Livres, be intirely demoliſhed; and had this never been done, could there have been ſo much as Room for any Trouble or Diſpute about it?

Thus you ſee all this made out even to a Demonſtration. Then ſince it is proved, that all the Treaties and Conventions, as well as the Foreign and Domeſtick Meaſures which have been entered upon for ſeveral Years paſt, are lineally deſcended from the Treaty of *Utrecht*, (I will not ſay that they are all its lawful Iſſue, becauſe I am not ſure but there may be ſome Baſtards amongſt them) but as they all own that Treaty for its Anceſtor, let the World judge whether it has not Reaſon to be proud of its Poſterity.

Nothing therefore, in my humble Opinion, is more to be admir'd at, than the Lenity of thoſe great Men who have thus long been miſrepreſented and abuſed; for as ſome Perſons are ſtill living, who were not only Adviſers, but had a Share in negotiating that wicked Treaty of *Utrecht*, I ſee no Reaſon why an Impeachment ſhould not be promoted againſt them, that they may be brought to anſwer for all the Diſtreſſes and Loſſes, which have fallen upon the Nation from the Concluſion of that flagitious Treaty to this Day. I think the Points here touch'd on would make 3 or 4 very good Articles againſt them, *viz.* the Depredations of our Merchants which followed the Attack upon the Spaniſh Fleet, the Siege of *Gibraltar*, and the opening the Harbour of *Dunkirk*. But why ſhould we ſtop here? why ſhould not the immenſe Expences in Subſidies to the Landgrave of *Heſſe*, the Duke of *Wolfenbottle*, the King of *Sweden*, &c. as well as that of the ſeveral Naval Expeditions to the *Weſt Indies*, the *Mediterranean*, the *Baltick* (not ſuppoſing that to *Spithead*) be alſo laid to their Charge? But beſides all this, I think a certain Number of Perſons, not exceeding a Hundred and Fifty, ſhould be appointed to read over and examine all the Treaties and Conventions that have been made ſince that of *Utrecht*; and if any Inconſiſtencies or Contradictions ſhould be found in them, ſuch as may at preſent, or at any Time hereafter involve us in Difficulties, or draw us into Wrangles or open Ruptures with our Neighbours, they ought to be made Articles againſt theſe Gentlemen, for the Reaſons which the ſage and eloquent Mr. *Walſingham* has given, becauſe all ſubſequent Treaties have proceeded upon the Treaty of *Utrecht*.

To conclude, I think it as clear as any Propoſition in *Euclid*, that if thoſe Meaſures and that Treaty which gain'd the Prince abovemention'd for *Great Britain*, were inequitous and diſhonourable; and ſuch was the Treaty of *Utrecht*, as Mr. *Walſingham* aſſerts, which I hope the Publick will allow to be Authority good enough; it muſt follow, that ſuch Meaſures and Treaties as ſhall give them up, muſt be juſt and honourable; nay, I will go farther, and venture to maintain, that thoſe Meaſures that ſhall only bring them into Danger and Diſpute, are not without their Merit. Then, what becomes of all this mighty Noiſe about Blundering?

Weekly Miſcellany, April 13. N° 70.

A SPECIMEN of *Lying without Shame*, in a late Pamphlet, entitled, *A Letter to the Rev. Dr.* Codex, *on the Subject of his modeſt Inſtruction to the Crown, inſerted in the* Daily Journal *of* Feb. 27, 1733, *from the Second Volume of* Burnet's *Hiſtory*.

CHARGE.

1. *HE cauſed the Paragraph referred to in Biſhop* Burnet's *Hiſtory, to be inſerted in the* Daily Journal, *and was at the Charge of it.*

2. *He is charged with the Poſitions and Reaſonings in a* Letter to the Clergy, *on Occaſion of the Impeachment of the late Biſhop* Atterbury.

3. *He takes upon him to preſcribe to the King how he ſhall diſpoſe of the Eccleſiaſtical Preferments in the Gift of the Crown.*

DISCHARGE.

1. HE knows not to this Day, by what or by whoſe Direction, it was inſerted, nor had he any Concern in the Expence.

2. He was not the Writer of that Letter, nor does he know to this Day who was, otherwiſe than by common Fame.

3. He acquaints the King's *Miniſters* (who *expect* it from him) with what he knows, or what is generally thought, concerning the Perſons who are recommended to thoſe Preferments, and their Fitneſs or Unfitneſs for ſuch Station.

4 Th

CHARGE.

He opposes a Person now recommended to a Promotion, on Account of Things spoken conversation many Years ago.

DISCHARGE.

4. His Dislike of the Promotion of that Person, was expressed where it was proper, in Pursuance of the Article last mentioned, before he had the least Knowledge of that Dis-

e about *Abraham*, and the Denial of his having had a *Command* from God to sacrifice his Son.

It happened (says the Writer of the Let-*hat a Priest in the District, where he* [*Dr.*] *had Authority, a Man of the most rate Principles, and of the most infamous Character, was known to him by the meritorious ction of a most violent Bigot. As he was known to all the World by every immoral Practice, y his avowed Disaffection to the Royal Family. This wicked Man, and what better could be ed from him? was as unnatural in his Vices, as he was odious in his Behaviour. He had en made scandalous by his most shocking Amours, and at length was exposed by one of a fla-Kind carried on with the* Clerk of his own Parish; *he had by his Practices on this Person, e him under the Operations of Surgeons. The Fact was too notorious for the Crime to pass unpunish'd.*

5. He knew not that he was a *Bigot* to any Party, either in Policy or Religion.

The honest Laity thought it a Matter, fit e Cognizance and Correction of the Civil strate; but whilst this Purpose was in tion, his reverend Superior interposed, for our of his Order, desiring that this vile quent might be first prosecuted in the Spiritual Court, *where having once been formally di- of his Ecclesiastical Character, he might then be decently delivered up to the Secular Power, nished in his Lay Capacity, for Crimes which he actually had attempted in his Clerical . The Prosecution under this Management, was begun, was spun out with tedious Delays, fter the most trifling Defence, was at length concluded to the Condemnation of the accused Party.*

6. He did not divert the Prosecutor from carrying the Cause into the *Temporal* Court; nor did the Prosecutor himself ever propose to carry it into any other Court but the Spiritual.

An Appeal was then lodged, was pro- in an extraordinary Manner, and the llant found guilty *again of those unnatural ices which had been laid to his Charge. ew the Use of these Delays! The Prosecuti- been so long depending, that it would have Countenance in the Civil Courts, had an ment been preferred so long after the Fact. The Father of the Flock having therefore, his Design, prevailed, by his Influence, e Process should continue so long depending, t last, with great Humility, and bro- Love, by his good Offices, moderate the ment, and screen the unnatural Offender Justice.*

7. The Cause did not come to Sentence in the *Bishop of London*'s Court, but was carried by Appeal to that of the Archbishop by the Clergyman himself, upon the rejecting of some additional Allegations, which he offered in the Bishop's Court.

8. The Bishop never interposed with the Judge of either Court, to delay or suspend, or mitigate the Sentence; and as it is well known to be a Rule with him, not to *interpose*, in any Case, in Matters judicially depending before his Court; so, in this particular Case, the Judges of both Courts affirm, that there was no unnecessary Delay; and for

ruth of what they affirm, they appeal to the Acts of their respective Courts.

The Spiritual Judge condemned him as of all those unnatural Practices, *yet ged him by a Commutation of* 100*l. reproving him, in the gravest Stile, for riminal Conversation with his* Clerk, *joining him not to commit such filthy Sins e to come. Thus was Justice disarmed Power to punish the worst Offences! did an intriguing Ecclesiastick, screen ities in his own Order, which he had d with all the Vengeance of Law in the f other Men! And do you not think, ere such a Man to be entrusted with su- Power in the Church, be would employ uickedly and as partially, in* stigmatiz- *me, as he hath employed it in* screening *rs? And that as he can protect the worst Sort of Men in their Crimes, for being subservi- his exorbitant Projects, he would* blacken the *fair* Reputation *of others, for being too honest in supporting his Iniquities?*

He refused to take the Oaths to the Go- ent.

9. The Proofs produced to make good the Charge of *the unnatural Crime*, were found insufficient in the Archbishop's Court; and the Money he was there adjudged to pay, was not by Way of *Commutation*, but only for *Costs of Suit*, on Account of some Irregularities of *other* Kinds, which were proved, and the Punishment of which, by the established Method of Proceeding, could be carried no further than an *Admonition*.—These Things, the Writer of the Letter might have known, by looking into the Acts of the two Courts, to which all People have free Access, and by consulting the Persons who were concerned in the Prosecution.

10. A little after the Revolution, while the Question concerning the *Lawfulness* of

DISCHARGE.

taking the Oaths was agitated, he declined to take his Degree of Batchelor of Arts in the University for some Months, till he had satisfied himself, by comparing the Writings on both Sides, that *William* and *Mary* were King and Queen *de jure*, as well as *de facto*.

This plain Account of *Facts* will speak for itself, and needs neither Comment, nor Aggravation. The only Favour that is desired of the Reader, is, that he will have the Patience distinctly to compare the several Heads of the *Charge* and *Discharge*; and when that is done, he is left to pass what Judgment he pleases upon the Writer of the Letter.

There is one Fact more which I do not fully understand, but I *guess* it to relate to the Promotion of the present Bishop of *Norwich*, and the *GREAT BUTT* in *Capitals*, to be a *little Pun* upon his Lordship's Name. Whether my *Conjecture* be right or not, I shall relate the Story as it has been confidently reported, and as firmly believed. The Substance of it is thus; That when Dr. *Butts* was proposed for the See of *Norwich*, the *Bishop* of *London* tried to hinder his Advancement, and made very free with his Character; but finding all the *Opposition* he could make, ineffectual, he wrote *complimental Letters*, expressing great Satisfaction in the Promotion, and a great Opinion of the Person promoted. This Report is without any Manner of Foundation, as I do aver upon the Authority of the Bishop of *Norwich*, who assured me at his own Table, before several Persons, that the *Bishop* of *London* never did *oppose* his Promotion, never spoke slightingly of his Character, never wrote one Letter to him in his whole Life.

Since so great a Stress is laid in the *Letter*, upon the Share which the *Lord High Chancellor* has in the Disposal of *Ecclesiastical* Favours of the *Crown*, it may not be amiss to inform the Writer of some Particulars which he does not seem to know. The Chancellor does indeed *nominate* to all Promotions in the Gift of the Crown, valued at 20*l.* or under, in the King's Books: But it as true,

1. That in antient Times, when that Grant was made, the *Chancellors* were generally *Ecclesiastical* Persons, and, as such, proper Judges of the Qualifications of Candidates; but if the *Chancellor* presents a Clerk who is *immoral* or *insufficient* in *Point* of *Learning*, the Bishop of the Diocese has, by *Law*, the same Right to refuse him that he has to refuse the Clerk of any private Person.

2. That the Record of Parliament, which recognizes the Right (4to *Edward.* III.) especially mentions the End for which the Grant was given by the Crown, *viz.* to enable the Chancellor to provide for the Clerks of Chancery, and other Courts, who in those Days were Persons in *Holy Orders*; and accordingly the Direction, even in the Record, is, that the Chancellor give such Benefices to the King's Clerks of the Chancery, Exchequer, and both Benches, and not to others.

This *indecent* and *imprudent* Letter is directed to Dr. *Codex*, by whom every one knows is meant the *Bishop* of *London*; but many may be ignorant of the *Ingenuity* of the Author in giving his Lordship the Title of Dr. *Codex*. The Bishop, when only Dr. *Gibson*, published a Book, which the Author does not at all like, and unluckily called it a *Codex*. Now what does this shrewd Writer do, but wittily give his Lordship the Name of his own Book, and then treats the *Author* with more Contempt than ever a *Bookseller* treated a *hackney Garretteer*.

After so much Scurrility towards a Person of his Lordship's high and eminent Character, inferior Clergymen have no Reason to expect any respectful Treatment. The two worthy Persons who, as it is expected, will appear (as Occasion requires) as Evidence in the Cause which has stirred up the Resentments of the *Letter-Writer*, are bespattered very plentifully with his *Filth*. As tender as he is of the Reputation of the Person *accused*, he endeavours to fix an *ill Fame* upon the *Accuser*, of whom he knew nothing. They will *jure* themselves to hinder the Advancement of a Gentleman, against whom they have not the least *personal Prejudice*: They are *interested Tale-bearers*, without any Prospect of Advantage; I suppose the *Letter-Writer* will not charge them with having any Prospect of Advantage from the *Friends* of the Gentleman accused; and I am very well assured they *voluntarily* appeared, without any View of making a Merit of their Evidence, and that they are incapable, for the Sake of any Preferment how great soever, of giving a false Testimony, or doing a wilful Act of Injustice.

Who the *Letter-Writer* is, the *Title* does not inform us; but if there be any Dependence upon *Criticism*, any reasonable Conjecture to be drawn from *Sameness* of *Sentiments*, *Style*, and *Language*, the Author of two Pamphlets upon *Bishop Hare's* 30th of *January* Sermon, and a Sermon said to be preached at *Lincoln's-Inn* by a *Layman*, was likewise the Author of *this Letter*, which is dated from the same Place. But if I have injured Mr. *C——d——n* in my Conjecture, and he will declare, either in an Advertisement, or in a Letter to *you*, that he did not write it, nor had *any Hand in it*, I dare say you'll do him Justice in your next Paper.

Yours,

The Author of the Examiner Examin'd.

London

London Journal, April 13. N° 772.

IN Anſwer to the laſt *Craſtſman* (See p. 181.) *Oſborne* ſays, The *Practice* of that *Clauſe* of *Magna Charta*, in the Senſe I have laid it down, is confirm'd by a clear Record 20 Years after, *viz.* in the 19th of *Hen.* III. in *Engliſh* thus:

The King to the Sheriff of Suſſex, *Greeting. Know ye, that the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, Priors, Earls, Barons, and all others of our Kingdom,* who hold of us in Capite, *have granted us an effectual Aid*, &c.

What a *profound* Antiquary, and *ſagacious* Reaſoner, is our Author, to bring the 49th of *Henry* III. (above 50 Years after *Magna Charta* was made) to prove the Senſe of it, by the *ſubſequent Practice*, to be confirming the *Peoples Right to ſend Deputies*; when it does not appear, that *the People* did ſend *Deputies*, even in this very Parliament: For there is vaſtly more Reaſon to believe, that the *Sheriffs* of *Montfort*'s Faction *nominated* the *Knights*, *Citizens*, and *Burgeſſes*, and that *the People* did not chuſe one of them. But however, this is certain, that the *ſubſequent Practice* of ſummoning to Parliaments, from the Time of King *John*'s *Magna Charta* to the 49th of *Henry* III. and the Summons after that Year, even almoſt down to the Middle of *Edward* I. confirm that *Senſe* of the *Clauſe* in which I have explain'd it.

But let us hear what *Rapin* ſays about this *Parliament* of *Hen.* III. and *the Subject* we are upon.

This Step being taken, ſays he, (that is, of Montfort's Faction *nominating* Conſervators of the Kingdom, &c.) *the King was made to ſign* new Orders *to the Conſervators, to* nominate *(as the original* French *of* Rapin *has it) four Knights of each County to ſit in the enſuing Parliament, as Repreſentatives of their Shires. From hence many affirm,* the Original *of the Right of the* Commons *to ſit in Parliament takes its Date. They maintain, this is the* firſt Time *that the ſeveral Counties undeniably appear to ſend Repreſentatives to the Parliament; that all the Reaſons alledged to prove* the Commons *enjoy'd this Privilege before the Year* 1264, *are ſubject to ſo many Difficulties, that they can't be ſaid to amount to a clear Proof. It ſeems indeed, that a good Reaſon can't be produc'd, why the Hiſtorians would* unanimouſly *take Notice, that, on* this Occaſion, *there were in the Parliament* Repreſentatives *of each County, if* the ſame Thing *had been* cuſtomary *from the Beginning of the Monarchy, or at leaſt, from the* Norman *Conqueſt.*

Craſtſman, April 13. N° 406.

Mr. D'Anvers, *addreſſing himſelf to the* Electors *of* Great-Britain, *begins with an Abſtract of the late Act of Parliament*, for the more effectual preventing Bribery *and* Corruption, *with a few ſhort, explanatory Comments upon it.*

IT is ſet forth, in the Preamble, *that the Laws already in Being have been found by Experience not to be ſufficient to prevent* corrupt, and illegal Practices in the Election of Members to ſerve in Parliament; *for the Remedy therefore of ſo great an Evil, and to the End that all Elections of Members to Parliament may hereafter be* freely and indifferently made, without Charge or Expence, *it is enacted, that after the 24th of* June 1729, *upon every Election of Members to ſerve for the Commons in Parliament, every Freeholder, Citizen, Freeman, Burgeſs, or Perſon, having a Right to vote, or be polled at ſuch Election, ſhall, before he is admitted to poll, take the* following Oath, *(or being a* Quaker, *the* ſolemn Affirmation) *if demanded by* either of the Candidates, *or any* two of the Electors. [N. B. *This* Oath *is in the* Freeholder's Political Catechiſm, *which we have given before*, Page 165; *and therefore we omit it here.*]

Which Oath, *or* Affirmation, *the* Officer *preſiding, or taking the Poll, is to adminiſter* gratis, *if demanded, on Pain of* 50 l. *to be recovered with full Coſts, by Action of Debt*, &c. *at* Weſtminſter; *and if the Offence be committed in* Scotland, *then to be recovered by ſummary Action, or Complaint, before the* Court of *Seſſion*, or by Proſecution before the *Court of* Juſticiary *there*; *and none ſhall be admitted to poll, till he hath taken the ſaid* Oath, *if demanded, before the* returning Officer, *or others deputed by him.*

The Sheriff, *or* other returning Officer, *admitting any to be polled, without taking the* Oath, *or* Affirmation, *if demanded, ſhall incur the like Penalty.*

It is farther required by the *Act*, *that every* Sheriff *and* returning Officer, *ſhall immediately after reading the* Writ, *take the following* Oath, viz.

I *A. B.* do ſolemnly ſwear that I have not, directly nor indirectly, received any Sum or Sums of *Money, Office, Place*, or *Employment, Gratuity*, or *Reward*, or any *Bond, Bill*, or *Note*, or any *Promiſe*, or *Gratuity* whatſoever, either by myſelf, or any other Perſon to my Uſe, or Benefit, or Advantage, for making any Return, at the preſent Election of Members to ſerve in Parliament; and that I will return ſuch Perſon, or Perſons, as ſhall to the beſt of my Judgment, appear to me to have the *Majority of legal Votes.*

Such Votes *ſhall be deemed* legal, *which have been ſo declared by the* laſt Determination of the Houſe of Commons.

If

If any returning Officer, Elector, *or Perſon taking the* Oath, *or* Affirmation, *ſhall be guilty of* wilful Perjury, *or* falſe-Affirming, *and be thereof convicted by due Courſe of Law, he ſhall incur the* Pains *and* Penalties *inflicted, in Caſes of* Wilful Perjury.

None convicted of Perjury *ſhall, after Conviction,* be capable of Voting in any Election of Members to ſerve in Parliament.

This Point is farther explained by the *following Clauſes*, which enact,

That if any Perſon, who hath, or claimeth a Right to vote in any ſuch Election, ſhall aſk or take any Money, *or other Reward, by Way of* Gift, Loan, *or* other Device, *or contract ſo to do, to give his Vote, or to refuſe or forbear to give his Vote; or if any Perſon by himſelf, or any one employed by him, ſhall by* Gift, *or* Reward, Promiſe, Agreement, *or* Security, corrupt, *or* procure *any one to give his Vote, or to forbear to give his Vote, in any ſuch Election, he ſhall forfeit for* every ſuch Offence *the Sum of* 500 l. *to be recovered as before directed with full Coſts; and every Perſon, after Judgment obtain'd againſt him, ſhall for ever be diſabled to vote in any Election, or to hold any Office, or Franchiſe, as a Member of any* City, Borough, Town-corporate, *or* Cinque-Port.

If any Perſon, offending againſt this Act, *ſhall, within twelve Months next after ſuch Election, diſcover any* other Perſon offending, *ſo that he be convicted, ſuch Perſon, not having been before that Time convicted himſelf, ſhall be indemnify'd from all* Penalties *and* Diſabilities, *which he ſhall then have incurred.*

Theſe Clauſes (ſays *D'Anvers*) are not only a ſtronger Reſtraint on the *Electors*, but lay a very heavy Penalty on the *Agents of Corruption*; who are liable to a Forfeiture of 500 l. beſides the *Incapacities* before-mentioned for *every individual Man*, whom they *corrupt*, or *procure* to vote, or to forbear voting, in any Election; and as a farther Terror to *theſe Men*, every *corrupted Elector* hath the Power of indemnifying himſelf from all the Penalties of *this Act*, within twelve Months, by diſcovering the *Corrupter*, and bringing him to condign Puniſhment. It is therefore hoped that every *Briton*, who deſires to ſee a *free Parliament*, will keep a watchful Eye upon all *reputed Borough-Jobbers*, and *Brokers of Elections*, who prowl about the Country on theſe *vile Errands*, and earn the infamous Wages of *Corruption*, by endeavouring to deſtroy the Liberty of our *antient Conſtitution*.

The remaining Proviſions in *this Law* are to the following Effect, *viz.*

That all Sheriffs *and* other Officers *ſhall, at the Time of* Election, *immediately after reading the* Writ, *or* Precept, *read, or cauſe to be read, openly before the* Electors, *this preſent Act, and every Clauſe therein; that it ſhall alſo be read once in every Year at the Quarter-Seſſions next after* Eaſter, *and at the Election of the* chief Magiſtrate *in any Borough*, Town-corporate, *or Cinque Port, as well as at the Election of* Magiſtrates *and* Town-Counſellors *for every Borough in* Scotland.

That all Sheriffs, *or* other Officers, *ſhall forfeit the Sum of* 50 l. *for every* wilful Offence againſt this Act. And laſtly, *that no Perſon ſhall be made liable to any Incapacity, or Forfeiture, unleſs Proſecution be commenc'd within* two Years *after ſuch Incapacity or Penalty ſhall be incurred, or, in Caſe of a Proſecution, unleſs the ſame ſhall be carried on without any* wilful Delay.

Such are the Proviſions of this excellent and truly glorious Act, which is ſo far from being *oppreſſive*, or *terrible*, as the *miniſterial Writers* have repreſented it, that the Preſervation of our *Liberties* depends on the Execution of it. Indeed, *Hirelings*, and particularly the *Couranteers*, have often threatened us (ſays *D'Anvers*) with a Critick upon it, and endeavoured to cajole the lower Part of the Nation, by pleading for *Corruption* as one of their Privileges. But I ſhall never be afraid, or aſhamed, to juſtify the *Intention of this Law*, and heartily wiſh that it may be put ſtrictly in Force, without any Regard to *Parties*, or *Perſons whatſoever*.

It is certainly the Intereſt of all *Country Gentlemen* to fulfil this Deſign of the Legiſlature, as the only effectual Method to defeat the Practices of *Stockjobbers*, *Placemen*, *Penſioners*, and *other Upſtarts*, who bribe them out of their neighbouring Boroughs, where they have a natural Right to be choſen, and would be choſen in a *free Election*.

It is likewiſe demonſtrable that even the *meaneſt Electors* would ſoon find their Account in deſtroying *this Practice*; for if we look round the Kingdom, we ſhall find that *Venality* is the conſtant Forerunner of *Poverty*, and that the *moſt corrupt Boroughs* are always the *moſt beggarly*. I believe nobody will pretend to deny that the Abolition of a few Taxes on the common Neceſſaries of Life, ſuch as *Salt*, *Soap*, *Candles* and *Leather*, would be of more real and laſting Benefit to the People, than what they can ever propoſe to get by *Bribery*, beſides the Proſtitution of their *Conſciences*, the Loſs of their *Reputations*, and the *Penalties* they incur, by ſuch a ſcandalous Traffick.

I ſhall therefore conclude with my earneſt Wiſhes and ſincere Advice that even the *pooreſt Boroughs* will purge themſelves from the Infamy of being, as Biſhop *Burnet* calls them, * *the rotten Part of our Conſtitution*, and co-operate with the *Counties*, *Cities*, and *great Corporations*, in procuring us the Bleſſing of a *free and uncorrupt Parliament*.

§ *The Miſchiefs of Bribery.*

CICERO, in the ſecond Book of his *Offices*, highly

* Burnet's *Hiſt. of his own Times*, Vol. II. p. 295.

highly commends a wise Rebuke, which *Philip of Macedon* gave his Son *Alexander*, for foolishly attempting to gain the Affections of the *Macedonians* by *Bribery*. He wrote his Son a Letter upon it, in these Words. *Quæ te, malum! ratio in istam spem induxit, ut eos tibi fideles putares fore, quos pecunia corrupisses? An tu id agis, ut* Macedones *non te* Regem suum, *sed* ministrum & præbitorem *sperent* fore? *What Notion is this, that you have got in your Head? Can you imagine the Fidelity and Affection of the Subject are to be acquired by* Bribery *and* Corruption? *Or is this your Motive, that the* Macedonians *may not consider you as one, who is to be their* Sovereign, *but a Minister to their* Extravagance *and* Corruption? *Tully* makes this Remark upon it, which is equally fine; *Bene* ministrum & præbitorem; *quia sordidum* Rem. *Melius etiam, quod* Largitionem Corruptelam *esse dixit. Fit enim deterior, qui accipit, atque ad idem semper expectandum paratior.* Which imports thus much, *'Tis sordid and mean, below the Dignity of a* great King, *to hurt the Affection of his People with* base Bribes. Largesses, *or the giving of Money, is* Corruption *itself; for the* Receiver *becomes a worse Man, and is always apt to increase his Demands.*

This Maxim of *Philip* (says *D'Anvers*) is certainly one of the wisest in the whole System of Politicks; that a *King giving Bribes to his own Subjects* renders himself mean and sordid; that he never gains the true Affection of one Person by it; that he subjects himself to the arbitrary Will and fantastical Government of *such Prostitutes*; and that his Crown is at their Disposal to the * *highest Bidder.*

An *unpension'd Subject* will give the wisest Counsel to his *Prince*, and will always consult the most faithful to him. It is the true Interest of the *Prince* to have such about him, as will not flatter him, for the Sake of *Money*. The greatest Danger, that can happen to a *Prince*, will arise from such of his own *Servants*, as from their own *corrupt Principles* would sell him and his Counsels to the common Enemy. *Treason* is too often the constant Attendant upon *Corruption*. A Government may be conducted with the greatest Security, without employing these *pecuniary Arts* at all; for a *wise Administration* will always stand upon its own Legs, and support itself without the Assistance of *Gold*. It can make a whole People, almost from a State of Barbarity, to the Height of Greatness and Luxury Virtue.

[illegible]'s *Journal*, April 13. N° 284.

[illegible]*course upon* Politicks. *By* Timothy Scrub *of Rag-Fair*, Esq;

ANCIENTLY this Word *Politicks* was thought to be derived from πολιτικὰ, *Books of Government*; but the Moderns more judiciously derive it from πολυπλυχ@, which signifies *what has many Foldings*, intricate: But we *English* do not agree with our Neighbours in deriving *Politicks* from this *Theme*, for it is evident that the fashionable *Policy* is very far from being intricate: there is hardly a School-boy but can see what are the Maxims of certain Administrations, they go on in a plain beaten Road, turn neither to the Right nor the Left. Wherefore those who will have this Word to be derived from πολὺς *multus*, many, and τίχνη *Ars*, *Art* or *Trick*, go a great Way about to no Purpose. I am of Opinion, that the Word is a Compound of *Greek* and *English*, by the Figure *Apocope*, which is the Cutting off the last Syllable. Thus Politicks may reasonably be derived from πολὺς *many*, and *tickle*, by *Apocope*, *tick*----*Politick*. Now the *Greek* υ is always *y* in Roman Characters, consequently it is *Polytick*; and as the *i* is used for *y* 'tis *Politick*. I don't question but I shall have the Thanks of the Learned for this very useful Discovery.

To tickle may be taken in either an active or passive Sense; to tickle or itch is in the *Latin* the same, *prurio* a Verb Neuter; consequently, if I say the *Freeholders* have *itching Palms*, it is the same Thing as if I had said their *Palms tickle them*; and the Tickling of them, in *Latin titillare*, is the same Thing as Scratching them, since *titillare* is from the *Greek* τίλλω, doubling the first Syllable; and τίλλω is *leviter attrecto*, to touch gently.

Of what prodigious Use is Learning! For here, the Genius of a Nation and the Art of Government are discovered by the Etymon of Words. To corroborate this, we know that *North Britain* is more subject to the *Yeuck* or *Itch*, than any other Part of this Island, and we see the *North British* Patients have many of them publickly as well as gratefully acknowledged the Ease and Pleasure they have received from our Practitioners, who, in this Sense may, not improperly, be called the scrubbing *Posts* of the Nation, especially as they are allowed, by all, to be a very *wooden* Set; but as the *Itch* is like the *Gout*, hardly ever eradicated, this scrubbing, scratching, or gentle Attrectation, gives Ease but for a while, especially to *North Britons*; tho' with the greater Part of the *South Britons*, a thorough scrubbing will put off the Fit for seven Years. It is thought that Dr. *Brazen*, who has the best Specifick, will find a Remedy to make one Operation sufficient to free a Man for his Life, and so thoroughly cleanse his Blood, that he shall not transmit this *impolitical* Itching to his Posterity.

Politicks, from what has been observed, is according to the different Nations, the discovering the Genius or Malady of a People, and the humouring or curbing the one, and the bring-

* *See* Wolfius *and* Grævius, *upon this Passage of* Cicero.

ing

ing proper Remedies for the other. The Politicks of a certain Nation have hitherto been *ſcratching*, *tickling*, and drenching the diſeas'd with *Aurum Potabile*, a Chymical Preparation, tho' not invented, yet greatly improved by the abovementioned Doctor, and to be had at his Laboratory, at the Sign of the *Chequer* in *Weſtminſter*, or at his Houſe in St. *J*—— *Square*, there being a Light over the Door always in the Evening; but as this Specifick requires a great deal of Time for Preparation, the Doctor opens his Laboratory but once in ſeven Years, except on ſome Emergency; he has been lately courted to open every three Years, but he proteſted it was impoſſible to bring his Preparation to Perfection in that Time; but as the *North Britons*, far the moſt of any, ſtood more in need of his Aſſiſtance, he would keep a Quantity by him for their Uſe, as he ſhould find the Diſtemper return upon them.

As this *Aurum Potabile* and the keeping a Number of *Clawers* in every County, tho' effectual, is a very chargeable and troubleſome Method of aſſiſting the Diſtemper'd; 'tis ſaid, the *Doctor* is of Opinion that Phlebotomy, Catharticks, and a Fleſh-bruſh, will produce more wonderful Effects, and has therefore augmented the Number of his Servants one Fifth, and intends to diſperſe them thro' *Britain*, to try if this Method will not work a thorough, and a much cheaper Cure: Wherefore the Publick will have Notice given in the Papers, that he diſpenſes his *Wonder-working* Doſe but once more, and whoever is, after that Time, troubled with an itching Palm, ſhall be rubb'd down *Gratis* by one of his Men, who, that the People may not be abuſed by Counterfeits, will be dreſs'd in Red, with remarkable high Caps, ſomewhat like our Grenadiers, and he will take none into his Service but who may be diſtinguiſh'd by a Gunpowder Look.

As his Tenderneſs and Love for his Country are extream, and People grumble at the large Sums he has made them pay towards the Preparation of his Medicines, he will not impoſe any for the future, but will, as the Exigency of Affairs requires Supplies, give out *Briefs* for the charitable Contribution of all true *Engliſhmen* to relieve their diſtreſs'd Country; and as Experience has proved that moſt Brief-gatherers have converted Part of the publick Charity to private Uſe, he will prevent all ſuch Miſapplications for the future, by collecting with his *Clawers*, who are too honeſt to ſink upon us; who will do it without additional Pay, and whoſe perſuaſive Rhetorick will move the moſt flinty Hearts.

Grubſtreet Journal, April 18. N° 225.

The Importance of our Fiſhery, in Reſpect of employing the Poor. *(See p. 139.)*

MEANWELL now proceeds to conſider the Value and Conſequence of the Fiſhing, from the Employment it may give to our Poor. The great Burthen of the Poor-Rates (ſays he) is ſenſibly felt all over the Kingdom; and the intolerable Grievances from the Numbers begging in the Streets and High-Ways, is univerſally complain'd of. Beſides, a very great Part of those Immoralities, which furniſh ſuch conſtant Buſineſs for the Seſſions in and about *London*, and the Aſſizes all over the Kingdom, are occaſion'd by the Idleneſs which prevails amongſt People: And therefore a Remedy for theſe Evils ought to be ſought for with all poſſible Care and Diligence. I muſt acknowledge, that the real Want of Buſineſs is not the only Cauſe of theſe Inconveniencies; but the Want of Work, and Inability for it, are the common Pretences uſed by thoſe People to excuſe their Manner of Life. The Fiſhing would deprive them of both their Excuſes, becauſe of the various and eaſy Employments in preparing the Materials for it. There are but few of them, either young, old, lame, or blind, but could be very uſeful, and might gain a comfortable Subſiſtence, by teaſeing Okam, making or mending Nets and Lines, ſpinning Twine, in preparing the Hemp or making Cordage, cutting Cork, or making Baſkets; and many more Particulars, which require little Art or Labour, would employ many Thouſands of People. *John de Witt*, Penſionary of *Holland*, ſays, that 450,000 of the People of that Country were conſtantly employed in the Article of Fiſhing only; beſides the great Numbers who gained by their neceſſary Conſumption. Which is a convincing Evidence, that it would employ Multitudes of our Poor.

As Affairs have of late Years been managed in *Europe*, and are likely to be; Power depends more upon Riches, than upon the Numbers of People. A Nation therefore to be regarded amongſt its Neighbours, and to be able to purſue its true Intereſts, muſt make its Subjects to be gainfully employed, and allow as few as poſſible to be idle Conſumers. If the Gain of the Induſtrious over-balance the Conſumption of the Idle, the Kingdom muſt increaſe in Riches and Strength; but if otherwiſe, will be weak and conſumptive. Whatever therefore be our Caſe, by extending the Fiſhing would employ 100,000 People, of thoſe who at preſent are at leaſt uſeleſs, if not hurtful, Members of the Society, (which is but about a fifth Part of the Number ſaid to be employed in *Holland* by this Means, and is but a ſmall portion of our Poor) and if we compute the Labour of each at an Average to be but ſix Pence *per Diem*, the Nation would be by gain annually above 900,000*l.* a Sum well worth our Attention and Endeavours. And the Extent of our Coaſts, with the Plenty of Fiſh upon them, and their

...ption in foreign Countries, makes it evi-
...t, that such a national Gain is no unrea-
...able Expectation.

Craftsman, April 20. N° 407.

...e Account of the Conduct of the late Parliament.

A

N the Year 1728, a Sum of 115,000*l.* being demanded to make good a *Deficiency*, as it was first called, of the *Civil List*, it appearing to the House, upon Examination, that there was really no *Deficiency*, *worthy Representatives* (says *D'Anvers*) ...k an early Opportunity of distinguishing ...mselves in our Service, by granting *that* ...-*memorable Sum* under the Name of an ...*rear*.

B

This Parliament had likewise the Honour ... continuing 12000 *Hessian Troops* in our ..., for several Years, at an annual Ex...ce, which amounted to a *Land Tax* of ... *in the Pound*.

The Revival of the *Salt Duty*, after it ... been solemnly abolished, for the Ease of ... *poor Artificers and Manufacturers*, upon ...acious Recommendation from the Throne, ... mortgaging it for many Years to come, ...nother Point, which will certainly endear ... Memory of *this Parliament* to the Free...ers of *Great Britain*, and recommend ... *Promoters of it* to their Favour again at ... *ensuing Election*.

C

Their laudable Endeavours to extend the ... *of Excise* over the whole Kingdom, ... to curb the Spirits of *insolent Tradesmen*, ...ubjecting their Houses, Goods and Deal... to the Controul of a *State Inquisition*, ...resh in every Body's Memory.

D

...e must likewise do *these Gentlemen* the ...ice to acknowledge their invariable Re... for the Honour and Interest of the Na... as well as the Safety of our Constitution, ...heir ready Compliance with all Moti... for keeping up a *standing Army*, in ... of *profound Peace*, with a constant Ap...tion of all our *late Treaties*, *Expeditions*, ...*dients* and *Transactions* whatsoever.

E

...shall say nothing of those *vast Sums* ...h they have granted from Time to ..., for supporting *these Measures*, nor of ...resent State of our *publick Debts* and ...*king Fund*; but there is *one Point*, ...h must not be intirely pass'd over; I ... that *unlimited and unexampled Confi*... which they have lately reposed in the ..., together with the subsequent Clause ...*appropriation*; by which his *Majesty* ... at full Liberty, during the Interval of ...ment, to augment his *Forces by Sea*, *or* ... to enter into any *Engagements with* ...n Princes, and to apply what *Sums of* ... he shall think fit, out of the *annual*

F

Supplies, which amount almost to *Four Million*, without any Limitation of *Number*, or *Sum* whatsoever. *This Act* crowns all their former Services, and seems to be designed as their *last Legacy* to the Nation; for as it gives his Majesty a glorious Opportunity of demonstrating his tender Concern for our Liberties, by making no bad Use of such an *unprecedented Power*; so it will deliver down the Names of *those*, who gave it, with uncommon Marks of Distinction, to the latest Generations.

G

After such super-eminent Services, it may seem needless to mention their noble Zeal in detecting *publick Frauds*, and inflicting exemplary Punishment on the *Authors* of them. We have had diverse remarkable Instances of this; particularly with Relation to the Sale of the late Earl of *Derwentwater's Estate*, the *Management of the South-Sea Company*, the *Charitable Corporation*, and *York Buildings*; to which we may add their r gorous Enquiries into the *Frauds of the Customs*, and the Manner of contracting a *Navy Debt of almost Two Millions*.

I do not include *all the Members of the late House of Commons* in this funeral Oration to their Memory; for it is well known that many of them have distinguished themselves in that Assembly, by a most pertinacious Spirit of *Opposition*, and took a great Deal of ill-natur'd Pains to revive a *Country Interest* amongst us.

This puts me in Mind of another Topick, in Praise of the *late Parliament*, which I had almost forgot; for as they have the sole Credit of accomplishing all *these great Points*, so they have gained no less Honour by defeating several pernicious Bills and Proposals of the *Malignants* before-mention'd; such as the Bills *for better* qualifying *Members of Parliament*; *for securing the Freedom of* military Gentlemen *from the Resentment of a vindictive Minister*; *for limiting the Number of* Officers, *civil and military, who shall hereafter be allowed to sit in the House of Commons*; and, lastly, *for restoring Triennial Parliaments*.

These *uncourtly Patriots*, indeed, have had the good Fortune, by indefatigable Industry, and the Force of popular Clamour, to carry some Points of bad Consequence; particularly the *Jury-Act*, the *Stockjobbing Act*, and that *for the more effectual preventing* Bribery *and* Corruption *in the Election of Members to serve in Parliament*.——But as the bad Intention of the *first* was, in some Measure, defeated by a Clause for *Special Juries*; so some of the craftiest Heads in *England* are now hard at Work in devising Methods to elude the *others*.

When we reflect on this long Course of publick Spirit, Wisdom, and Integrity, who can look without Tears on *such an illustrious Body of Men* in the last Agonies of their political Death, and sinking again into the *com-*

mon Maſs of the People, from whence they were raiſed to do theſe great Things for us?

But to be ſerious,—As the *Repreſentative Body of the People* is now expired, and the Power is devolved to them again, in their *collective Capacity*; I hope they will make a proper Uſe of it at the approaching Elections, by chuſing a *new Repreſentative*, without *criminal Influence*, or any other Diſtinction than of *thoſe*, who have already made the Intereſt of their *Country* the Rule of their Conduct, and of *thoſe*, who have notoriouſly ſacrificed it to *private bad Ends*.

But if the fatal Taint of *Corruption*, or the Preſſures of *Neceſſity*, ſhould have taken ſo ſtrong a Poſſeſſion of their Minds, as to prevail over all the natural Impulſes of *Virtue*, *Conſcience*, and the *Reſtraint of Laws*, I muſt refer them for Advice, under theſe deſperate Circumſtances, to the Authors of *Cato's Letters*, who formerly thus addreſs'd them.

As to thoſe amongſt you, who are reſolved to take Money, *in ſpight of all Reaſon, human and divine, I know no Amends they can make for this their great Wickedneſs and Corruption, but to diſappoint* thoſe, *who give it, by* voting againſt them, *for* thoſe, *who do not, and deſerve their Vote without it. In doing this, they will only be falſe to* one Man, *who would bribe them out of their Honeſty; but will be juſt and honeſt to a* whole Nation. *But of the moſt of you, I know and hope the beſt Things. Your Hands are clean, and Hearts honeſt.*

Heaven grant it may prove ſo in the preſent Conjuncture! for on this the Preſervation of our *Liberties* abſolutely depends, under God and his Majeſty.

Fog's Journal, April 20. N° 285.

From a Pamphlet publiſhed above 20 Years ago (in the Reign of Q. *Anne*) entitled, *The Patriot's Propoſal to the People of* England *concerning the Ballot*, &c. Fog *makes the following Extracts.*

THAT we can never have a Parliament freely choſen by any Method now in Uſe, the divers ineffectual Acts for regulating Elections ſufficiently prove; when nothing has been done in that Matter, but what has been one way or other eaſily evaded, as to the Force or ſeeming Intent thereof: We ſay *ſeeming Intent*, becauſe it may juſtly be doubted, whether the Houſe of Commons has not done in this, as Engineers are ſaid to do in fortifying Towns, *viz.* always left ſome weak Place, that what they ſeem to ſecure may that Way be taken; when a Method of effectually regulating Elections is obvious and eaſy.

But the People can never hope to find any Redreſs of this Grievance from a Houſe of Commons, not truly repreſenting them.

It is therefore propoſed as a moſt *neceſſary Advice* for the common Good, That ſome *other Method* be ſpeedily taken, whereby every Man that *Votes* may give his Vote entirely *free* for the Perſon or Perſons he thinks in his Conſcience fitteſt, or moſt for the common Intereſt to be choſen; and whereby no Man can procure himſelf elected, but by meriting the good Opinion of the People, whoſe Right it is to chuſe him.

Now this *Freedom* can never be where any Man can poſſibly be either *aw'd* or *brib'd* out of his *Vote*.

But there is one Way, and we think but one, whereby every Man, tho' never ſo dependent, *bribed* or *awed*, may nevertheleſs give his Vote free, without regard to the Pleaſure or Diſpleaſure of any Man, and whereby no Man can by any unfair Means poſſibly get himſelf elected.

This effectual, this neceſſary and eaſy Method of Election is the *Ballot*, the *equitable Ballot*; a Thing moſt practicable and expeditious when once underſtood; a thing that none can oppoſe, but he will at the ſame time declare himſelf either ignorant thereof, or an Enemy to a Piece of *Juſtice* and *Equity* of the greateſt Benefit to the Nation, and conſequently that he is no Friend to the *good People of* England.

Tell us, in the firſt Place, Whether any thing can be ſo dangerous to the *Liberties* and *Properties* of the People of *England*, as a bad Houſe of Commons; or how any thing elſe, according to human Reaſon, can be capable of ruining them?

Will not all the Attempts of others againſt them be in vain, if thoſe who make their *Laws*, and hold their *Purſeſtrings* for them, be but faithful? But if theſe Men are not truſty, or have ſome other *Deſigns* than the *Good* of the People that ſent them (as all that unfairly get themſelves elected muſt be thought to have) will they not be moſt dangerous, as capable of making ſuch Laws that are not for the common Good, or effectual to that End, and of abuſing the *Strength*, that is, the *Money* of the People, againſt the true Intereſt of their Willingneſs to part with it?

Let this alſo be demanded, Whether in as much as there have always been many Complaints of undue Elections, and ſometimes perhaps of an hundred, it has not been arbitrarily determined by the Houſe of Commons themſelf, or Men coming together as Members thereof, who ſhould ſit, and who not, in favour of a *prevailing Faction*? And whether thereby ſometimes perhaps a hundred of the five hundred have not been really choſen by a Party of the Houſe itſelf, as the Faction has prevailed, and conſequently not by the People, whoſe Right it is to chuſe them? Which Determination ought in Reaſon to have been made in ſome Court of Judicature by Law, not by a major Vote of the Houſe of Commons; and the Perſon whoſe due Election is queſtioned, ſhould not be capable of ſitting in Parliament till determined by Law to be legally elected.

Again, let it be ſaid, whether the Houſe of Com-

mmons hath truly repreſented the People *England*, in as much as thoſe Places moſt alous, and bearing the greateſt Burden of es, have not Members proportionable in mber? And whether the Redreſs of this evance can be well hoped for from a Houſe Commons unduly elected?

ut perhaps Example will rather perſuade. at has been done, or is done, is more apt ake with many, than what is beſt, or ht to be done.

Ve might propoſe the Examples of other et, and particularly of *Venice*, who are by Uſe of the *Ballot* as free as poſſible from tions, *Animoſities*, *Tumults*, &c. but we not indeed very apt to imitate other Na- except in Folly: But the *Ballot* is prac- already in Part amongſt us, in leſſer Bo- and where it is not ſo neceſſary as in ſing the People's Repreſentatives.

has been uſed by our *Houſe of Lords*, the nt Patriots of the People. It is alſo uſed he *Eaſt-India* Companies, Joint Stocks, ican Company, Bank of *England*, Shares, ion Bank, Debentures, Sword Blades, and thecaries Companies; and ſhall the People *ngland* refuſe *ſuch a Thing*, *ſo neceſſary*, *ſo cial*, *ſo juſt*, *ſo eaſy*, when there is no- g elſe can help them to get a *freely elected liament*, and a freely elected Parliament is ery neceſſary?

he Ballot we ſay is the only thing can them; and as it is moſt *eaſy*, *expeditious juſt*, it may be brought in uſe when and re they pleaſe. It needs no Act of Parlia- t to enforce it, or put it in Practice; nor is like to be enacted (tho' that would be deſirable) by a Houſe not firſt thereby ted. But the People may take it up if pleaſe, none can hinder them, there is mad Houſe of Commons now ſitting to them to Jail, or take them in Cuſtody Serjeant at Arms, if they were little e- h to be ſo ſerved by two or three hundred eir Servants. Let but the City of *London* and give the Example, other Places will follow. The Court of Aldermen and mon Council have Power enough to bring it e there; and to them we firſt recommend their higheſt Intereſt, and then to the whole on at their equal Concern. We cannot ſup- the People can value a little Drink more their Birth-rights, or that they are igno- that they have often paid dear enough for a ken Bout or two with their Votes, that ſhould be ſo fond of an old Cuſtom, as o let it go for the greateſt Advantage.

he Ballot conſiſts of two Parts; *Firſt*, propoſing of Perſons to be choſen. *Se-*, The Choice or Election of them. one is determined by the Lot. The by the Vote or Suffrage. The Lot nts all procuring of Votes, except by get- the Love of the People. The Suffrage, ven by the *Ballot*, prevents all inconveni- encies that might otherwiſe attend a Perſon on the Account of his having voted to the Pleaſure or Diſpleaſure of any, leaving it a Secret with himſelf whom he votes *for* or *againſt*.

London Journal, April 20. N° 773.

OSBORNE, in offering ſome Thoughts to the *Electors* of *Great Britain*, ſays: There are two Parties againſt the Miniſtry, *Jacobites* and *Tories*, (who are always *joined as one*;) and the *ſour Malecontent Whigs*: If the *Jacobites* ſucceed, we are undone; if *Jacobites* and *Whigs*, we muſt *greatly ſuffer* by ſuch an *unnatural Union*; and, if the *Malecontent Whigs* could come into Power alone, we could not poſſibly get by it. *Liberty* and *publick Happineſs* will be *deſtroy'd* or *weaken'd* the two firſt Ways, and cannot be *advanced* the laſt Way: For, *the Whigs now out of Power*, were their *real* Virtues as great as their *Pretences*, could do no more for the People when in Power, than the *preſent Gentlemen in Power* have done. But, if we judge of theſe *Sham-Patriots* by their Actions, they will appear to poſſeſs no Degree of *publick Virtue*; for they have been *the Cauſe* of all our *National* Evils; they have *debauched* and *corrupted* the Kingdom; they have, by *Miſrepreſentations* and *artful Falſhoods*, deceived and prejudiced a great many *true Whigs*; and they have raiſed and fomented *a Spirit of Jacobitiſm*. Their *Oppoſition* is founded in *Faction* not in *Patriotiſm*: And this, no Doubt, the *Whigs* will remember, when they come to chuſe Repreſentatives, and *unite* as one Man, againſt *thoſe* who, under the ſpecious Pretences of *Liberty* and *Publick Good* have rouſed and animated all the Enemies of the Government: They will unite the more thoroughly at this Time, when a *Neighbouring Power* ſeems to be taking large Strides towards *Univerſal Monarchy*, and a War appears almoſt inevitable.

The *Safety* and *Proſperity* of the Kingdom depend very much, if not abſolutely, upon the *Union* of the *Whigs*, and their *hearty Concurrence* with his Majeſty; and beſides the *Happineſs* of the *Nation*, their own *particular Intereſt*, as a Body, demands their *whole Strength*. They are ſurrounded with Enemies of all Sorts, and ſhould take great Care of *falling*; for, if once theſe Enemies get them down, they'll hardly ever be able to riſe again. Let them remember the *Cloſe* of Q. *Anne*'s Reign, when, tho' they had governed Ten Years *ſucceſsfully* and *triumphantly*, yet they could ſcarce make a *Hundred*, in the *Houſe of Commons*, to defend a *General*, whoſe great Abilities, as a *Soldier* and a *Statesman*, equalled the moſt *illuſtrious Heroes* of Antiquity, and *eclipſed the Glory* of all the Moderns.

Universal Spectator, April 20. N° 289.

A humourous Description of the Manners and Fashions of London: *In a Letter from an* Oxonian, *to the Rev. Mr.* ——, *A. M. of* —— *College*, Oxon.

THIS *Metropolis* is exceeding large, the *People*, *Pleasures*, and *Customs* almost infinite, yet they have not deterr'd me from enquiring after what is remarkable and curious. The Manner of my living is such as it was at College, therefore I rise in the Morning as soon as the Sun appears: But this great Luminary is not seen by the major Part of the Inhabitants of this Place so long as we behold it at *Oxford*; and tho the Climate is the same, for above one Half of the Year it is as it were invisible: Tho' this, Sir, may seem strange, it may without a great Depth in Philosophy be accounted for.

In the last Lecture I heard at your Chambers, you mention'd the almost Impossibility of a perpetual Motion; I am convinced, Sir, of the Practicableness of it by Demonstration, for the Hackney Coaches never cease their Noise and Hurry Day nor Night. *Seneca* I believe wrote of the Tranquillity of Life after having his Ears dinn'd with the Hackney Coaches of his Time; the Reason for this Conjecture is, that I was inform'd a Poet of our Age, to write a Description of the Spring the better, lodg'd, during the Time he compos'd it, in *Thames-street*. The Coachmen have so hoarse and frightful Voices, and their continual lashing of their Whips increase their Noise in such a horrid Manner, that they seem so many Furies in the Regions of *Pluto*; and the hideous Cries of People who walk the Streets to vend *Herbs*, *Milk*, *Fruit*, *Old Cloaths*, *Sand*, *Brick Dust*, *News*, *Ghosts*, and *Bloody Murthers*, makes me think *Morose* in the Play a wiser Man than I took him for.

As for the People in general, they are not unlike those of the City of *Oxford* in most Respects; for eating and drinking well is what pleases them; and if their Industry can support their Belly and a few fine Cloaths, they think themselves happy. They seem no great Admirers of Antiquity, but are more delighted with Novelty; for they seek chiefly new Books, new Mistresses, new Ministers, and new Friends.

The Women are very fine and handsome. They who have Cunning or Beauty, have a Command over the Men; Husbands here are treated as their Servants, Gallants as their Slaves. I have observed by the Number of Nurses, it is not the Fashion for Mothers to suckle their own Children; nor is it the Fashion to keep up a female Virtue, called Housewifery: There are few *Penelope's* who weave, and Needlework, with an unanimous Consent, has been voted pernicious to the Eyes.

Marriages, which I always thought were for Life, among the politer People are often of certain Time dissolved: My Lord and my Lady after the first Month are never seen together, never eat together, and, I had almost said, never lie together. The Husband lives quietly at one End of the House, the Wife makes merry at the other.

Dress seems a favourite Passion here in both Sexes; every one is for appearing gay, and, considering the Deference which in this City is paid to Cloths, this Foible is not unpardonable: A lac'd Coat, Waistcoat, or Trimmings, are so common, that they are indifferently wore by the Master and the Servant; nor is it easy to distinguish the Chambermaid from the Mistress. Here are two particular Classes of People who are as much different in their Principles, tho' of contrary Sexes, which are worthy of Notice. The *Men* are called *Beaus*, the *Women Coquets*; they are singular from the rest of World in their *Dress*, their *Customs*, and their *Manners*; their whole Study, Ambition, and Business of Life, is to be admired by all; their Pleasure to admire none but themselves: They are *Idolaters*, and all the Devotion they pay, is to a Phantom in a Glass, which they omit not to admire and adore every Morning, for some Hours together.

There are several *Theatres* here, where almost every Evening People of all Ranks assemble: From whence you may judge of the *Prosperity* and *Riches*, or of the *Decline* and *Poverty* of this great Metropolis, as your Reason suggests. But if it is true what the Antient said, *That excessive Expence is a certain Sign of a City being in Decay*, I would not think *London* in a very flourishing State. Whenever *Cato*, or any noble *Grecian* or *Roman* appears on the Stage, the Audience is thin. But a little *French* Gentleman in a Party-colour'd Jacket, whom they call *Monsieur Harlequin*, is a great Favourite and prodigiously follow'd.

The *Attorneys*, the *Quacks*, the *Gamesters* and the *Footmen* are very numerous: The Inhabitants complain of them as a common Nuisance, but I think them a very instrumental and instructive Set of People; the first teach us to avoid Wrangling and Law, lest by our Folly we lose our Estates; the second shew us the Way to Chastity and Sobriety, that we may not fall into Quacks Hands, and be killed with their Medicines; the *Gamesters* are an Example to us of the Instability of Fortune; and the Footmen inculcate Humility, and teach us to serve ourselves, that we may not have Enemies in our own Houses. The *Lawyers* here are

rising *Logicians*, and *Weſtminſter-Hall* has ſtranger Paradoxes maintain'd in it than the *Schools* at *Oxford*; for in this they prove Right Wrong, and Wrong Right: This Hall is ſaid to be the largeſt Room in *England*; and yet it is fill'd in Term-Time with thoſe who defend their own Eſtate, or endeavour to get another's. I ſhould be glad to ſee the Floor of this Hall, as *Cato* would have had the Courts of Law in his Time, ſtuck full with Tenter-Hooks, to tear the Feet of thoſe who firſt entered to begin a Law-Suit.

The *Phyſicians* of this Place kill and cure, as they do all the World over: They aſk too the ſame impertinent Queſtions. —— *What, Sir, is the Matter with you?* —— *What's your Diſtemper?* —— That which ſeems the greateſt Injuſtice, is, that one pays the ſame Fee to the Phyſician who kills him, as him that cures, and no Judge has Power to puniſh an ignorant Phyſician.

[*To be continued.*]

Grubſtreet Journal, April 25. N° 226.

The Folly of Infidelity, and Pride the Source of it.

For low deſires depreſs the loftieſt ſtate;
But, who looks down on vice, looks down on fate.

FALKLAND.

A Correſpondent having mention'd and extoll'd a very valuable Piece of the great *Grotius*, and *Sandy*'s Tranſlation of it, intitled *Chriſt*'s *Paſſion*, a *Tragedy*; proceeds thus:

I cou'd not avoid reflecting, what an odd Turn of Thought poſſeſſed the Men of Literature and Figure of the laſt Century. If ſome bright Genius's, like thoſe of our Times, had been their Inſtructors; what a nobler Field of Doubt and Infidelity had they ſhewed them to range in, and rendered them fit Fore-Runners of our admired *Tolands* and *Tindals*! Neither did my Reflection terminate here; but naturally led me on to conſider, what new Lights theſe modern Diſcoverers of the North-Eaſt Paſſage to *China* might have met with, to countenance their new Fingle-Fangles. Piety they will not pretend to; and Inſpiration is what they explode, both in Theory and Practice. Have they more Learning? When they ſhew the World a tenth Part of it, they may be thought worth Notice; or at leaſt ſomewhat more Notice, than their bare dogmatical Vanity can at preſent be allowed, by Men of any tolerable Share of Senſe.

It is very ſtrange, that any Man ſhould be ambitious of being *Nothing*; content, after a Life of Trouble and Peregrination, to have no other Reſource, than what is common to Brutes, a mean, paltry, and ſordid Annihilation. Whether it be Reaſon, or what elſe, I will not here, with them, pretend dogmatically to determine; but I never, for an Eſſay, let down my-ſelf into that low Way of thinking, but Nature ſhuddered; and, with a rational Precipitation, called upon me to diſpel the Gloom, and to purſue a Meditation much more conſonant to the Faculties, with which I find myſelf endued: Faculties, of which the brutal World cannot boaſt; and which therefore muſt be given to Man for ſome greater End and Deſign, than to ſeek for, or even wiſh, a Non-Entity.

I am ſenſible our Divines, in general, attribute this Scepticiſm to Fears and Apprehenſions, and make it the Reſult of a bad Way of Living. They may, in ſome Meaſure, be in the right: But, in my humble Opinion, tho' that may be juſt in general, there is another Source may be aſſigned, which, contrary to the common Adage, will not admit of any Exception. The Sin, that occaſioned the Fall of the firſt Angels, will be found to form their hereditary Right; and, by aiming to evince the Grandeur of their Reaſon, they deſtroy its very Eſſence. *I do aſſert*, was the firſt Principle of *Hobbes*'s grand Philoſophy: But how handſomely he was whip'd out of his Chair, any one, who will take the Pains to peruſe the *Dialogue between* Timothy *and* Philautus, will eaſily ſee, and take Pleaſure in ſeeing it. Pride, which ever was the Source of Hereſy, has, of late, ſet itſelf up for the Patroneſs of Infidelity. And from a fond Ambition of knowing, or ſeeming to know, more than the wiſeſt, our modern Infidels are found to believe and practiſe leſs than *Hottentots* or wild *Indians*.

Fog's Journal, April 27. N° 286.

Of Perjury againſt one's Country; and the Conduct of certain Eccleſiaſticks cenſur'd.

THE *Guinea* Blacks, whom we treat as Barbarians for ſelling one another, urge ſome political Reaſons to juſtify their Traffick; and they are always able to retort upon us, that they are not yet become ſuch Ideots as to ſell themſelves; which is the Caſe of every *Britiſh* Elector, who takes Money for his Vote. Indeed he does not only ſell his Body, but (if there is a future Puniſhment for wilful Perjury) he ſells his Soul too. I have therefore frequently wonder'd, that the Right Rev. Prelates of our Church have not taken all Opportunities, ſince the Act for preventing Bribery has been in Force, to recommend a religious Obſervation of it: That they have not in their paſtoral Charges and Sermons fully explained the Nature of the Oath contained in that Act, and endeavoured to impreſs on the Minds of their Hearers the

Enor-

Enormity and Danger of the Crime of violating that Oath. Perjury has been ever accounted a moſt deteſtable Sin, and is ſo deſtructive to Society, that not only the Laws of all Nations have provided againſt it, but the Religions of all Times have ſentenced the Perſons who have been guilty of it, to the ſevereſt Puniſhments in another World. I ſpeak here of ſimple Perjury. But when it is complicated, and a Man by bearing falſe Witneſs againſt his innocent Neighbours, ſhall rob them of their Lives and Eſtates, the Crime is of a blacker Dye. And yet there is ſtill an higher Degree of Perjury. For the Wretch who forſwears himſelf to betray his Country is the greateſt and moſt infamous Criminal of all. I am therefore perſuaded, that the Bribery Act has never yet been ſufficiently conſider'd; and I am on that Account the more ſurprized and concerned (as I ſaid before) that our great and learned Eccleſiaſtical Governors did not publiſh ſome proper Exhortations for the Uſe of the Electors, and therein ſhew the Deformity and Miſchief of Bribery, and the Sin and Danger of Falſe-Swearing.

I have lately ſeen a Circular Letter written by one of theſe Reverend Fathers, which has been read in all Places by the Chancellor of his Dioceſe. In this recommendatory Epiſtle his L——p propoſes to the People for their Choice the two Candidates, who in that Country are called the Court Candidates, not only *as the fitteſt (to repreſent the County of S——) of all Men who are now living upon the Earth, but even fitter than all who have lived in the Ages before, or who ſhall live in any Age hereafter.* 'Tis probable his L——p would have excepted a certain Set of Gentlemen, who made ſome Noiſe in the World about 1700 Years ago, and who were allowed to be very dutiful Subjects and excellent Chriſtians, if their Names had occurred to him while he was writing this Epiſtle. I will venture to ſay that his L——p had given a better Character of his Friends, and done more Honour to himſelf, if he had told the People, that he recommended to their Choice two Gentlemen (and two ſuch he ſhould have recommended) who were above Corruption themſelves, and who therefore ſcorned to be elected by any criminal Influences; and that for his Part he did not addreſs that Letter to the Electors with any other Deſign, but to intreat them in the moſt earneſt Manner to conſider the Oath, which they were obliged to take, and to conjure them to refuſe any Bribe of Money or other Reward that might be offered for their Votes: Which if they did not do, he muſt pronounce them to be guilty of the greateſt Sin a Man can poſſibly commit. This had been a Leſſon not unworthy of a Chriſtian B——, and of which he needed not to be aſhamed, if it were to be read in the Day of Judgment.

I ſhall conclude with an Obſervation which a famous Author of our Time has made upon the ſtrange Inconſiſtency which frequently appears in the Notions of ſome great and venerable Doctors about Evil and Sin. —— 'They are vehement (ſays he) againſt Peccadilloes, againſt Follies and Frailties, which are of little Conſequence, and for which perhaps they have no Reſt; yet at the ſame Time go deliberately, nay, zealouſly into apparent Meaſures of Publick Oppreſſion, or of publick Tumults and War: They can aſſiſt and ſanctify the moſt enormous, the moſt dreadful, and the moſt complicated of all Sins, thoſe of Tyranny and Rebellion; can declaim terribly againſt profane Swearing, which only hurts him who utters it, and yet encourage and animate *univerſal Perjury*, ſometimes in *Magiſtrates*, and ſometimes in the *People*, and be for eſtabliſhing *univerſal Slavery*.'

Craftſman, April 27. N° 408.

Extracts from Cato's *Letters, on the Subject of* Elections.

Gentlemen,

YOU are born to Liberty, and it is your Intereſt and Duty to preſerve it. The Conſtitution you live under is a mix'd Monarchy, where your Governors have every Right to protect and defend you, and none to injure and oppreſs you. You have a large Share in the Legiſlature; you have the ſole Power over your own Purſes; and you have an undoubted Right to call to Account and puniſh the Inſtruments of your Oppreſſion; but it depends upon yourſelves alone to make theſe noble Privileges of Uſe to you.

An arbitrary Prince will quickly grow into a Tyrant; the uncontroul'd Dominion of the Nobles will as certainly produce *Oligarchy*, or the Tyranny of a Few; and the unreſtrain'd Licentiouſneſs of the Multitude will beget Confuſion and *Anarchy*. To provide againſt theſe Evils, mixed Forms of Government were invented, where Dominion and Liberty are ſo equally tempered, that neither of them can have Intereſt and Force enough to oppreſs the other.

The Intereſt of the Magiſtracy, which is the Lot and Portion of the Great, is to prevent Confuſion, which levels all Things; the Intereſt of the Body of the People, is to keep Power from Oppreſſion, and their Magiſtrates from changing into Plunderers and Murderers; and the Intereſt of the ſtanding Senate, which is, or ought to be compoſed of Men diſtinguiſhable for their Fortunes and Abilities, is to avoid Ruin and Diſſolution from either of theſe Extremes.

Names will not defend you, Gentlemen, when the Thing ſignified by them is gone. 'Tis

Emperors of *Rome* were as abſolute with Shew of a Senate, and the Appearance of People's chuſing their Prætors, Tribunes, as the *Eaſtern* Monarchs are now with-theſe ſeeming Checks, and this Shew of rty. The Kings of *France* have Parlia-ts, but Parliaments which dare not diſpute Royal Pleaſure; and the poor People ld not fare one Jot the better, if theſe liaments were bribed not to diſpute it.

his wretched Caſe, Gentlemen, will be rs, and your Poſterity's, if ever an ambi-Prince and deſigning Miniſter ſhall here-be able to corrupt or awe your Repreſenta-. You have a King at preſent, from m you have none of theſe Things to fear. alas! Gentlemen, how few *Titus*'s and *ans* were there found amongſt the *Roman* erors! And how few can *England* ſhew ſince Conqueſt! It requires therefore your moſt rous Reſolutions to preſerve your Conſtitu-intire in all its Parts, without ſuffering one Part to prevail ſo far over the other, o reduce it, in Effect, tho' not in Name, ſimple Form of Government, which is ys Tyranny.

n order to this honeſt, or publick De-, you ought to chuſe Repreſentatives, ſe Intereſts are at preſent the ſame with r own, and likely to continue the ſame; are not already pre-ingaged, nor, from r Circumſtances, Education, Profeſſion, Manner of Life, likely to be engaged, in ntrary Intereſt.

Virtue and Vice will be but ill balanced, n Power and Riches are thrown into the ng Scale. A great *Proteſtant* Peer of *nce*, having changed his Religion in Com-nce with his Maſter, *Henry* the Fourth of *nce*, who had changed too, was ſoon after d by that Monarch publickly, which of two Religions he thought the beſt? *The teſtant, Sir, undoubtedly is the beſt*, ſaid Peer, *by your own royal Confeſſion; ſince he Exchange for it your Majeſty has given* Popery, *and a Marſhal's Staff to boot.* Where is given, there is always a tacit Confeſ-that the Exchange is unequal without it. ſe not therefore ſuch who are likely to k away your Liberties for an Equivalent hemſelves, and to ſell you to thoſe, againſt m it is their Duty to defend you. When Duty is in one Scale, and a thouſand nds a Year, or more, or even leſs, is wn into the contrary Scale, you may y gueſs, as the World goes, how the nce is like to turn.

There are a Sort of Men, who proul about Country to buy Boroughs; Creatures, accoſt you for your Vote with the Spirit Deſign, and in the Manner of Jockeys; treating you like Cattle, would purchaſe for leſs or more, juſt as they think they ſell you again. Can you bear this Inſult, Gentlemen, upon your Honeſty, your Rea-ſon, and your Liberties? Or if there are any amongſt you, who countenance ſuch vile and execrable Bargains, ought they not to be treated like publick Enemies, and be hunted from amongſt you? I have often wondered how a little contemptible Corporation, con-ſiſting, as ſome of them do, of Broom-makers, Hedge-breakers, and Sheep-ſtealers, could ſtand the Looks and Rebukes of a rich and honeſt Neighbourhood, after theſe dirty Rogues had openly ſold at the Market-Croſs, perhaps for Forty Shillings a-piece, not only their own Liberties, but, as far as in them lay, the Liberties of a rich Neighbourhood, and of all *England*. Such ſaleable Vermin ought to be treated as Perſons excommunicate, as the Peſts and Felons of Society, which they would ſell for Porridge; and if proper Ab-horrence were every where ſhewn towards them, and no Commerce held with them, they would ſoon grow honeſt out of Neceſſity. Try the Expedient; neither buy nor ſell with thoſe reprobate Mercenaries. This is not a Diſpute about Dreams, or Speculations; but it is a Diſpute whether you ſhall have any Property, which theſe Wretches throw away, by chuſing for the Guardians of Property Men whom they know not, or who are only known to them by a very bad Token, that of having corrupted them. When *Hannibal* had gained his laſt and greateſt Battle againſt the *Romans*, and many of the Nobility were deli-berating about leaving *Rome*, the young *Scipio* entered the Room with his Sword drawn, and obliged every Man preſent, to bind himſelf with an Oath not to deſert their Country. And will you, Gentlemen, ſuffer the little hireling Inhabitants of Boroughs, who receive from you and your Neighbours their daily Bread, to betray you, to give up your For-tunes, and to comprehend you, as they do, in the Sale they make of themſelves? Will you ſtand ſtupidly by, and ſee them truck you away for looſe Guineas?

Alas! Gentlemen, with Tears I tell you, the Cure of Corruption is left to you. A Cure from another Quarter is cruelly denied to us. A worthy Attempt was lately made to de-ſtroy it effectually; and we hoped that no Man, or Set of Men, pretending to common Honeſty, would have had the Face to diſcou-rage or fruſtrate that Attempt; but it was fru-ſtrated, and we know where, and by whom, and for what Ends. Your Help muſt be from God and yourſelves; be honeſt, and make your Neighbours honeſt; be virtuous, ſcorn Bribes, and abhor the Man that offers them: Conſider him as an accurſed Tempter, and a barbarous Raviſher, who would buy you out of your Integrity, and ſpoil you of your Li-berties.

The

The following Proteſt *having been, by Miſtake, omitted in its proper Place,* viz. *Page* 174, *we thought proper to inſert it here, rather than defer it to another Month.*

Die Jovis 11° Aprilis 1734.

HODIE 2da vice lecta eſt Billa, entitled, An Act for Enabling his Majeſty to apply the Sum of one Million two Hundred thouſand Pounds out of the *Sinking Fund*, for the Service of the Year 1734, and for appropriating the Supplies granted in this Seſſion of Parliament.

Propoſed to commit the Bill: Which being objected to, and long Debate thereupon,

The Queſtion was put, Whether this Bill ſhall be committed?

It was Reſolved in the Affirmative.

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Proxies	30		Proxies	19	

Diſſentient

1. Becauſe the taking away, in this Manner, the whole Produce of the Sinking Fund, has a Tendency, as we apprehend, to the Deſtruction of Parliamentary Credit and National Faith, and is more dangerous in its Conſequences, as it is founded upon a Doctrine newly laid down, That the Proprietors of all the Debts ſubſcribed to the *South-Sea* Company, have no Right to their principal Money, but only to an Annuity of 4 *per Cent*; and if this Opinion ſhould be thought to be countenanced by Parliament in paſſing this Bill, we are apprehenſive, that the Effects of it may be too ſoon and ſeverely felt, eſpecially ſince the ſaid Proprietors have found by Experience, that they have been paid off, when their Annuities, or Stocks, were above *Par*; and the Sinking Fund is now diverted, when, as we apprehend, the ſaid Stocks and Annuities are likely to fall conſiderably under *Par*.

2. Becauſe we look upon this Proceeding to be contrary to the Contract underſtood to have been made between the Publick and thoſe Creditors, who conſented to the Reduction of their Intereſt, in Confidence, that their principal and remaining Intereſt would thereby be better ſecured, in purſuance of which an Act of Parliament was made in the 3d Year of his late Majeſty's Reign, whereby it is enacted, That the Monies to ariſe from Time to Time, by certain Surpluſſes, Exceſſes, and overplus Monies therein ſpecified (which are commonly called, the *Sinking Fund*) ſhall be appropriated for diſcharging the Principal and Intereſt of ſuch National Debts and Incumbrances as were incurred before the 25th Day of *December* 1716, and were declared to be National Debts, and were provided for by Act of Parliament, in ſuch Manner and Form as ſhould be directed or appointed by any future Act or Acts of Parliament; and the ſaid Act of Parliament is confirmed by another Act made in the 6th Year of his late Majeſty, which (after reciting, that the ſaid overplus Money will be greatly increaſed, as it was from the 24th of *June* 1727) applies the ſaid overplus Monies, as they ſtood appropriated by the former Act, and likewiſe eſtabliſhes a Contract between the Publick and every individual Creditor of the Publick that ſubſcribed to the *South-Sea* Company, that the ſaid ſubſcribing Creditors ſhall have a perpetual Annuity of 4 *per Cent.* from the Year 1727, until they ſhould be paid off, and then apply the Sinking Fund ſo increaſed, to pay ſuch Debts as were contracted before the 25th of *December* 1716, and declared to be National Debts, and provided for by Act of Parliament, which if it is purſued, will be the moſt effectual Means (as it is the ſtrongeſt Stipulation that can be made) for paying off the National Debt. And theſe Appropriations in the ſaid Acts were manifeſtly made to prevent the Application of the Sinking Fund to the current Service of the Year, or to the Payment of Debts incurred ſince the Year 1716, which, like the preſent Navy Debt, may have lain dormant as long as they could poſſibly be concealed, and been occaſioned by Miniſters, who have run the Nation into larger Expence every Year, than they thought for their Intereſt to demand from Parliament. We apprehend the greater Danger from this Proceeding, by conſidering the Steps which have been taken before it came to this Point. At firſt, ſome Surpluſſes were diſtinguiſhed out of the Sinking Fund, and Supplies for the current Service of the Year raiſed upon them. Then a Sum of five hundred thouſand Pounds, being Surpluſſes of the ſaid Fund, over the Million which had been annually paid off, was applied laſt Year in the ſame Manner. Now the Whole is taken at once; and we may juſtly ſuſpect, that the next Attempt will be to mortgage the Sinking Fund; the Conſequence of which will inevitably be (as we conceive) a total Deſtruction of Parliamentary Credit, and introduce a Neceſſity of Taxing the Funds. The next Step is more eaſy to be foreſeen, than proper to be expreſſed.

3. Becauſe the appropriating Clauſe in this Act is, in Effect, an Unappropriation of all the Money that has been raiſed this Year, and puts it in the Power of a Miniſter to divert any of the Supplies to whatever Purpoſe he ſhall think fit; and this, in Conſequence only of an unprecedented Meſſage from the Crown, ſpecifying neither the Dangers apprehended, nor the Services propoſed; whereas appropriating Clauſes were introduced to prevent the ſecret ill Uſe of publick Money, and every Tendency of breaking through them, is a juſt Foundation for Parliamentary Jealouſy and Enquiry; and therefore we apprehend that we cannot anſwer it to the Nation,

e ſhould acquieſce, when ſuch Innovations attempted.

Becauſe this new Method of unappro- ing Money, raiſed for particular Uſes, rates and eludes the Wiſdom and Caution Parliaments in the original Grant of thoſe ies, which is always in Conſequence of mates laid before the other Houſe, and Services ſpecified; and this too, at the Be- ing of the Seſſion in a full Houſe: ereas, this unappropriating Clauſe comes not only at the End of the Seſſion, but he End of the Parliament, in a thin ſe, after many Gentlemen were obliged to their reſpective Countries, and the ſe may be apprehended to have conſiſted ly of *ſuch*, who had either no Buſineſs he Country, or had *particular Reaſons* for going there till this Clauſe ſhould be firſt d, and take Effect.

Becauſe this Clauſe gives Miniſters ſuch titude to embezzle or miſapply the pub- Money, that we apprehend it to be of moſt dangerous Conſequence: For the Ac- ts (if any) given afterwards of the Diſpoſal ch Sums, tho' impoſſible to be credited, be impoſſible to be diſproved. Domeſtick unes may be raiſed out of foreign Sub- , and the Money aſked for our Defence, granted for our Safety, may be employed our Deſtruction. The Vote of Credit in Year 1726, and what was built upon it, the Nation one Million, ſeven Hundred y ſeven Thouſand, ſeven Hundred and y Pounds, excluſive of the great Increaſe orces by Sea and Land, that were granted Parliament; four Hundred and thirty five uſand Pounds were never accounted for Parliament; and the reſt was accounted under the Articles of Money paid to the grave of *Heſſe*, amounting to one Milli- ſeventy nine Thouſand, ſeven Hundred ds; To the Crown of *Sweden*, one Hun- and fifty Thouſand Pounds; To the e of *Wolfembuttle*, one Hundred Thouſand ds; To Exchange to the *Heſſians*, ten uſand three Hundred thirty five Pounds; Exchange to *Denmark*, twenty two Thou- , ſix Hundred, ninety four Pounds: And his Expence was incurred to guard againſt ers which the Adminiſtration then gave they apprehended from the exorbitant r of the Houſe of *Auſtria*.

Becauſe the Money raiſed this Year nts to three Millions, nine Hundred and y Thouſand Pounds: One Million is by that expenſive Way of Mortgaging alt for eight Years; the Sinking Fund nting to twelve Hundred Thouſand ds is taken, and every Thing done that arry an Appearance of eaſing the Land Election Year: But this Bill not only the Miniſters a Power over the whole Supply raiſed this Year, but, by this unprecedented Device, lays a certain Foundation of a greater Load upon the Land, which the Nation may be reduced to pay off, with Intereſt, next Year: And we cannot omit this Circumſtance, That the Money voted this Year exceeds the Supply to the Amount of above one Hundred Thouſand Pounds.

7. Becauſe we conceive this Precedent to be the more dangerous at the End of a Parliament, and may be followed fatally for our Liberties at the Concluſion of future Parliaments: For we have little Reaſon to be ſure, and as little to hope, that future Parliaments will be, like this, *unbyaſſed*, *uncorrupt*, *uninfluenced*, by the great Number of Employments they enjoy; zealous Aſſertors of the Laws, Liberties, and Conſtitution of their Country. And ſhould there ever hereafter unfortunately be choſen a Houſe of Commons, conſiſting of a Set of Men, corrupted by a Miniſter, bartering the Liberties of their Country for Places and Penſions, in the moſt flagitious Manner; deteſted and deſpiſed by thoſe they repreſent, they would probably, towards the End of their Term, compleat the Meaſure of their Iniquity, by lodging ſuch a Power in the Hands of their *Correſponding Miniſter*, as would enable him to chuſe them again in the ſucceeding Parliament, contrary to the Intentions, as well as Intereſts, of their true Electors, by which Means Corruption and Tyranny would be entailed upon this Nation, in the moſt dangerous Manner, by the Sanction of Parliament.

8. Becauſe blending inconſiſtent Matters of this Nature, as we conceive, in a Money Bill, lays this Houſe under the utmoſt Difficulties, ſince the Delays occaſioned by any Alterations made in this Houſe to ſome Parts of a Money Bill, may be unavoidable Obſtructions to other Parts of it, that require Expedition and Diſpatch.

9. Becauſe the extending of this unprecedented Power to the 24th of *December* next, is a Length of Time beyond what was ever known (as we apprehend) in any Caſe, and is, in our Opinion, not only dangerous, but unneceſſary: For the chief Pretence for the Vote, was to have Power during the Interval of Parliament, which may be choſen and meet much ſooner, if it ſhall be thought convenient, after ſo extenſive a Power is lodged in the Hands of the Miniſters for ſo long a Term.

Denbigh	*Craven*	*Marlborough*
Litchfield	*Bathurſt*	*Carteret*
Coventry	*Weymouth*	*Oxf.* and *Mort.*
Northampton	*Montroſe*	*Tweedale*
Winch. and *Not.*	*Stair*	*Gower*
Clinton	*Strafford*	*Maſham*
Montjoy	*Thanet*	*Ker*

The SPEECHES *of the* TWO GENTLEMEN *who Moved and Seconded the Queſtion for Repealing the* SEPTENNIAL ACT, &c. March 13, 1733-4.

The Speech *of* W——m B—m—y, *of* W—:—ckſhire, *Eſq; who made the Motion.*

Mr. SPEAKER,

THE Call of the Houſe being adjourn'd to a very remote Day, upon a general Opinion, (which I hope is well founded,) that no Vote of Credit will be propoſed, I believe we can ſcarce expect to ſee a fuller Houſe than this Day produces. There cannot therefore be a better Opportunity of making a Motion, which, I apprehend to be of ſuch National Concernment, that I have long wiſh'd it undertaken by ſome Perſon, better able to ſupport it than myſelf: But I have this Satisfaction, that what I am going to offer, will ſo far ſpeak itſelf, as may ſupply any Defects in my Manner of laying it before you, and I cannot doubt the Concurrence of this Houſe, when it comes to be maturely conſider'd.

I believe we are of none us unappriz'd of the Diſlike the People in general have always had to long Parliaments: A Diſlike juſtly founded, on Reaſon and Experience; *long Parliaments in former Reigns having prov'd the unhappy Cauſe of great Calamities to this Nation*, and having been at all Times declar'd, *An Innovation upon our Conſtitution.* I am convinc'd there is no one that hears me, who does not believe, the People thought themſelves highly aggriev'd by the *Septennial Bill*: That they even look'd upon it as a dangerous Infringement of their Liberties, notwithſtanding the Cauſe alledg'd in the Preamble to the Act, which ſeem'd, at that Time, to carry ſome Weight with it.

That Cauſe being happily remov'd, they deſire to revert, as near as may be, to their antient Conſtitution: And ſurely there can never be a more favourable Opportunity to effectuate it than at this Juncture, when his Majeſty, *to the great Joy of the Kingdom*, has been graciouſly pleas'd to declare his Satisfaction, that the People are ſoon to have an Opportunity of chuſing a new Repreſentative. The preſent Parliament draws near its Diſſolution: What can it do more for its own Honour? How can it crown its many meritorious Acts better, than by redreſſing a Grievance a *ſucceeding Parliament may poſſibly have its Reaſons for not entring into?*

Frequent Parliaments were early declar'd a fundamental Part of our Conſtitution. In the 4th of *Edward* III. an Act paſs'd for holding them once a Year, or oftner if there ſhould be Occaſion. In the 36th Year of the ſame Reign that Statute was confirmed. In that Parliament *Magna Charta* and *Charta de Foreſta* were confirm'd, and ſeveral new Privileges granted to the Subject. Then comes the Clauſe relating to Parliaments, which ſufficiently ſhews the Intention and original Inſtitution of them was for the Redreſs of Grievances: For the Bill enacts, *That for the Maintenance of the ſaid Articles and Statutes* (that is, the Privileges before-mention'd) *and for Redreſs of divers Miſchiefs and Grievances which daily happen, a new Parliament ſhall be held once every Year, as another Time was ordain'd.* The 16th of *Car.* II. recites, That *by the antient Laws and Statutes, Parliaments are to be held very often*, and therefore enacts, *That the ſitting and holding of Parliaments ſhall not be intermitted or diſcontinued for more than* Three Years.

In the early Days when this prudent Care was taken for frequent meeting of Parliaments, the Crown was poſſeſs'd of Revenues, which made Applications to the People for Money unleſs upon extraordinary Emergencies, unneceſſary. It therefore plainly appears, That *Redreſs of Grievances, making ſalutary Laws for the Good of the Community, and preſerving the Liberties of the People, by ſupporting the Balance between the Power of the Crown and the Rights of the Subject, were the main Ends of calling Parliaments.* The Power of calling them being the undoubted Prerogative of the Crown, it became neceſſary, for the Safety of the Subject, to oblige the Crown to call them frequently. I muſt confeſs, Sir, a Caution of this Kind is no longer neceſſary, nor can it ever be, ſo long as we preſerve to ourſelves the Power of granting Money. The Crown-Revenues being *ſunk*, or wantonly granted away, the annual Call for a Supply muſt neceſſarily produce an annual meeting of Parliament. But give me Leave to obſerve, the Grievance now complain'd of is of a very different Nature: It is not founded on Diſcontinuance of Parliaments, but on a *tedious and dangerous Continuance of one and the ſame Parliament*: A Practice unheard of in former Times, when Prorogations were not known. For, when a Parliament was annually call'd for the Redreſs of Grievances, as ſoon as the Buſineſs of the Seſſion was over, it was diſſolv'd, and a new one call'd the next Year for the ſame Purpoſe; by which Means the Country had a *proper Check upon their Repreſentatives, and thoſe who had appear'd to be too much under the Influence of the Crown or thoſe who were too much attached to the Miniſter, had leſs Opportunity of injuring their Country; the People had it more frequently in their Power to ſhew a proper Reſentment, and remedy the Evil, by ſending others the next Year in their Places.*

The Matter ſeems fully explain'd by 16 *Car.* II. which does not only prevent Diſcontinuance of Parliaments, but eaſily pre-

…s againſt the too long Continuance of one and …ſame Parliament, by enacting it into a …w, *that a new Parliament ſhall be called …in Three Years, or ſooner if there be Occa…*. The Bill of Rights in the ſecond Seſ… of *William* and *Mary*, among many other …vileges which we now enjoy, enacts, That … Redreſs of Grievances, amending, ſtrength…ng and preſerving Laws, Parliaments ought … be *frequently held*; and the Sixth of the …ne Reign explains the true Meaning of … Clauſe, when it declares, *That frequent … new Parliaments tend very much to the …ppy Union and good Agreement between the …g and the People*; it confirms the 16 *Car.* … that Parliaments ſhall be held once in …ree Years at leaſt, and adds, *That no Par…ment ſhall continue more than three Years at …thſt.* Between that and the firſt of the … King, ſeveral Parliaments were held, … none continued longer than three Years; …ne held only for one Seſſion; *which ſeems to … the original Conſtitution, and beſt calculated … the Good of the Nation.* That Year the …ptennial Bill paſt; the Repeal of which I … now going to move, but believe it more …eable to the Rules of the Houſe, that the …t itſelf ſhould be firſt read.

[*Act Read.*]

The Preamble to the Bill, which is the …undation of it, will, I think, Sir, admit a …y eaſy Anſwer: As to the firſt Point, That …ennial Parliaments *have proved more …evous, burthenſome, and expenſive, than …y were ever known before that Law paſt*, I …dily agree: But let us conſider the Cauſe, … *lengthening the Term occaſioned the Expence.* …ſear I might add, *the Multiplicity of Places* …joy'd by Members of this Houſe, may be …o juſtly alledg'd another Cauſe. But I …ould willingly confine myſelf to the particu… Point, how far the Term or Duration of …rliaments might increaſe or leſſen the Ex…ce, might add to or diminiſh the Grievance …mplain'd of. And I will conſider it only in …is Light, by ſubmitting it to every Gentleman …at hears me, whether he would not give …re for an Annuity of three Years than for … Grant determinable at the End of one: And … the ſame Parity of Reaſoning, whether …ptennial Parliaments must not prove more …evous, burthenſome, and expenſive than …riennial, at leaſt in ſuch a Degree, as an …nnuity for ſeven Years deſerves a better Con…deration than one for three.

But ſuppoſing, Sir, I ſhould be out in this …oint, which I can never give up without due …onviction; this Argument in the Preamble … I hope, entirely at an End. The Act …ainſt Bribery and Corruption *(which muſt …er redound to the Honour of this Parliament)* …ill neceſſarily remedy this Evil. *That glo…us Act will prevent Corruption in the* Elec…rs. *Nothing but frequent new Parliaments …n remedy it in the* Elected.

The other Reaſon upon which that Act was founded, namely, a Suſpicion, that Deſigns were carrying on to renew the Rebellion, and an Invaſion from abroad, was in my humble Opinion, the only *juſtifiable Pretence* for enacting it into a Law; and might poſſibly have induc'd ſome Gentlemen of very great Honour and Integrity to give their Votes for the Bill at that Juncture, whoſe Aſſiſtance, I flatter myſelf, I ſhall now have in repealing it: For thoſe, Sir, who voted for it from that View, could never intend it ſhould be made perpetual, or that it ſhould continue longer than that Misfortune ſubſiſted.

I muſt beg Pardon of you, Sir, and of the Houſe, for the Trouble I have given you. The Nature of the Motion, I am going to make you, has unavoidably drawn me into a Length as diſagreeable to myſelf, as it muſt have been to thoſe that hear me. Numberleſs Arguments will occur to every Gentleman in Favour of it; I will therefore conclude with this Motion.

That Leave be given to bring in a Bill for repealing the Septennial Act, and for the more frequent meeting and calling Parliaments.

In this, Sir, I hope I ſhall be juſtified, as it cannot proceed from any indirect or private Views, but from a real Conviction, that the Happineſs and Safety of this Nation depend upon it: In which I am ſupported by the common Voice of the People, and have it particularly recommended to me by a great Majority of thoſe I have the Honour to repreſent in Parliament, as well as from my Neighbours of the City of *Coventry*, for whoſe Recommendation I ſhall always have a due Regard, though I have not the Honour to repreſent them.

The Speech *of Sir* J—n St. A——n, *Bart. Knight of the Shire for* C—rn—l, *who ſeconded the* Motion.

Mr. Speaker,

THE Honourable Gentleman, who made you this Motion, has ſupported the Neceſſity of it by ſo many ſtrong and forcible Arguments, that there is hardly any Thing new to be offer'd. I am very ſenſible therefore of the Diſadvantages I muſt lie under, in attempting to ſpeak after him: And I ſhould content myſelf with barely ſeconding him; if the Subject Matter of this Debate was not of ſuch Importance, that I ſhould be aſham'd to return to my Electors, without endeavouring, in the beſt Manner I am able, to declare publickly the Reaſons which induced me to give my moſt ready Aſſent to this Queſtion.

'Tis evident from what has been ſaid, that the People have an unqueſtionable Right to frequent new Parliaments by antient Uſage; and that this Uſage has been confirm'd by ſe-

veral Laws, which have been progreſſively made by our Anceſtors, as often as they found it neceſſary to inſiſt on this *Eſſential Privilege*.

Parliaments were generally annual, but never continued longer than three Years, till the remarkable Reign of *Henry* VIII.——He, Sir, was a Prince of unruly Appetites, and of an arbitrary Will; he was impatient of every Reſtraint; the Laws of God and Man ſeem'd equally a Sacrifice as they ſtood in the Way of his Avarice, or diſappointed his Ambition: He therefore introduced *long Parliaments*, becauſe he very well knew that they would become the proper Inſtruments of both; and what a ſlaviſh Obedience they paid to all his Meaſures is ſufficiently known.

If we come to the Reign of King *Charles* the Firſt, we muſt acknowledge him to be a Prince of a contrary Temper; he had certainly an innate Love for Religion, and Virtue, and of Conſequence for the Liberty of his Country.——But here lay the Misfortune.——He was led from his natural Diſpoſition by Sycophants and Flatterers; they adviſ'd him to neglect the calling of frequent new Parliaments, and therefore by not taking the conſtant Senſe of his People in what he did, he was work'd up into ſo high a Notion of Prerogative, that the Commons (in order to reſtrain it) obtain'd that independent fatal Power, which at laſt unhappily brought him to his moſt tragical End, and at the ſame Time ſubverted the whole Conſtitution. And I hope we ſhall learn this Leſſon from it, never to compliment the Crown with any new or extravagant Powers, nor to deny the People thoſe Rights which by antient Uſage they are entituled to; but to preſerve that juſt and equal Balance, from which they will both derive mutual Security, and which, if duly obſerv'd, will render our Conſtitution the Envy and Admiration of all the World.

King *Charles* the Second naturally took a Surfeit of Parliaments in his Father's Time, and was therefore extreamly deſirous to lay them aſide. But this was a Scheme impracticable. However in Effect he did ſo, for he obtain'd a Parliament, which by its long Duration, like an Army of Veterans, became ſo exactly diſciplined to his own Meaſures, that they knew no other Command but from that Perſon who gave them their Pay.

This was a ſafe and moſt ingenious Way of enſlaving a Nation.——It was very well known that arbitrary Power, if it was open and avow'd, wou'd never prevail here.——The People were therefore amus'd with the ſpecious Form of their antient Conſtitution: It exiſted, indeed, in their Fancy; but, like a mere Phantom, had no Subſtance nor Reality in it; for the Power, the Authority, the Dignity of Parliaments were wholly loſt.——This was that remarkable Parliament which ſo juſtly obtain'd the opprobrious Name of the *Penſion Parliament*, and was the Model from which, I believe, ſome *later Parliaments* have been exactly copied.

At the Time of the Revolution the People made a freſh Claim of their antient Privileges, and as they had ſo lately experienced the Misfortune of long and ſervile Parliaments, it was then *declared*, that they ſhould be held frequently.——But it ſeems their full Meaning was not underſtood by this Declaration, and therefore, as in every new Settlement the Intention of all Parties ſhould be ſpecifically manifeſted, the Parliament never ceas'd ſtruggling with the Crown till the *Triennial Law* was obtain'd; the Preamble of it, which the Honourable Gentleman has recited, is extreamly full and ſtrong, and in the Body of the Bill you will find the Word *declared* before *enacted*, by which I apprehend, that tho' this Law did not immediately take Place at the Time of the *Revolution*, it was certainly intended as declaratory of their firſt Meaning, and therefore ſtands as Part of that original Contract under which the Conſtitution was then ſettled.——His Majeſty's Title to the Crown is primarily derived from that Contract; and if, upon a Review, there ſhall appear to be any Deviations from it, we ought to treat them as ſo many Injuries done to that Title. And I dare ſay, that this Houſe, which has gone thro' ſo long a Series of Services to his Majeſty, will at laſt be willing to revert to thoſe original ſtated Meaſures of Government, to renew and ſtrengthen that Title.

But, Sir, I think the Manner with which the *Septennial Law* was firſt introduced, is a very ſtrong Reaſon why it ſhou'd be repeal'd.——People in their Fears have very often Recourſe to deſperate Expedients, which if not cancell'd in Seaſon, will themſelves prove fatal to that Conſtitution which they were meant to ſecure.——Such is the Nature of the *Septennial Law*: It was intended only as a Preſervative againſt a temporary Inconveniency: The Inconveniency is removed, but the miſchievous Effects ſtill continue; for it not only altered the *Conſtitution of Parliaments*, but it extended that ſame Parliament beyond its *natural* Duration; and therefore carries this moſt unjuſt Implication with it, that you may at any Time uſurp the moſt indubitable, the moſt eſſential Privilege of the People,—I mean that of chuſing their own Repreſentative. A Precedent of ſuch a dangerous Conſequence, of ſo fatal a Tendency, that I think it would be a Reproach to our Statute-Book if that Law was any longer to ſubſiſt, which might record it to Poſterity.

This is a Seaſon of Virtue and publick Spirit. Let us take Advantage of it, to repeal thoſe Laws which infringe on our Liberties, and introduce ſuch as may reſtore the Vigour of our antient Conſtitution.

Human

Human Nature is ſo very corrupt, that all
ligations loſe their Force, unleſs they are
quently renewed.——Long Parliaments be-
ne therefore independent of the People, and
en they do ſo, there always happens a moſt
gerous Dependence elſewhere.

t has of late been deny'd, that the Peo-
have a Right of remonſtrating to us.——
has been called an unjuſtifiable Controul
n the Freedom of our Proceedings.——But
n, let them have more frequent Opportuni-
of varying the Choice of their Repreſenta-
s, that they may diſmiſs ſuch, who have *un-*
faithfully withdrawn their Attention from
m.

The influencing Powers of the Crown are
y encreaſing, and it is highly requiſite that
liaments ſhould be frequently reſponſible
their Conſtituents; that they ſhould be
t under the conſtant Awe of acting con-
y to their Intereſts. —— Modern Hiſtory,
lieve, will inform us, that ſome very
erous Attempts upon our Liberties have
diſappointed —— Not ſo much from
Virtue of many in this *Houſe*, as from
Apprehenſions they may have had of an
aching *Election*.

is true, there is a Proviſion againſt ſuch
ſe *Places* vacate their Seats here, but
is no Guard againſt *ſecret Penſioners*, and
-Holders. Give me Leave to ſay, that
Laws, with Reſpect to them are very in-
ient, and as we were not allowed to make
effectual, the People have no other
edy but a new Election.

think that Long Parliaments are a great
ſhip upon thoſe who may be excluded
f this Houſe, and ought reaſonably to
their Turn. —— But ſeven Years is
urchaſe of a Man's Life. It is equally
upon ſuch whoſe private Fortunes won't
them to engage in ſo long and painful
vice. —— It muſt be ſo to thoſe who mean
ew nor Advantage by it.

think too, that nothing can be of greater
o his Majeſty than frequent new Parli-
——That he may often take the
Senſe of the Nation, and not be partial-
viſed. For his Meaſures will always
a greater Weight both at Home and
d, the more generally he refers himſelf
Opinion of his People.

arther Miſchief of long Parliaments is,
Miniſter has Time and Opportunities
ing Acquaintance with Members, of
ng his ſeveral Arts to win them into
hemes. —— But this muſt be the Work
ne. —— Corruption is of ſo baſe a Na-
hat at firſt Sight it is extreamly ſhock-
—— Hardly any one has ſubmitted to it
nce. ——His Diſpoſition muſt be previ-
nderſtood, the particular Bait muſt be
out with which he is to be allured,
r all it is not without many Struggles,
that he ſurrenders his Virtue. —— Indeed
there are ſome who will at once plunge them-
ſelves over Head and Ears into any baſe Ac-
tion, but the Generality of Mankind are of
a more cautious Nature, and will proceed only
by leiſurely Degrees. —— One or two perhaps
A have deſerted their Colours the firſt Cam-
paign, ſome have done it in a Second. ——
But a great many, who have not that eager
Diſpoſition to Vice, will wait till a Third.

For this Reaſon, ſhort Parliaments have
been leſs corrupt than long ones; they are
obſerved, like Streams of Water, always to
grow more impure the greater Diſtance they
B run from the Fountain Head.

I am aware it may be ſaid, that frequent
new Parliaments will produce frequent new
Expences, but I think quite the contrary; I
am really of Opinion, that it will be a pro-
per Remedy againſt the Evil of Bribery at
Elections, eſpecially as you have provided ſo
wholſom a Law to co-operate upon theſe Oc-
caſions.

C Bribery at Elections, whence did it ariſe?
not from Country Gentlemen, for they are
ſure of being choſe without it; it was, Sir,
the Invention of wicked and corrupt Miniſ-
ters, who have from Time to Time led weak
Princes into ſuch deſtructive Meaſures, that
they did not dare to rely upon the natural
Repreſentation of the People. —— Long Par-
D liaments, Sir, firſt introduced Bribery, becauſe
they were worth purchaſing at any Rate;——
Country Gentlemen who have only their
private Fortunes to rely upon, and have no
mercenary Ends to ſerve, are unable to op-
poſe it, eſpecially if at any Time the publick
Treaſure ſhall be unfaithfully ſquandered away
to corrupt their Boroughs. —— Country Gen-
E tlemen, indeed, may make ſome weak Ef-
forts, but as they generally prove unſucceſs-
ful, and the Time of a freſh Struggle is at
ſo great a Diſtance, they at laſt grow faint
in the Diſpute, give up their Country for
loſt, and retire in Deſpair. —— Deſpair natu-
rally produces Indolence, and *that* is the pro-
per Diſpoſition for Slavery. —— Miniſters of
F State underſtand this very well, and are
therefore unwilling to awaken the Nation out
of its Lethargy by frequent Elections. ——
They know that the Spirit of Liberty, like
every other Virtue of the Mind, is to be
kept alive only by conſtant Action, that it is
impoſſible to enſlave this Nation whilſt it is
perpetually upon its Guard. —— Let Country
Gentlemen then, by having frequent Oppor-
G tunities of exerting themſelves, be kept warm
and active in their Contention for the Pub-
lick Good; this will raiſe that Zeal and In-
dignation which will at laſt get the better of
thoſe undue Influences, by which the Officers
of the Crown, tho' unknown to the ſeveral
Boroughs, have been able to ſupplant Country
Gentlemen of great Characters and Fortune,

who

who live in their Neighbourhood. —— I don't fay this upon idle Speculation only. — I live in a Country where it is too well known, and I'll appeal to many Gentlemen in the Houſe, to more out of it, *(and who are ſo for this very Reaſon,)* for the Truth of my Aſſertion. Sir, it is a Sore which has been long eating into the moſt vital Part of our Conſtitution, and I hope the Time will come when you will probe it to the Bottom. —— For if a Miniſter ſhould ever gain a corrupt Familiarity with our Boroughs, if he ſhould keep a *Regiſter of them in his Cloſet*, and, by ſending down his Treaſury-Mandates, ſhould procure a *ſpurious* Repreſentative of the People, the Offspring of his Corruption, who will be at all Times ready to reconcile and juſtify the moſt contradictory Meaſures of his Adminiſtration, and even to vote every crude indigeſted Dream of their Patron into a Law; if the Maintenance of his Power ſhould become the ſole Object of their Attention, and they ſhould be guilty of the moſt violent Breach of Parliamentary Truſt, by giving the King a diſcretionary Liberty of taxing the People without Limitation or Controul; the laſt fatal Compliment they can pay to the Crown: —— If this ſhould ever be the unhappy Circumſtance of this Nation, the People indeed may complain; but the Doors of that Place where their Complaints ſhould be heard, will for ever be ſhut againſt them.

The Power of the Crown is very juſtly apprehended to be growing to a monſtrous, I ſhould have ſaid, too great a Size, and ſeveral Methods have been unſucceſsfully propoſed for reſtraining it within its proper Bounds.

But our Diſeaſe, I fear, is of a complicated Nature, and I think that this Motion is wiſely intended to remove the 1ſt and principal Diſorder. Give the People their antient Right of frequent new Elections: That will reſtore the decayed Authority of Parliament, and will put our Conſtitution into a natural Condition of working out her own Cure.

Sir, upon the Whole, I am of Opinion, That I can't expreſs a greater Zeal for his Majeſty, for the Liberties of the People, or the Honour and Dignity of this Houſe, than by Seconding the Motion which the Honourable Gentleman has made you.

A compleat List *of the* Members *who Voted* For *the* Bill *for* Repealing *the* Septennial Act.

Thoſe mark'd thus * ſpoke in the Debate.

N.B. *The Names may be found in the Alphabetical Order of the Counties, Cities, and Towns, in the* List *of the* Houſe of Commons, *publiſh'd in our* Magazine *for* February, 1733.

CHARLES Leigh, *Eſq;*
Sir Jer. Vanacker Sambrook
Winchcomb Packer, *Eſq;*
Thomas Archer, *Eſq;*
George Lewen, *Eſq;*
Sir William Stanhope
Sir Thomas Lee
Harry Waller, *Eſq;*
Sir Charles Vernon, *Bart.*
Marmaduke Allington, *Eſq;*
Thomas Lutwich, *Eſq;*
Lord Viſcount Limerick
Edmund Waller, *Eſq;*
Sir Thomas Hobby
* *Sir* John Hynde Cotton
Thomas Sclater Bacon, *Eſq;*
* Charles Cholmondeley, *Eſq;*
Sir Robert Groſvenor
Sir Charles Bunbury
* *Sir* John St. Aubin
Sir William Carew
Arthur Tremaine, *Eſq;*
Hugh Boſcawen, *Eſq;*
Sidney Meadows, *Eſq;*
Philip Hawkins, *Eſq;*
Sir Cecil Biſhop
Jonathan Raſhleigh, *Eſq;*
Sir William Morrice
Henry Vane, *Eſq;*
John Hilton, *Eſq;*
Lord James Cavendiſh
Charles Stanhope, *Eſq;*
Sir William Courtney
Henry Rolle, *Eſq;*
Francis Drew, *Eſq;*
Theophilus Forteſcue, *Eſq;*
John Fuller, *Eſq;*
Sir Humphry Monoux
Richard Reynell, *Eſq;*
Richard Coffin, *Eſq;*
George Chaffin, *Eſq;*
Edmund Moreton Pleydel, *Eſq;*
John Brown, *Eſq;*
Sir Edward Desbouverie
John Banks, *Eſq;*
George Bowes, *Eſq;*
Robert Shaftoe, *Eſq;*
Sir Robert Abdy
Thomas Bramſton, *Eſq;*
Benjamin Bathurſt, *Eſq;*
Thomas Maſters, *Eſq;*
Peter Bathurſt, *Eſq;*
* Edward Harley, *Eſq;*
Velters Cornwall, *Eſq;*
Thomas Winford, *Eſq;*
Lord Bateman
Sir Thomas Seabright
Charles Cæſar, *Eſq;*
John Merril, *Eſq;*
John Bigg, *Eſq;*
Edward Wortley, *Eſq;*
Sir Roger Meredith
Sir Edward Dering
John Finch, *Eſq;*
* *Sir* Edward Stanley
Richard Shuttleworth, *Eſq;*
Nicholas Fazakerly, *Eſq;*
Sir Thomas Lowther
* William Shippen, *Eſq;*
Legh Maſters, *Eſq;*
Peter Bold, *Eſq;*
Thomas Liſter, *Eſq;*
Sir Thomas Aſton
Ambroſe Philips, *Eſq;*
Sir George Beaumont
George Wright, *Eſq;*
Sir Thomas Saunderſon
Robert Viner, *Eſq;*
Charles Hall, *Eſq;*
Lord Colerain
John Page, *Eſq;*
Robert Shirley, *Eſq;*
Sir Michael Newton
Sir Francis Child
* *Sir* John Barnard
Micajah Perry, *Eſq;*

umphry Parſons, *Eſq;*
Lord Noel Somerſet
ir Edmund Bacon *of* Garboldiſham
ir Juſtinian Iſham
homas Cartwright, *Eſq;*
oſeph Banks, *Eſq;*
rmſtead Parker, *Eſq;*
eorge Compton, *Eſq;*
r. Lee
ohn Finch, *Eſq;*
alph Jeniſon, *Eſq;*
icholas Fenwick, *Eſq;*
ord Morpeth
illiam Levinz, *Eſq;*
ir William Stapleton
enry Perrot, *Eſq;*
rd Cornbury
eorge Clark, *Eſq;*
homas Rowney, *Eſq;*
hn Spencer, *Eſq;*
hn Walcot, *Eſq;*
illiam Lacon Child, *Eſq;*
r John Aſtley
ichard Lyſter, *Eſq;*
John Charleton
Sir William Wyndham
homas Horner, *Eſq;*
obert Gay, *Eſq;*
homas Edwards, *Eſq;*
homas Palmer, *Eſq;*
exander Lutterel, *Eſq;*
homas Criſp, *Eſq;*
ichael Hervey, *Eſq;*

Anthony Henley, *Eſq;*
Joſeph Taylor, *Eſq;*
John Chetwynd, *Eſq;*
Sir John Barrington
William Powlett, *Eſq;*
William Leviſon Gower, *Eſq;*
Sir Walter Baggott
George Venables Vernon, *Eſq;*
Lord Chetwynd
Joſeph Nightingale, *Eſq;*
Baptiſt Leviſon Gower, *Eſq;*
John Ward, *Eſq;*
Lord Inchequin
Sir Robert Kemp
Sir Jermyn Davers
Philip Brooke, *Eſq;*
Thomas Wyndham, *Eſq;*
William Acton, *Eſq;*
Robert Kemp, *Eſq;*
Sir John Williams
Thomas Scawen, *Eſq;*
Thomas Inwen, *Eſq;*
James Cocks, *Eſq;*
William Newland, *Eſq;*
Samuel Ongley, *Eſq;*
Lord Vane
Edward Digby, *Eſq;*
Sir Charles Mordaunt
Sir William Keyte
* William Bromley, *Eſq;*
* Walter Plummer, *Eſq;*
John Ivory Talbot, *Eſq;*
John How, *Eſq;*
* George Heathcote, *Eſq;*

Francis Anneſly, *Eſq;*
Francis Seymour, *Eſq;*
Thomas Harriſon, *Eſq;*
Edward Liſle, *Eſq;*
Samuel Sandys, *Eſq;*
Edward Foley, *Eſq;*
Sir John Ruſhout
Sir Henry Slingſby
William Aiſlabie, *Eſq;*
John York, *Eſq;*
* William Pulteney, *Eſq;*
George Berkely, *Eſq;*
Henry Furneſe, *Eſq;*
Philip Gybbon, *Eſq;*
Lord Bulkley
William Gwyn Vaughan, *Eſq;*
Richard Lloyd, *Eſq;*
* Watkin Williams Wynn, *Eſq;*
John Myddleton, *Eſq;*
Sir Roger Moſtyn
Buſſy Manſel, *Eſq;*
Price Devereux, *Eſq;*
Eraſmus Philips, *Eſq;*
John Cockburn, *Eſq;*
Robert Dundaſs, *Eſq;*
Thomas Erſkine, *Eſq; Captain in the Army*
Sir George Mackenzie
Sir James Dalrymple
Captain Dalrymple
Colonel Dalrymple
William Duff, *Eſq;*
John Murray, *Eſq;*
Sir John Bruce

Compleat List *of thoſe who voted* Againſt *the* Bill *for Repealing the* Septennial Act.

Thoſe mark'd thus * ſpoke in the Debate.

IR Rowland Alſton
John Orlebar, *Eſq;*
rd Vere Beauclerc, *Commiſſioner of the Navy*
illiam Hucks, *Eſq; Brewer to the King's Houſhold*
ert Hucks, *Eſq; his Son*
omas Ingoldſby, *Eſq;*
omas Townſhend, *Eſq; Teller of the Exchequer*
omas Clutterbuck, *Eſq; Commiſſioner of the Admiralty*
nel Cope, *Colonel of a Regiment*
ward Walpole, *Eſq; Joint-Secretary of the Treaſury and Collector Inward of the Cuſtoms*
J. Heathcote, *Bart.*
n Evelyn, *Eſq; Groom of the Bed-Chamber to the Prince*
n Harris, *Eſq;*
f Glenorchy
-Corbet, *Eſq; Under-Secretary of the Admiralty*
omas Hales, *Eſq; Clerk of the Green-Cloth*
hn Willes, *Eſq; Attorney General*
mas Walker, *Eſq; Surveyor General of his Majeſty's Land-Revenues*

Iſaac Le Heup, *Eſq;*
Charles Longueville, *Eſq; Auditor to the Queen*
Matthew Ducie Moreton, *Eſq;*
John Goddard, *Eſq; Commiſſioner to ſettle the Merchants Loſſes by the* Spaniards
John Hedges, *Eſq; Treaſurer to the Prince*
Major Cholmondeley, *Eſq; Governor of* Cheſter-*Caſtle*
Sir Robert Rich, *Colonel of Horſe and Groom of the Bed-Chamber to the King*
Henry Knollys, *Eſq;*
Richard Elliot, *Eſq; Auditor to the Prince*
Dudley Ryder, *Eſq; Sol. General*
Henry Kelſall, *Eſq; Clerk of the Treaſury*
Thomas Farrington, *Eſq; Receiver of the Revenue in* Wales
Thomas Herbert, *Eſq;*
William Eaſt, *Eſq;*
Thomas Copleſton, *Eſq; a Place in* Ireland
Colonel Howard, *Colonel of the Guards*
Sir Charles Wills, *Colonel of the Guards and Lieutenant General of the Ordnance*
Sir Henry Gough
Robert Byng, *Eſq; Commiſſioner of the Navy*

Arthur

Arthur Stert, *Esq*; *Commissioner to settle the Merchants Losses by the* Spaniards
Richard Edgcomb, *Esq*; *Vice-Treasurer of* Ireland
* *Sir* W. Yonge, *Commissioner of the Treasury*
George Treby, *Esq*; *Master of the Household*
Sir Archer Croft, *Commissioner of Trade*
Colonel Morden
Sir Francis Drake
George Trenchard, *Esq*;
Thomas Windham, *Esq*;
Holt Henley, *Esq*; *Cl. of the Pipe*
Thomas Pearse, *Commissioner of the Navy*
George Doddington, *Esq*;
John Jewkes, *Esq*;
William Bowles, *Esq*;
Stephen Fox, *Esq*;
Nathaniel Gould, *Esq*;
John Bond, *Esq*;
Edward Tucker, *Esq*;
Stamp Brookshank, *Esq*;
Samuel Tufnel, *Esq*; *Commissioner for settling Commerce*
Henry Parsons, *Esq*; *Commissioner of the Victualling*
Lord Egmont
Sir Philip Parker
Colonel Berkly
Sir J. Dutton
Charles Selwyn, *Esq*; *Equerry to the Queen*
George Read, *Esq*; *Major of the Guards*
Lord Carnarvon, *Lord of the Bed-Chamber to the Prince*
Sir George Caswall
Uvedal Price, *Esq*;
Lord Grimstone
Sir Thomas Clark
George Harrison, *Esq*;
Robert Pigott, *Esq*;
Sir John Jennings, *Governor of* Greenwich-*Hospital*
Thomas Hope, *Esq*;
Sir George Saunders, *Commissioner of the Admiralty*
Richard Evans, *Esq*; *Deputy Governor of* Sheerness *and Captain of Dragoons*
Christopher Towers, *Esq*; *Reversionary Auditor of the Imprests*
Sir Roger Bradshaigh
Lord Galway
Sir Harry Houghton
Lord William Manners, *Lord of the Bed-Chamber to the King*
George Monson, *Esq*;
William Clayton, *Esq*; *Commissioner of the Treasury*
Sir John Eyles
Waller Bacon, *Esq*;
* *Sir* Robert Walpole, *Chancellor of the Exchequer, and* Lord *of the Treasury*
Sir Charles Turner, *Teller of the Exchequer*
William Townshend, *Esq*; *Groom of the Bed-Chamber to the Prince*
Sir Edmund Bacon *of* Thetford, *who hath a Grant of Crown Lands at* Chatham
Horatio Walpole, *Esq*; *Cofferer*
Charles Fitzroy, *Esq*; *Cornet and Master of the Tennis Court*
Charles Churchill, *Esq*; *Colonel of Dragoons and Governour of* Plymouth
Colonel Montagu, *Colonel of a Regiment and Governor of* Hull
Sir William Middleton
William Carr, *Esq*;
* *Sir* Thomas Robinson
George Liddell, *Esq*;
Thomas Bennett, *Esq*;
Sir Robert Clifton
John White, *Esq*;
Brigadier Sutton, *Governor of* Guernsey
James Pelham, *Esq*; *Secretary to the Prince and to the Lord Chamberlain*
William Burton, *Esq*;
Thomas Noel, *Esq*;
Henry Arthur Herbert, *Esq*;
Samuel Edwards, *Esq*; *Under Teller of the Exchequer.*
Robert Moore, *Esq*;
John Plumtree, *Esq*; *Treasurer of the Ordnance*
John Scrope, *Esq*; *Secretary of the Treasury*
General Wade, *Governor of* Fort William
Col. William Piers.
George Speke, *Esq*;
George Dodington, *Esq*; *Commissioner of the Treasury*
Francis Whitworth, *Esq*; *Surveyor of his Majesty's Woods*
Charles Lockyer, *Esq*;
Thomas Medlicot, *Esq*; *Commissioner of the Revenue in* Ireland
Lord Harry Pawlet, *Commissioner of the Admiralty.*
Sir John Cope
Norton Pawlett, *Esq*;
George Bridges, *Esq*;
Sir Charles Wager, *Commissioner of the Admiralty*
Paul Burrard, *Esq*;
Maurice Bockland, *Esq*;
George Huxley, *Esq*; *Master-Master Comptroller*
* Martin Bladen, *Esq*; *Commissioner of Trade*
Charles Armand Powlett, *Esq*; *Lieutenant-Colonel of Horse Grenadiers.*
Philip Lloyd, *Esq*; *Captain of Dragoons*
Joseph Hinxman, *Esq*; *Woodward of New Forest*
* John Conduit, *Esq*; *Master of the Mint*
John Selwin, *Esq*; *Treasurer to the Queen*
James Brudenell, *Esq*; *Commissioner of Trade and Groom of the Bed-Chamber.*
Richard Plummer, *Esq*;
William Woolaston, *Esq*;
Sir George Downing.
Captain Purvis
—— Jackson, *Esq*;
Carteret Leathes, *Esq*;
Colonel Cornwallis
* John Cornwallis, *Esq*; *Equerry to the Prince*

Thom

homas Hervey, *Esq*; *Equerry to his Majesty*
homas Norton, *Esq*; *Lieutenant Governor of Chelsea Hospital*
r Joseph Eyles
r Orlando Bridgeman, *Commissioner of Trade*
r William Clayton
lonel Onslow
enry Vincent, *Esq*;
ul Docminique, *Esq*; *Commissioner of Trade*
Henry Pelham, *Esq*; *Paymaster of the Army*
mes Butler, *Esq*;
mes Lumley, *Esq*;
enry Ingram, *Esq*; *Commissary of the Stores at Gibraltar*
harles Eversfield, *Esq*;
r Richard Mill
homas Pelham, *Esq*; *of Lewes*
homas Pelham, *Esq*; *of Stanmer*
hn Gould, *Esq*;
mes Hoste, *Esq*;
seph Danvers, *Esq*;
homas Bladen, *Esq*;
rd Shannon, *Captain of a Troop of Horse*
r Adolphus Oughton
nthony Lowther, *Esq*;
aniel Wilson, *Esq*;
hn Ramsden, *Esq*;
homas Lewis, *Esq*;
obert Herbert, *Esq*; *Commissioner in Ireland*
homas Martin, *Esq*;
ownshend Andrews, *Esq*; *Deputy Paymaster*
ratio Townshend, *Esq*;
ward Ashe, *Esq*; *Commissioner of Trade*
illiam Ducket, *Esq*; *Major of the Horse Grenadiers*
illiam Wardour, *Esq*;
ancis Eyles, *Esq*; *Captain in the Army*
briel Roberts, *Esq*;
les Earle, *Esq*; *Clerk of the Green-Cloth*
wlinson Earle, *Esq*; *Clerk of the Ordnance*
ristopher Tilson, *Esq*; *Clerk of the Treasury*
r Thomas Read, *Clerk of the Green-Cloth*
illiam Sloper, *Esq*; *Deputy Cofferer*
atthew St. Quintin, *Esq*;
hn St. John, *Esq*;
hn Cross, *Esq*;
homas Gibson, *Esq*;
r R. Lane
homas Winnington, *Esq*; *Commissioner of the Admiralty*
hn Rudge, *Esq*;
ew Offley, *Esq*; *Gentleman of the Privy Chamber*
r George Saville
olmondeley Turner, *Esq*;
r William Milner
ward Thompson, *Esq*; *Commissioner of the Victualling*
—— Maister, *Esq*;
orge Crowle, *Esq*; *Commissioner of the Victualling*
chard Arundel, *Esq*; *Surveyor General of the Works*
illiam Thompson, *Esq*;
Conyers Darcy, *Comptroller of the Household*
Col. Pulteney, *Equerry to the King*
James Tyrrel, *Esq*; *Colonel of a Regiment*
George Gregory, *Esq*; *Store-Keeper of the Ordnance*
Henry Finch, *Esq*;
Sir William Wentworth
Sir Thomas Frankland, *Commissioner of the Admiralty*
Charles Stanhope, *Esq*;
William Jessop, *Esq*; *Puisne Judge of Chester*
Sir Charles Hotham, *Colonel of a Regiment, and Groom of the Bed-Chamber*
Leonard Smelt, *Esq*; *Clerk of the Ordnance*
Henry Pierce, *Esq*;
* *Sir* William Lowther
Colonel Mordaunt
Thomas Pelham, *Esq*;
Josiah Burchet, *Esq*; *Secretary to the Admiralty*
William Glanville, *Esq*;
Captain Hercules Baker
Robert Bristow, *Esq*; *Clerk of the Green-Cloth*
Peter Walter, *Esq*;
Sir William Gage
—— Hay, *Esq*;
Hugh Williams, *Esq*;
Lord Lisburne
Sir Nicholas Williams
Arthur Bevan, *Esq*;
Captain John Griffith
Thomas Wynne, *Esq*; *Clerk of the Green-Cloth*
Salusbury Lloyd, *Esq*;
John Campbell, *Esq*;
William Owen, *Esq*;
Sir Humphry Howarth
Thomas Lewis, *Esq*; *Clerk of the Bills of the Customs*
Sir James Campbell
Colonel John Campbell
Charles Ereskine, *Esq*; *Solicitor General for Scotland*
Alexander Brodie, *Esq*; *Lyon King at Arms*
Sir James Grant
Colonel J. Scott
Lord Archibald Hamilton, *Commissioner of the Admiralty.*
Alexander Hamilton, *Esq*;
Robert Douglass, *Esq*;
James Rutherford, *Esq*;
H. Cunningham, *Esq*; *Commissary of the Musters in Scotland*
Sir J. Ferguson
Colonel Middleton
William Stewart, *Esq*; *Paymaster of the Pensions*
Colonel Anstruther, *Deputy Governor of Minorca*
Major Sinclair
Peter Campbell, *Esq*;
John Drummond, *Esq*; *Commissary of settling Commerce*
Duncan Forbes, *Esq*; *Advocate of Scotland*
Daniel Campbell, *Esq*;
Sir Robert Monro
Sir J. Nasmith.

An Eſtimate *of the Debt of his Majeſty's Navy on the Heads hereafter mentioned, as it ſtood* December 1733, *viz.*

				l. s. d.
DUE to pay off all the Bills regiſtred on the Courſe of the Navy for Stores, &c. ſupplied for the Service thereof.	898360			
To pay off and diſcharge all the Bills regiſtred on the ſaid Courſe, for Premiums allow'd by Act of Parl. on Naval Stores.	56811			
For Freight of Tenders, and Stores deliver'd into his Majeſty's Yards, &c. for which no Bills were made out *Dec.* 31, 1733, as alſo to ſeveral Bills of Exchange.	20851			
To his Majeſty's Yards and Rope-Yards, for the Ordinary and Extraordinary thereof.	175564	17	2	
To Half-pay to Sea-Officers, according to an Eſtabliſhment made by his late Majeſty.	19576	8	0	
				1171163 05 1
Seamens Wages.				
Due to the Men unpaid on the Books of Ships paid off.	8194	10	4	
To Ships in the Sea-Pay on aboveſaid *Dec.* 31.	232643			
To pay off all the Bills enter'd in the Courſe, for Pilotage, Surgeons, Bounties to Widows and Orphans of Men ſlain at Sea.	251			
				241088 10 4
Victualling Debt.				
Due for ſhort Allowance to the Comp. of his Majeſty's Ships in Pay, and paid off.	15665	13		
For paying off all the Bills enter'd on their Courſe.	576726	19	5	
For neceſſary Money, extraordinary neceſſary Money and Contingencies.	323	17	11	
To Officers, Workmen, and Labourers, employ'd at ſeveral Ports.	9891	4	4	
				602607 14 [illegible]
Sick and Hurt,				
Due for the Quarters and Care of ſick and hurt Seamen ſent aſhore from the Fleet, and Contingencies of the ſaid Service.				5316 7 [illegible]
				2020175 18 [illegible]
From whence, deducting the Money in the Treaſurer's Hands as below.				146224 12 [illegible]
The neat Debt will be				1873951 5 [illegible]

Memorand. Remaining in the late and preſent Treaſurer of the Navy's Hands, *Dec.* 31, 1733, in Money, as undermentioned, and may be reckoned towards ſatisfying the aforeſaid Debt of the Navy.

In what Treaſurer's Hands.	In Money.	Wear & Tear, and Ordinary.	Seamens Wages.	Victuals.	Remaining on Wages, to be applied as the Services ſhall want it.
Truſtees for Mr. *Hampden*'s Eſtate.		25251 13 2		629 9 6	
Ld. Viſct. *Torrington.*	13189 18 6	280717 1 3		6373 3 9	70415 3 [illegible]
For Sick and Hurt.		2288 3			
	13189 18 6	55616 17 7		7002 13 3	70415 3 [illegible]
Total of Mr. *Hampden*'s		25881 2 8			
Total of Ld. *Torrington*'s		120343 9 11			
		146224 12 7			

N. B. Received ſhort of the Supplies *Anno* 1733 160000 *l.*

tate of the National Debt, *provided or unprovided for by* Parliament, *as it ſtood* Dec. 31, 1732, *nd* Dec. 31, 1733, *together with the Produce of the* Sinking Fond, *and to the Payment of what ebts contracted before* Dec. 25, 1716, *the ſaid* Fond *has been applied.*

	Amount of the National Debt upon Dec. 31, 1732.	*Increaſed between* Dec. 31, 1732, *and* Dec. 31, 1733.	*Paid off within the ſaid Time.*	*Amount of the National Debt upon* Dec. 31, 1733.
EXCHEQUER.	*l. s. d.*		*l. s. d. q.*	*l. s. d. q.*
Nnuities for long Terms, being the Remainder of the orig nal Sum contributed and ubſcribed to the *S. S.* Comp.	1837033 0 9			1837033 0 9
Ditto for Lives, with Benefit ſurvivorſh'p, being the ori- l Sum contributed.	108100 0 0			108100 0 0
Ditto payable upon 2 or 3 es, being the Sum remain- after what is fallen in by ths.	131499 8 6 3		1000	103499 8 0 3
Annuities at 9 *l. per Cent. per* .	161108 6 8			161108 6 8
Ditto on Lottery 1710.	109290 0 0			109290 0 0
Annuities on the Plate Act eo. 1*mi.*	312000			312000 0 0
Ditto on *Nevis* and St. *Chri- er's* Debentures at 3 *l. per* .	37821 5 1 1			37821 5 1 1
Exchequer-Bills on the Vic- lers Act *An.* 1726.	481400			481400 0 0
Ditto made out for Intereſt on Bills exchanged.	2200			2200 0 0
Annuities at 3 *l.* 10 *s. per* . for 1731.	400000			400000 0 0
Duties on Salt revived *An.* 2.	460000		135000	325000 0 0
EAST-INDIA Company. By 2 Acts of Parliament 9 *G.* 3*tii.* and 2 other Acts 6 o *Annæ.*	3200000			3200000
BANK of ENGLAND. n their original Fond at 6 *l.* Cent.	1600000			1600000
or cancelling Exchequer- 3 *Geo.* 1*mi.*	1500000			1500000
urchaſed of the *S.S.* Comp.	4000000			4000000
Annuities at 5 *l. per Cent.* ged on the Duty of Coals *Lady-Day* 1719.	1750000			1750000
Ditto charged on the Surpluſſes he Fonds for Lottery 1714.	1250000			1250000
Ditto for Lottery 1731.	800000			800000
SOUTH-SEA Company. n their Capital Stock and uities 9 *Geo.* 1*mi.*	30302203 5 6 2		913115 15 3 3	29389087 10 2
	48442655 6 1 2		1049115 15 3 3	47393539 10 9

	l. s. d. q.	Dr.	*Per Contra*	Cr.
he Exchequ. to of S. Fond on 31, 1732, is o the Produce of nd between *Dec.* 1732. and *Dec.* 1733, *viz.*		462329 16 3	By Money iſſued between *Dec.* 31, 1732, and *Dec.* 31, 1733, *viz.*	*l. s. d. q.*
n the aggregate	711359 12 6		By paid *S. S.* Comp. in Diſcharge of ſo much of the Capital of their old An. Stock, Part of the National Debt.	913115 15 3
neral Fond.	296287 3 1 1			
S. Comp. Fond.	86320 2 9			
rated Goods im- undervalu-	3		By iſſued for the Service of 1733, by an Act 6 *Geo.* 2*di.*	500000 0 0
				1413115 15 3
tereſt from S. S. for their Part	10 8 7	1093997 10 0	Balance *Dec.* 31, 1733.	143191 10 11 2
cheq. Bills.		1556307 6 3		1556307 6 3

An *Hymn* to *God*. By a Perſon in Foreign Parts.

WHILE oft from clime to clime I go,
Ordain'd to travel to and fro';
To be my guard by land and ſea,
Who have I, who, my God, *but thee?*
And let me boaſt this glorious aid;
For who preſerves like him that made?
What armour ſhields like thy defence?
And is there care like providence?
When on the deep *I take my way*,
And round my bark the billows play;
How ſhould I 'ſcape the greedy wave,
Wert thou not ready there to ſave?
How ſhould I climb yon ſummit's *brow*,
And ſhun the yawning gulph below;
Wert thou not ſtill, my Saviour, by,
To fix my ſtep, and point my eye?
I turn me oft, the labour paſt,
To view ſome ſcene behind me caſt;
An Alps *perhaps, or* Appenine,
And wonder; *but the work was thine.*
By thee my feeble ſtrength ſuſtains
The heighth of hills, *and length of* plains;
By thee I track the mazie wood,
And ſmoothly paſs the rapid flood.
If now I urge my tedious courſe,
Till toil and day-light pall my force;
Thy hand brings on the evening-cloſe,
And marks the Inn *for my repoſe.*
Or, if I ſtart ere morning *light*,
And now bewail the lingring night;
Thou bidſt the ſun *his beams diſplay*,
And look *the* darkneſs *into* day.
In wilds, *where ſtroll the* ſavage brood,
Or men, *more ſavage, lurk for blood*;
If thoſe I awe, or theſe decline,
'Tis by no art, nor power of mine.
Here flames of lighted ſulphur *riſe*;
Here ſudden deluges *ſurprize*;
Here frequent earthquakes *round me jar*;
And here I breathe in poiſon'd air.
But don't I every where advance
Thro' ambuſhes *of* death, *and* chance?
Yet all things wait on thy decree,
And death, *and* chance, *are rul'd by* thee.
Thou'rt ſtill my preſent help and ſtay;
For, oh, thou canſt not be away!
I ſee thee, feel thee, all abroad,
And tho' 'tis nature *acts, 'tis* God.
Hail! Maker *and* Preſerver, *thou*,
Thou Chief *above*; *and* Chief *below!*
Whoſe mercies no-where, never, fail;
Hail! Maker *and* Preſerver, *hail!*

The *Song* of *JUDITH.*

BEGIN, *ye ſons of harmony! the ſtrains*,
The ſtrains to great Jehovah *due*:
Let Judith's *God, from empyrean plains*,
With open ear
Thoſe numbers hear,
Which joyful ſound his praiſes here below.
In grateful concert to his awful name,
The cymbals beat, and touch the lyre:
Begin the anthem with a pious flame:
The notes prolong;
How ſweet the ſong,
When inſtrument and voice in one conſpire!
Encompaſs'd round with enemies I ſtood:
What dangers did my life await?
The thirſty ſword had drunk my ſtreaming blood,
Had not my God
My death withſtood,
And bound thoſe hands, the inſtruments of fate.
Where northern mountains tow'ring proudly hide
Their heads above the ſtarry ſky: [pride,
Lo! in what troops th' Aſſyrians, *ſwell'd with*
Pour down amain,
On Judah's *plain*,
Cover our hills, and drink our rivers dry!
Thou, waſteful fire, devour the deſtin'd plain,
Ye youths, by ruthleſs ponyards bleed,
Ye infants, with your blood the pavement ſtain,
Your honour loſe,
Ye maids, and boys,
Be ſold for ſlaves, and never be ye freed.
How big their menaces, and yet how vain!
Soon ſhall theſe vauntings end in ſhame.
God wills great Olofernes *to be ſlain*:
A female foe
Sure ſtrikes the blow, [name.
Such great diſgrace o'er-clouds the warrior's
No chief, his limbs with youthful vigour ſtrung,
The mighty hope of Syria *ſlew*:
No champions from the race of Titans *ſprung*,
By mighty hand,
Stretch'd on the ſand,
With well-pleas'd eye the haughty get'ral view.
His direful fate he owes to Judith's *hand*;
'Twas, Merari! *thy daughter's charms*,
(What human pow'r can female charms withſtand?)
That laid ſo low
This threat'ning foe,
Lord of the field, invincible in arms.
The ſinking name of Iſrael *to raiſe*,
My widow's weeds aſide I threw:
And with ſoft oil of fragrance waſh'd my face;
With decent pride
My treſſes ty'd,
And choſe a glaring dreſs t' engage his view.
His captivated eye my ſandals blind,
His haughty mind my graces bow,
The pleaſing chains of ſleep his ſenſes bind,
His ſword I take,
Divide his neck,
And ſend him bluſhing to the realms below.
What horrors ſeize the trembling Perſian's *breaſt!*
Aſtoniſh'd at ſo brave a deed,
How does he curſe the ſun, who ſunk to reſt,
Roſe not prepar'd
The blow to ward?
Nor lighter terrors overwhelm the Mede.

Now,

Now, joyful Sion, *bow thy abjects riſe,*
Lately depreſs'd with dire deſpair?
Thy feeble ſons now rend the vaulted ſkies;
Their chearful cry
Aſcends on high,
Who late ſate mute with low inglorious fear.

Behold, ye matrons, from the op'ning wall,
Your ſons pour forth with youthful heat:
Aſſyria's troops before their fauchions fall,
Fainting they yield
The conquer'd field,
And droop, arreſted in their flight by fate.

As from the foreſt once two hungry bears,
With ruthleſs teeth the children tore:
The mournful parents ſaw, with floods of tears,
The heaps of dead
Around them ſpread,
T'avenge the wrongs the ſeer derided bore.

To thee, O Lord, I ſing! my meaſures bear:
Who can enough thy greatneſs praiſe?
Thy matchleſs pow'r, great God! who can but fear?
God breaks the ſpear,
Confounds the war,
Reverts the blow, and every threat repays.

Thee ſhall the wide-extended earth obey,
Thee every creature ſhall revere:
While yet the ſeeds of all in embryo lay,
Air, ſea, fire, earth,
Struggling for birth,
Chaos did thy almighty Fiat *hear.*

Thy ſpirit, dove-like, brooded o'er the deep,
And kindly hatch'd the univerſe:
Forth from their principles all beings creep;
Confuſion now
Did order know,
While all things thy reſiſtleſs might rehearſe.

How the fix'd rock repells the roaring flood,
And the vaſt ſhock of ocean ſtands?
But at the preſence of avenging God,
Its boaſts decay,
It melts away,
Dreading the pow'r that heav'n and earth commands.

Thus have I ſeen a child form beauteous rows
Of waxen works, and in a window place:
When lo! the envious ſun, with double rays,
Thro' the glaſs breaks,
Diſſolves the wax,
And many a tear the infant's cheeks bedews.

When to the Jews Jehovah *gave his law,*
How Sinai *trembled, wrapt in ſmoak?*
Nay as the centre its foundations ſhook,
Rev'rently low
Its foreſts bow;
Jacob's ſons confeſs'd a greater awe.

Moſes his ſtrength tumultuous oceans fear:
Moſes lifts up the virtual wand,
The Erythrean waves the wand revere,
At his command,
Like walls they ſtand,
Iſrael paſs, but death to th' Egyptian *band.*

So great, ſo terrible the Lord appears,
But only to the guilty ſoul:
For when a man his name ſincerely fears,
He from on high,
With gracious eye,
Beholds his labours, and ſucceeds his toil.

The humble mind with greatneſs ſhall be crown'd,
Which not whole hecatombs can gain:
When in your land iniquities abound,
Let altars ſmoke,
Your God invoke,
Slain are the beaſts, and pour'd the oil in vain.

Woe to you nations, that your arms prepare,
Againſt lov'd Jacob's *pious race:*
Methinks your heavy doom denounc'd I hear:
Trembling attend
To know your end,
Your doom comes flying on with rapid pace.

When I to vengeance riſe, and judgments pour
On thoſe, that choſen *Iſrael* hate:
Their tortur'd fleſh ſhall worms and fire devour;
Their tears ſhall flow,
Nor meaſure know.
Thus ſpeaks the Lord, and what he ſpeaks is fate.

The DELAYER.

ON *reformation* bent, and growing *wiſe*,
To-morrow I'll begin indeed,—*Jack* cries:
To-morrow and *to-morrow*'s gone and o'er;
Yet *Jack*'s the ſame ſad dog he was before:—
—Still he *to-morrow* gravity aſſumes,——
Day follows day, yet no ſuch morrow comes;
But ev'ry day and preſent hours are ſeen,
Such as have paſt, as yeſterday has been.
Prithee no more of your *to-morrow* prate;
Cou'd you grow wiſe *to-morrow*, 'twou'd be late:
Be late, tho' not a moment you delay:
He's only *wiſe*, who was ſo *yeſterday*.

The DEPARTURE.

THE *Whigs* and the *Tories* ſet party aſide,
And vye in reſpect to the *bridegroom* and *bride*.
A joy univerſal o'erſpreads the whole iſle,
Each *heart* bounds with tranſport, each *face* wears a ſmile.
This ſpring-tide of pleaſure comes *flowing* ſo faſt,
I tremble to think of its *ebb* at the laſt.
How ſad the *departure!* how diſmal the *day*,
When *Orange* ſhall bear our dear *Princeſs* away!

To a Noble Lord, *on his late moſt incomparable* Poem.

MOST noble peer, your ever-charming verſe
Delights the more, the oftener you rehearſe.
To your harmonious ſtrains all others yield,
Like bending corn when winds breathe o'er the field.
Right honourable bard, exalt thy lays,
From princely riſing to majeſtick praiſe;

Then

Then ſhall the world, in ſpite of envy, ſee,
The *laureat*'s lofty *odes* out-done by thee.

R. S.

Scorn *for* Scorn: *Or, the* Slighted Swain.

To the Tune of, When all was wrapt in dark Midnight.

'TWAS when the ſilver moon roſe high,
And ſleep and ſilence reign'd;
Damon to *Sylvia*'s window ſtray'd,
And thus in ſighs complain'd.

Ah think! ah think! too cruel maid,
What tortures I endure:
Pity my woes; at leaſt relieve
The wretch you will not cure.

Each ſigh but mine thy harden'd ſoul
Can to compaſſion *move,*
Kindly thou wilt all pains redreſs;
All, but the pains of love.

What?——Not ev'n pity *canſt thou give?*
Riſe Sylvia, *riſe and view;*
Once view the wretch that cannot live,
Before he dies for you.

Then down he ſunk, with grief oppreſt,
And eager call'd for death:
When on her threſhold ſoft he ſigh'd,
And ſigh'd his lateſt breath.

Poor youth! the ſwains weep o'er thy grave,
And maids ſtand mourning by:
Sylvia alone nor drops a tear,
Nor ſwells a tender ſigh.

But heaven *Damon*'s wrongs reveng'd,
And took the juſter ſide;
Nor longer life to *her* would give,
Which was to *him* deny'd.

She dies: and now her fleeting ghoſt
To realms of death deſcends:
There, there her pride (O juſt decree!)
Her pride to *Damon* ends.

Of *rage*, of *fondneſs* and *deſpair*,
She feels each tort'ring pain;
There injur'd *Damon* doom'd to love,
And doom'd to *love* in *vain.*

The Monkey *and* Jupiter; *a Fable in Imitation of* Phædrus.

Naturam turpem nulla fortuna obtegit.

A Monkey once an odd requeſt,
To mighty *Jupiter* addreſt:
One humble boon, great *Jove*, I pray,
Make me a lady, fine and gay.
The boon was granted in a trice,
And madam deck'd out wond'rous nice.
Perfect ſhe was, from top to toe,
As, in an inſtant, toad-ſtools grow;
Or, (if my ſimile's too vile)
Th' ephemerons near fruitful Nile;
Or (to illuſtrate more my ſtory)
As *Iris* is, in all her glory.
With dyes as various, form'd for joy,
Shone the gay parti-colour'd toy.
Nor let the reader think it ſtrange,
She-monkey to a belle ſhould change;
Since he himſelf, 'tis ſure, muſt know,
Many a he-monkey turn'd a beau.
The charms of face and ſhape t' enhance,
Madam cou'd ſing, as well as dance:
Notes ſoft as hers came not from *Peach*;
Nor airs ſo ſweet could *Lacy* teach.
To paint, in ſhort, this heav'nly fair,
Like *Cælia*'s were her ſhape and air;
Her eyes, her mouth, her ev'ry feature,
A copy of that lovely creature.
To make the grace ſtill more compleat,
Jove plac'd the lady near his ſeat:
Whence on her ſex, with haughty frown,
She ſupercilioufly look'd down.
But fortune's favour and her ſpite,
Alternate roll, as day and night.
One gaudy day (to her the laſt)
It chanc'd an inſect near her paſt:
Some ſay a beetle, ſome a fly;
The fact however none deny.
With eager ſpeed ſhe ſkipt away,
To ſeize the trembling, trifling prey.
Surpriz'd the gods laugh all right out:
But *Jove* could not forbear to powt:
His grace he ſaw conferr'd in vain;
And into pug turn'd pug again:
This learned ſpeech, with ſolemn face,
Addreſſing loud to human race.
Enjoy your natures, as you can,
Jack ne'er will make a gentleman.
A cox-comb, rais'd to honour's ſeat.
Shines ſtill a cox-comb more compleat.
A jilt, whoſe fickle mind perplex
The various trifles of her ſex,
Tho' well adorn'd with liberal arts,
Neglecting men of ſenſe and parts,
On cox-combs dear will fix her eyes,
As beetles dull, and light as flies.

R. P.

The NONPAREIL.

EARLY this morn (a time to muſe kind)
Willing to draw one woman to my mind,
Wiſe without pride, without coquetting fair,
Chaſte as the unblown roſe, yet free as air;
In language eaſy, in her temper ſweet,
And moderately learn'd, and ſimply neat;
Who ne'er one ſtep from virtue's path has trod,
True to her friend, but truer to her God.
——But when I on the picture thought, cry'd,
No ſuch can be——and flung my pen aſide—
My muſe then kindly whiſper'd, *ſuch can be*;
Bade me *Clarinda* write——and that was ſhe.

An excellent new Ballad, addreſs'd to the City of London.

To the Tune of, *The King and the Abbot of* Canterbury.

WHILE politick mortals with different views,
Admit a debate what members to chooſe;
O city of London, *be grateful and wiſe,*
And put up the man who put down the exciſe.
Derry down, down, hey derry down.
Should this noble city forget her late mayor,
Of guardians hereafter ſhe well may deſpair:
O city of London, *&c.*
Ye lovers of *England*, ye lovers of trade,
Remember how *glorious* a ſtand he has made!
O city of London, *&c.* [quiet,
Think how the good magiſtrate guarded your
And wiſely diſtinguiſh'd *rejoicing* from *riot*:
O city of London, *&c.*
Remember who kept your great city in order,
Who quaſh'd the *exciſe*, and quell'd the *R---r*:
O city of London, *&c.*
Should others attempt to aſk for your voice,
Aſſure 'em you're ſteadily fix'd in your choice;
That freemen of *London* are grateful and wiſe,
And honour the man who put down the exciſe.
Derry down, down, hey derry down.

An Hymn *by a Gentleman on his Wedding-Day, Two and Thirty Years after Marriage; being at* Bath *with his ſick Wife.*

PARENT of health, to *thee*, I, awful, ſue,
Accept the tribute to thy goodneſs due:
A thankful heart, I on thy altar lay,
An offering, ſacred to this joyful day.
Thou haſt with growing mercies bleſs'd my life,
And every mercy crown'd in ſuch a wife:
Martha careful, yet as *Mary* wiſe,
Endu'd with all the gifts, that mankind prize.
If cares ariſe, (for who from cares are free?)
My comforters are near, my *God*, and *ſhe*:
My troubled mind in prayer finds relief,
Her joys ſhe *doubles*, and *divides* my *grief*.
Thou *God* of mercy, diſſipate my fears,
And heal the much-lov'd clay, thy image bears:
Confirm her health; in bleſſing *her*, bleſs *me*,
And let the *Bath*, to her *Bethesda* be.
If heav'n has on earth no greater bliſs in ſtore,
And none greater, next to heaven, implore;
Preſerve her then, my God!--on earth I aſk
no more!

Epitaph *on a* Lap-Dog.

READER, if thou canſt read at all,
thou'lt find;
Here lies the faireſt of the ſpeechleſs kind:
Deſcended from an antient noble race
Of ladies lap-dogs in their ladies grace.
Abigail (that was the lady's name)
To nature's hand receiv'd a comely frame;
Large ears; bright eyes; a ſhort and dimpled
noſe;
Skin of ermin; ſpotted ſilken hoſe;
In all that beauty on a dog beſtows.
Her acting principle think what you pleaſe on;
At leaſt 'twas next to,--if it was not--reaſon.
Whether her ſoul belong'd to man or beaſt,
Let others with *Pythagoras* conteſt.
This I'll affirm; were all dumb brutes like her,
To moſt that talk, the ſilent I'd preſer.
Was ſhe, becauſe ſhe never ſpoke, a brute?
How many would appear leſs ſuch, if mute!
Brute as ſhe was; her manners tho' were ſuch;
As to moſt men muſt be a warm reproach.
No truſt ſhe e'er betray'd; no friend forgot;
Nor fawn'd on perſons, when ſhe lik'd 'em not.
Choice made her live, twelve moons twice told,
a maid;
Obedience made her change her ſtate and wed.
Then phœnix-like ſhe yields her lateſt breath;
To make way for her ſecond-ſelf by death.
Who but muſt weep the loſs of *Abigail*,
That for her ſpecies-ſake thus greatly fell?

N. B. *We are oblig'd to* Philomathes *for the Poem call'd* WOMAN, *which ſhall be inſerted in our next.*

POLITICAL QUADRILLE.

Spain. I Begin, Gentlemen and Ladies, with *two Kings.*

Sardinia. I have a very good Hand, but don't care for *playing without.*

Saxony. I am afraid *my King* will be *trump'd.*

Dantzick. I won't play *mine* till all the *Trumps are out.*

France. Morbleau Meſſieurs! I have *a dead Vol.*

Pruſſia. My Cards look well, but they won't do unleſs *Clubs be Trumps.*

Great Britain. I expect my *King* will be *call'd.*

Venice. Paſs.

Ruſſia. I play. I know little of the Game; but if I am *baſted*, am rich enough to pay.

Emperor. I have a ſad Run of Luck, nothing but a *Fineſſe* can ſave me.

Princes of the Empire. Snuff the Candles, We don't ſee clear.

Holland. Excuſe me Gentlemen and Ladies, If *I play* you muſt *put down your Stakes.*

Staniſlaus. I have not loſt *Codille*, 'tis at worſt but *Remiſe*; I have a Matadore ſtill to play.

Duke of Lorrain. I hold nothing but a *Queen.*

Poland. You play with that Vehemence, Gentlemen, you'll ſplit the Table.

Prince Eugene. 'Faith, I'll riſk nothing at the *End* of a Game.

Denmark. I don't hold a good Card in my Hand.

Sweden. I would play if I dar'd.

Portugal. I ſit at ſuch a Diſtance I cannot reach the Table.

The Elector of Bavaria. I ſhall be ready for a Game preſently.

Pope. I'll *Shuffle* and *Cut* for you All.

The

The GENTLEMAN's

Monthly Intelligencer.

APRIL, 1734.

THE following Anſwers were made to the Addreſs and Congratulations of the Houſe of Commons, on the Marriage of the Princeſs Royal with the Prince of *Orange*. (See p. 151.)

By his Majeſty.

I thank the Houſe of Commons for this dutiful Addreſs, and am glad I have diſpoſed of my Daughter in a Manner ſo agreeable to them.

By her Majeſty.

I return my Thanks to the Houſe of Commons: They have conſtantly ſhewn their Zeal and Affection to the King; and I am extreamly glad that the King's Choice on this Occaſion has met with their Approbation.

By the Princeſs of *Orange*.

I thank the Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons for this Meſſage; and am very glad of their Approbation, which will always make me happy.

By the Prince of *Orange*.

I am very ſenſible of the Share the Houſe of Commons takes in my Happineſs, and of their Congratulation upon this Occaſion: I am very much obliged to them for their good Wiſhes, and very grateful for the Aſſurances of their Friendſhip, which I ſhall always endeavour to deſerve. I deſire them to be perſuaded, that I will not be backward in Zeal and Affection for the Britiſh *Nation; and that I ſhall always reckon it the greateſt Happineſs to be able to give Proofs thereof upon all Occaſions.*

The States-General have returned an Anſwer to his Majeſty's Letter of Notification, of the Princeſs Royal's Marriage to the P. of *Orange*, and aſſure his Majeſty, *That they will contribute to the utmoſt of their Power to make the Reſidence of the Princeſs his Daughter as agreeable as is poſſible in a free Republick, and as ſhall be conſiſtent with the preſent Conſtitution of their State.*

MONDAY, April 1.

The Houſe of Commons waited on his Majeſty with a dutiful Addreſs, on Occaſion of the Meſſage ſent to that Houſe (ſee p. 175) To which his Majeſty returned the following Anſwer.

Gentlemen,

I return you my Thanks for theſe Aſſurances of your Duty and Fidelity to my Perſon and Government, and for the Confidence which you repoſe in me. I deſire only that I may be in a Condition to ſupport the Honour and Intereſt of my Crown and People; and the Power you have given me ſhall be made uſe of to no other Purpoſe.

MONDAY, 8.

The Proteſtant Diſſenting Miniſters of the Three Denominations of this City, waited on his Majeſty with their Addreſs of Congratulation on the Marriage of the Princeſs Royal, which his Majeſty receiv'd very graciouſly, and they all had the Honour to kiſs his Hand. They were afterwards introduc'd to her Majeſty on that Occaſion, and had the Honour to kiſs her Hand. They paid their Compliments of Congratulation alſo at the ſame Time to the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange*, who receiv'd them in a very obliging Manner.

TUESDAY, 9.

The Right Hon. *Hugh* Viſcount *Falmouth* reſign'd his Place of one of the Vice-Treaſures and Pay-Maſters General of *Ireland*.

WEDNESDAY, 10.

Was held a General Court of the S. Sea Company, when the State of their Affairs in Trade being taken into Conſideration, the Court came to a Reſolution to impower the Directors to addreſs his Majeſty for Leave to diſpoſe of their Right of ſending an Annual Ship to the *South-Seas*, and for Licence to treat with ſuch Perſons as are deſirous to purchaſe the ſame.

MONDAY, 15.

The Anniverſary of the Birth of his Royal Highneſs

neſs the Duke was celebrated; when he ed into the 14th Year of his Age.

TUESDAY, 16.

is Majeſty went to the Houſe of Lords, gave the Royal Aſſent to the following viz. *That for the Land Tax. For en- his Majeſty to apply the Sum of* 0,000 l. *out of the Sinking Fond, &c. For an Annuity of* 5000 l. per Ann. *on the ceſs Royal, for her Life. For aſcertaining Duties on Arrack, &c. For better regu- Elections of Members to ſerve in the of Commons for* Scotland, *&c. For pre- the infamous Practice of Stock-Jobbing. indemnifying Perſons who have omitted to ify themſelves for Employments by taking the , &c. For explaining an Act for con- a further Part of the Capital Stock of S. Comp. into Annuities, &c. For ſet- how far Owners of Ships ſhall be rable for the Acts of the Maſters and ners. For Naturalizing the Prince of e. For Application of the Reſidue of Money raiſed by the Charitable Corpora- Lottery. For Revival of the Act for Importation of* Cochineal *and* Indigo. *preventing the clandeſtine Importation of Hops, and to prevent adulterating of For the more effectual Puniſhment Aſſaults with Intent to rob. For the eaſy Redemption and Foreclоſing of Mort- For the more effectual preventing ging the Acceptance of Bills of Exchange. For raiſing the Militia in* England, *and the ſame more effectual. For obliging rt of Lands adjoining to Highways, and cut low the Hedges. For continu- Act for Repairing* Highgate *and* Hamp- *Roads. For repairing* Royſton *High- For regulating the Manufacture of hire Cloth. For extending the Naviga- the River* Weaver. *For giving Li- to* Samuel Buckley *to print* Thuanus. *king the Church of* Bablake *in* Coven- *archbish And to* 16 *Private Bills.*

n his Majeſty made the following moſt Speech to both Houſes; and pro- them.

Lords and Gentlemen,

e you my hearty Thanks for the great ſpatch you have given to the Publick , and for the Confidence you have in Me for the Honour and Security of ngdom; ſo ſhort a Seſſion, at ſo criti- important a Conjuncture, concluded much Unanimity, and ſo juſt a Re- the true Intereſt of the Nation, will at Weight and Credit to all Our Pub- ranſactions, and procure that Reſpect pendance upon the great Council of tion, which are ſo neceſſary to ſup- Honour and Intereſt of *Great Bri-* oth at Home and Abroad.

ntlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

ſt acknowledge in a particular Man- ner the Zeal and Readineſs which you have ſhewn in raiſing, in ſo effectual a Manner, the neceſſary Supplies for the Service of the Year; the Proviſion you have made for paying off great Part of the Debt of the Navy, a Debt neceſſarily and unavoidably incurred, and carrying a higher Intereſt than the old National Debt, and which, being at a Diſcount, increaſed the Charge and Expence in all Contracts of the Navy and Victualling, muſt certainly be thought of ſingular Service to the Publick.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The Time limited for the Expiration of this Parliament drawing near, I have reſolved forthwith to iſſue my Proclamation for the diſſolving of it, and for calling a new Parliament, that the Inconveniencies unavoidably attending a general Election may be put an End to as ſoon as poſſible; but I ſhould think Myſelf inexcuſable, if I parted with this Parliament without doing them the Juſtice to anknowledge the many ſignal Proofs they have given, thro' the Courſe of Seven Years, of their Duty, Fidelity, and Attachment to My Perſon and Government, and their conſtant Regard to the true Intereſt of their Country.

The Proſperity and Glory of my Reign depend upon the Affection and Happineſs of My People, and the Happineſs of my People upon My preſerving to them all their legal Rights and Privileges, as eſtabliſhed under the preſent Settlement of the Crown in the Proteſtant Line. A due Execution and ſtrict Obſervance of the Laws are the beſt and only Security both to Sovereign and Subject; their Intereſt is mutual and inſeparable, and therefore their Endeavours for the Support of each other ought to be equal and reciprocal; any Infringement or Incroachment upon the Rights of either, is a Diminution of the Strength of both, which, kept within their due Bounds and Limits, make that juſt Balance, which is neceſſary for the Honour and Dignity of the Crown, and for the Protection and Proſperity of the People. What depends upon Me, ſhall, on My Part, be religiouſly kept and obſerved, and I make no Doubt of receiving the juſt Returns of Duty and Gratitude from them.

I muſt in a particular Manner recommend it to you, and from your known Affection do expect, that you will uſe your beſt Endeavours to heal the unhappy Diviſions of the Nation, and to reconcile the Minds of all, who truly and ſincerely wiſh the Safety and Welfare of the Kingdom. It would be the greateſt Satisfaction to Me to ſee a perfect Harmony reſtored amongſt them that have one and the ſame Principle at Heart, that there might be no Diſtinction, but of ſuch as mean the Support of Our preſent happy Con-

ſtitution in Church and State, and ſuch as wiſh to ſubvert both. This is the only Diſtinction that ought to prevail in this Country, where the Intereſt of King and People is one and the ſame, and where they cannot ſubſiſt, but by being ſo. If Religion, Liberty, and Property, were never at any Time more fully enjoyed, without not only any Attempt, but even the Shadow of a Deſign, to alter or invade them, let not theſe ſacred Names be made Uſe of, as artful and plauſible Pretences, to undermine the preſent Eſtabliſhment, under which alone they can be ſafe.

I have nothing to wiſh but that my People may not be miſguided; I appeal to their own Conſciences for My Conduct, and hope the Providence of God will direct them in the Choice of ſuch Repreſentatives, as are moſt fit to be truſted with the Care and Preſervation of the Proteſtant Religion, the preſent Eſtabliſhment, and all the Religious and Civil Rights of *Great Britain*.

THURSDAY, 18.

This Morning his Majeſty's Proclamation was iſſued for diſſolving the Parliament, which ſtood prorogued to the 14th of *May*, and for calling a new Parliament; the Writs bear Date from *Thurſday* the 18th of *April*, and are returnable on *Thurſday* the 13th of *June* next.

MONDAY, 22.

This Morning, about Seven o'Clock, the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange*, attended by ſeveral Perſons of Diſtinction, went in their Chairs from St. *James*'s to *Whiteball*, and croſs'd the *Thames* to *Lambeth*, where the King's Coaches waited to receive them, and ſet forward to *Graveſend*, in order to embark on board the *Fubbs* Yacht for *Holland*.

The ſame Morning the Princeſs *Amelia*, attended by ſeveral Perſons of Diſtinction, and eſcorted by a Party of his Majeſty's Life-Guards, ſet out for *Bath* to make Uſe of thoſe Waters for the Recovery of her Health.

FRIDAY, 26.

Seven Perſons received Sentence of Death at the *Old Bailey*, viz. *Tho. Evans*, for ſtealing from *Manſell Alcock* a Parcel of Linnen to the Value of 10*l.* 4*s.* the Property of *John Wingfield*; *William Jellard*, for Houſe-breaking; *William Fletcher*, for Forgery; *John Green*, for privately ſtealing Goods to the Value of 10*l.* *Maſſey Hornby*, for the Murder of her Baſtard Child; *Peter Machie*, for ſtealing a Parcel of Jewels; and *Elizabeth Hewit*, alias *Giles*, for privately ſtealing divers Goods of Value: Thirty-four were ordered for Tranſportation, and two burnt in the Hand.

SUNDAY, 28.

A Meſſenger arrived at *Whiteball* from *Holland*, with an Account of the ſafe Arrival of the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange* on *Friday* Morning at *Rotterdam*.

MARRIAGES *and* BIRTHS.

PETER *Hawkins*, of *Haſtings* in Suſſex, Eſq; married to Miſs *Watſon*.

Hon. *William Wyndham*, Eſq; Deputy Governor to the Duke, to the Counteſs Dowager of *Deloraine*, Governeſs to the Princeſſes *Mary* and *Louiſa*.

Samuel Short, Eſq; of the *Temple*, to Miſs *Gosford*, a 10,000*l.* Fortune.

Thomas Smart, M. A. to Mrs. *Elizabeth Thornton*, a Widow Gentlewoman of Hertford in *Hertfordſhire*.

William Neale, Eſq; of the Six Clerks Office, to Mrs. *Elizabeth Hanbury*, of *North-ſtreet*.

The Lady of Count *Kinſki*, Ambaſſador from the Emperor, ſafely delivered of a Son.

The Lady of the Hon. *Stephen Poyntz*, Eſq; Governor to the Duke, brought to bed of a Son and Heir.

William Haſtings, of *Weybridge*, Eſq; married to Miſs *Sarah Gardiner*, of *Surrey*, in the *Strand*.

Rich. Wyvill, Eſq; to Miſs *Mary Thorold*.

Lord Viſcount *Faulkland* to Lady *Elizabeth* Reliſt of the late Lord *Faulkland*.

Hon. *Archibald Murray*, Eſq; to Mrs. *Catharine Martin*, of *Covent-Garden*.

The Lady of Sir *Charles Mordaunt*, Bart. ſafely delivered of a Son and Heir.

The Lady of the Right Hon. the Earl of *Guildford*, delivered of a Daughter.

DEATHS.

LADY *Mary Grahame*, Siſter to the Earl of *Linlithgow*.

Rev. Mr. *Biſs*, Miniſter of St. *George's*, *Briſtol* and *Paulbury* adjoining, who had been convicted in the late King's Reign of preaching a treaſonable Sermon, ſtood in the Pillory at the *Royal Exchange*, ſuffer'd a long Impriſonment, and was ſilenc'd from preaching.

Daniel Stewart, Eſq; Son of Sir *Archibald Stewart*, a *Scotch* Baronet.

Counteſs of *Thomond*, in *Ireland*, and Daughter of the Duke of *Somerſet*.

Lady *Crew*, Widow of the late Dr. Crew of *Berlaine*.

Miſs *Trollope*, Daughter of Sir *Thomas Trollope*, of *Caſewick* in *Lincolnſhire*, Bart.

Sir *Philip Jackſon*, Knt.

Mr. *Joſeph Pennington*, Son of Sir *John Pennington*, Bart.

Hon. *Francis Maſham*, Eſq; a near Relation to the Lord *Maſham*.

Philip Leche, Eſq; who had the Honour to ſerve Queen *Anne* as Page of the Back Stairs.

Mr. *Theocharis Dadichi*, his Majeſty's Interpreter, for the Oriental Languages. He was born at *Aleppo* in *Syria*, and educated at *Paris*, at the Expence of the late French King.

Richard Vaughan, Eſq; who had been Knight of the Shire for *Merioneth* ſeveral Years.

alton *Griffith*, Esq; a Justice of the Peace, formerly one of the Commissioners for ising Hackney-Coaches.

apt. *Richard Lake*, an antient Commander, erly Captain of the *Essex* Man of War.

r. *Moreton*, D. D. Rector of *Martin* in ey.

eorge Smith, Esq; a Justice of the Peace *Middlesex*.

apt. *Whitfield*, an old experienc'd Officer he Army.

apt. *Howard*, an old Commander belong- to the *Navy*.

t *Glanbran* in *Carmathenshire*, *S. Gwynne*, of an antient Family in that County.

ohn-Pope *Blount*, A. M.

ames *Nelthrops*, Esq;

homas *Austin*, Esq; a Justice of the Peace *Middlesex*.

homas *Dowse*, Esq; of *Lancashire*, in the th Year of his Age: In 1648 he was of a Comp. in Garrison at *Colchester*, received several Wounds at the Surrender of Garrison to the Parliament.

on. Mr. *Cholmondeley*, Son of Lord *Chol- deley*.

ady *Monson*, Relict of the late Sir *Wil- Monson*, Bart.

Mr. *Sam. Cass*, head Mason of all his Ma- 's Ports in *England* and *Scotland*.

Ecclesiastical PREFERMENTS.

MR. *John Emerson*, promoted to the Living of Little *Hallingbury*, *Essex*.

Mr. *Hildrop*, presented by the Lord *Bruce*, the Rectory of *Wath*, in the Diocese of ter, and County of *York*.

Mr. *John Fetherstone* collated to the Vica- of *Betherden*, *Kent*.

Mr. *Jackson* inducted into the Rectory of ley, *Hants*.

Mr. *Thomas Rymer* made one of the six achers of the Cathedral of *Canterbury*, in Room of his Father, who resigned.

Mr. *Pbinweel* promoted to the Rectory of *Barnold*, *Lincolnshire*.

Mr. *Briscoe* and Mr. *Heyer* appointed Chap- s to his Majesty.

Dr. *Williams* appointed one of the Chap- s to the Prince of *Wales*.

PROMOTIONS *Civil* and *Military*.

THOMAS *Wentworth*, Esq; appointed Captain-Lieut. of the Hon. Brigadier rrell's Reg. of Foot.

Maltis Ryal, Esq; High Sheriff of *Surrey*, the Honour of Knighthood confer'd on , on his presenting an Address to his Ma- y, with the Gentlemen, *&c.* of that nty, upon the Marriage of the Princess yal.

The following Gentlemen chosen Directors the *Bank* for the Year ensuing, *viz.* Sir o. *Bellamy*, Knt. and A'd. *Stamp Brooks- k*, Esq; Mr. *Clement Boehm*, Sir *Gerard Conyers*, Knt. and Ald. *Tho. Cooke*, Esq; *Will. Fawkener*, Esq; Mr. *James Gualtier*, Sir *John Heathcote*, Bart. *Sam. Holden*, Esq; *Hen. Herring*, Esq; *Matt. Howard*, Esq; Sir *Will. Jolliffe*, *Hen. Neale*, Esq; *John Rudge*, Esq; *Charles Savage*, Esq; *James Spilman*, Esq; *Nathaniel Gould*, Esq; Mr. *Will. Hunt*, Mr. *Benj. Lethieullier*, Mr. *Benj. Longuet*, Mr. *Jo. Paice*, jun. *Matt. Raper*, Esq; Sir *John Thompson*, Knt. and Ald. *Christopher Tower*, Esq; The eight last named were not in the former Direction.

The following Gentlemen chosen Directors of the *East-India* Company, *viz.* *Abr. Adams*, Esq; *Dodding Braddyll*, Esq; Sir *Will. Billers*, Sir *Fran. Child*, Dr. *Caleb Cotesworth*, *John Cooke*, Esq; Mr. *John Eccleston*, *Sam. Feake*, Esq; *Will. Gosselin*, Esq; *John Gould*, jun. Esq; Capt. *Rob. Hudson*, *Baltzar Lyell*, Esq; *Matt. Martin*, Esq; Mr. *Will. Rouse*, *Josias Wordsworth*, Esq; Mr. *Josias Wordsworth*, jun. Mr. Ald. *Salter*, *Charles Boone*, Esq; *St. Quintin Thompson*, Esq; Mr. *Sam. Hyde*, *Jones Raymond*, Esq; *Cha. Colbourn*, Esq; Capt. *Rich. Boulton*, Mr. *Peter Godfrey*.

Hon. Mr. *Fane*, nominated his Majesty's Resident at the Court of *Florence*.

Hon. *Hugh Campbell*, Esq; Nephew to the Duke of *Argyll*, made Capt. of a Comp. in the Reg. of Foot at *Gibraltar*, commanded by Col. *Cope*.

Marquis of *Lothian* made High Commissioner to the General Assembly of the Church of *Scotland*.

Sir *Nicholas Williams*, Bart. made Chamberlain of the Town and Borough of *Brecon*, and the Counties of *Brecon*, *Radnor*, and *Glamorgan*, &c.

Lord Viscount *Torrington*, made Receiver-General of the King's Revenues in *Ireland*, in the room of Lord Viscount *Falmouth*.

Arthur Onslow, Esq; late Speaker of the House of Commons, made Treasurer of the Navy, in the room of Lord *Torrington*.

James Campbell, Esq; made Governor of *Milford Haven*, in the room of the Duke of *Bolton*.

Sir *Henry Houghton*, Bart. made Advocate General, or Judge-Martial of all his Majesty's Forces in *England*, in the room of *Edward Hughs*, Esq; deceased.

Lord *Cadogan* appointed Commander of the Reg. of Dragoons lately commanded by the Earl of *Stair*.

Capt. *W. Judd*, made a Cornet in the Royal Reg. of Horse, commanded by General *Evans*.

Hon. Col. *Lumley*, Brother to the Earl of *Scarborough*, made Avener and Clerk-Martial of his Majesty's Stables, vacant since the Death of Col. *Negus*.

Col. *Charles Howard*, youngest Son of the E. of *Carlisle* made one of his Majesty's Aid de

Camps, in the room of the Earl of *Albemarle*.

Sir *Rob. Monro*, Bart. appointed Commiſſary General of the Muſters in *Scotland*, in the room of *Henry Cunningham*, Eſq; made Governor of *Jamaica*.

Members choſen for the enſuing Parliament.

Ayleſbury,	Alderman Champion, *Chriſtopher Towers, Eſq;*
Chipping Wicomb,	Edmund Waller, Eſq; Harry Waller, Eſq;
Great Marlow,	Sir Thomas Hobby, Bart. Edmund Waller, Eſq;
Weſtminſter	*Sir Charles Wager, Knt.* *William Clayton, Eſq;*
Aldborough,	*Capt. Purvis* William Conolly, Eſq;
Bramber in Suſſex,	*Sir Henry Gough, Bart.* *Capt. Harry Gough*
Buckingham,	*George Chamberlayne, Eſq;* Richard Grenville, Eſq;
Gatton in Surrey,	William Newland, Eſq; *Paul Dockminique, Eſq;*
Hyth,	*William Glanville, Eſq;* *Hercules Baker, Eſq;*
Oxford,	Thomas Rowney, Eſq; Mr. Recorder Skinner
Portſmouth,	*Admiral Philip Cavendiſh* —— *Lewis, Eſq;*
Queenborough,	*Sir George Saunders* *Richard Evans, Eſq;*
Reading,	*Richard Pottenger, Eſq;* *Henry Grey, Eſq;*
Rye,	*Sir John Norris* Philip Gybbon, Eſq;
Sandwich,	*Sir George Oxenden, Bart.* *Joſiah Burchett, Eſq;*
Wallingford,	*Robert Hucks, Eſq;* *Thomas Towers, Eſq;*
Wendover,	*John Hampden, Eſq;* —— *Boteler, Eſq;*
Windſor,	*Lord Vere Beauclerck* *Lord Sidney Beauclerck*
Woodſtock,	The H. John Spencer, Eſq; James Dawkins, Eſq;
Abingdon,	*Robert Hucks, Eſq;*
St. Albans,	Sir Thomas Aſton, Bart. Thomas Aſhby, Eſq;
Amerſham,	Thomas Lutwych, Eſq; Henry Marſhall, Eſq;
Andover in Hants,	William Guidott, Eſq; John Pollen, Eſq;
Banbury,	*Lord Wallingford*
Bedfordſhire,	The H. John Spencer, Eſq; *Sir Rowland Alſton*
Biſhops-Caſtle,	*Robert Moore, Eſq;* —— Kynaſton, Eſq;
Brackley,	Sir Paul Methuen Dr. George Lee
Cambridge County,	*Henry Bromley, Eſq;* *Samuel Sheppard, Eſq;*
Dover,	*David Papillon, Eſq;* *Thomas Revel, Eſq;*
Chipenham,	Richard Long, Eſq; Rogers Holland, Eſq;
Hertford Town,	*Sir Thomas Clarke* Nathaniel Braſſey, Eſq;
Horſham in Suſſex,	*Charles Eversfield, Eſq;* *Henry Ingram, Eſq;*
Huntingdon,	Ed. Wortley Montagu, Eſq; *Col. Roger Handaſide*
Lincolnſhire,	Sir Thomas Sanderſon Robert Viner, Eſq;
Malmſbury,	*Giles Earle, Eſq;* *Wm. Rawlinſon Earle, Eſq;*
Middleſex,	Sir Francis Child, Knt. The H. Wm. Pultney, Eſq;
Newark,	*Brigadier General Sutton* *Col. James Pelham*
Port of Romney,	*David Papillon, Eſq;* *Stephen Biſs, Eſq;*
Rocheſter,	*Capt. Haddock* *David Polhill, Eſq;*
Rygate,	*Sir Joſeph Jekyll, Knt.* James Cocks, Eſq;
Shoreham,	*John Philipſon, Eſq;* *Thomas Frederick, Eſq;*
St. Edmund's-Bury,	*The Hon. Tho. Hervey, Eſq;* *Col. Norton*
Stamford,	William Noel, Eſq; John Proby, Eſq;
Stockbridge,	Sir Hump. Monoux, Bart. John Mountagu, Eſq;
Wareham,	Henry Drax, Eſq; Robert Pitt, Eſq;
Weſtbury,	*George Ewans, Eſq;* *John Bance, Eſq;*
Wootton Baſſet,	*Nicholas Robinſon, Eſq;* Sir Robert Long, Bart.

PERSONS *declar'd* BANKRUPTS.

JOHN Owen, of *Glouceſter*, Mariner and Chapman.

Iſaac Helbut, late of *Magpye-Alley, Fenchurch-ſtreet, London*, Merchant.

Wentworth George Pitt, late of St. *Stephen's* in *Hertfordſhire*, Merchant and Chapman.

Rob. Lacey, of *Ingateſtone*, in *Eſſex*, Vintner and Innholder.

Tho. Moulden, of *Cheapſide*, Goldſmith.

Rob. Anth. de Ulieger, of St. *Martin's in the Fields*, in *Middleſex*, Merchant.

E. Stringfellow, late of *London*, Merchant.

Rich. Farmer, of the Pariſh of St. *Andrew, Holborn*, Upholſterer.

Will. Leeds, of *Norwich*, Worſted-Weaver.

Tho. Nichols, ſen. and *Tho. Nichols*, jun. both of the Pariſh of *Great Stanmore*, in *Middleſex*, Butchers, Chapmen, and Partners.

Benj. Walker, of *Southwark*, Tobacconiſt.

John Hunt, late of *Southwark*, Glaſs-maker and Chapman.

Sam. Floyd St. Leger, of *Weſtminſter*, Mariner and Merchant.

Will. Gearing of *Storrington* in *Suſſex*, Chapman.

Will. Barnſdale, of *Briſtol*, Merchant and Brewer.

John Greene, late of St. *Mary le Bow*, in *Middleſex*, Carpenter and Chapman.

Towards the End of the Month.

STOCKS.

Sea 74 ½ a ¼	*Afric.* 22
Bonds 10*s*	*Royal Aſſ.* 90 ¼
Annu. 100 ⅛	*Lon. ditto* 11 ¼
Bank 130 ¼	*Y. Build.* 2
Circ. 5*l.* 10*s.* 0*d.*	3 *p. C. An.* 89 ¼
Bil. Bank 104	*EngCopper* 1*l.* 15*s.*
India 136 ¼	*Welſh dit.* 1*l.* 2*s.*
Bonds 1*l* 3*s*	*Equiv.* 102

The Courſe of EXCHANGE.

Amſt. 36 9	*Bilboa* 38 ½
Sight 35 6 a 7	*Leghorn* 49 ¼ a ⅛
Utter. 36 10a11	*Genoa* 51 ½
Hamb. 35 7	*Venice* 48 ½ a ⅜
Sight 31 ⅛	*Lisb.* 5 4 ¼
Ward. ½ uſ 30 ⅛	*Oport.* 5 3 ⅝ a ½
Cadiz 39 ½	*Antw.* 36 4
Madrid 39 ½	*Dublin* 12 ¼

Prices of Goods at *Bear-Key*.

Wheat	25 28	*Oates*	10 14
Rye	17 18	*Tares*	18 23
Barley	14 18	*Peaſe*	22 24
Beans	16 20	*H. Peaſe*	16 19
Malt	17 20	*B. Malt*	16 19

Abſtract of the *London* WEEKLY BILL, from *March* 26 to *Apr.* 2.

Chriſtned	Males 689	Females 690	1379
Buried	Males 984	Females 922	1906

Died under 2 Years old			75
Between	2	and 5	19
	5	10	8
	10	20	4
	20	30	14
	30	40	17
	40	50	16
	50	60	13
	60	70	10
	70	80	5
	80	90	3
	90 and upwards		
			1906

Prices of Goods, *&c.* in *London*. Hay 36*s. to* 42*s.* a Load.

per Chaldron 23 *a* 24.
Hops per Hun. 5*l. a* 5*l.* 10
Hops 3*l.* 10*s. a* 4*l.*
Seed 10 *a* 11
the Fodder 19 *Hun.* 1 *half*
board, 14 *a* 14*l.* 10*s.*
Blocks 3*l.* 18
in Bars 4*l.*
Eng. beſt 5*l.* 5*s.*
ordinary 4*l.* 16*s. a* 5*l.*
Barbary 85 *a* 95*l.*
Bilboa 15*l.* 5*s. per Ton.*
of Sweden 16*l.* 10*s.*
30 *a* 31*s*
Tallow 30*s.*
eal 19*s* 3*d.*

Grocery Wares by the C.
of the S. new 34*s.*
Malaga Frailes 18*s.*
mirna new 24*s.*
Alicant 19*s.*
Lipra new 20*s*
elvedera 21*s.*
44*s.*
French none

Sugar Powder beſt 54 *a* 59*s.*
Ditto ſecond Sort 46*s. a* 50
Loaf Sugar doubleref. 8*d. half a* 9*d.*
Ditto ſingle refine 56*s. a* 64*s.*

Grocery Wares by the lb.
Cinamon 7*s.* 8*d.*
Cloves 9*s.* 1*d.*
Mace 15*s.* 0*d.*
Nutmegs 8*s.* 7*d.*
Sugar Candy white 14 *a* 18*d.*
Ditto brown 6*d.*
Pepper for home conſump. 16*d.*
Ditto for Exportation 12*d. half*
Tea Bohea fine 10*s. a* 12*s.*
Ditto ordinary 8*a*9*s.*
Ditto Congo 10 *a* 12*s.*
Ditto Pekoe 14*a* 16*s.*
Ditto Green fine 9 *a* 12*s.*
Ditto Imperial 9 *a* 12*s.*
Ditto Hyſon 20 *a* 25*s.*

Drugs by the lb.
Balſam Peru 14*s.*
Cardamoms 3*s.* 6*d.*
Camphire refin'd 14*s.*
Crabs Eyes 1*s* 8*d.*
Jallop 2*s.* 6
Manna 2*s.* 6*d. a* 4*s*
Maſtick white 4*s.*
Opium 9*s.*
Quickſilver 4*s.* 3*d.*
Rhubarb 18 *a* 24*s.*
Sarſaparilla 3*s.* 0*d.*
Saffron Engliſh 22*s.* 6*d.*
Wormſeeds none
Balſam Copaiva 3*s.* 0*d*
Balſam of Gilead 20*s.*
Hypocacuanæ 5 *a* 6*s.*
Ambergreece per oz. 8*s.*

Wine, Brandy, and Rum.
Oporto red per Pipe 32*l. a* 34*l.*
Ditto white none
Lisbon red 35 *a* 40*l.*
Ditto white 26 *a* 28*l.*
Sherry 26*l.*
Canary new 25 *a* 28*l.*
Ditto old 32 *a* 34*l.*
Florence 3*l.*
French red 30*l. a* 40*l.*
Ditto white 20*l.*
Mountain Malaga old 24*l.*
Ditto new 20*l. a* 21
Brandy Fr. per Gal. 7*s. a* 8*s.*
Rum of Jam. 6 *a* 7*s.*
Ditto Lew. Iſlands 6*s.* 4*d. a* 6*s.* 10*d*

FROM

FROM *Leipſick*, that they were much ſurprized there at the King's Return to *Dreſden*, but have been ſince informed, that his Majeſty judged that 'twas neceſſary to make ſeveral Regulations, and to be preſent at the Aſſembly of the States of *Saxony*, while his Army marched for *Dantzick*, but propoſed to be there in Perſon before the Arrival of his Troops.

From *Italy*, That Don *Carlos* has poſſeſs'd himſelf of *Naples*, with great Rejoicings on the Part of the Inhabitants, and no notable Oppoſition from the Imperial Troops. Upon his Arrival on the Frontiers of that Kingdom, he publiſhed a Decree, diſcharging the *Neapolitans* from all the Taxes with which they were loaded by the Emperor ſince he became Maſter of that Country.

From *Cologn*, The *French* have begun to bombard and Cannonade the Caſtle of *Traerbach*.

From *Franefort*, The Imperial and *French* Armies keep both in the ſame Poſture they lid on each Side of the *Rhine*. The Flying Camp form'd near *Coſtheim*, has been lately reinforc'd with a Detachment of Imperial Cuiraſſiers, and another of Huſſars. Twelve Pieces of large Cannon have paſſed through here by Water from *Wurtzbourg* going for *Mentz*, where the Elector of that Name reſides at preſent. Four Regiments of *Heſſians* are poſted between *Coblentz* and *Rhinfelds*, ſo as to be able to throw themſelves into either of thoſe Towns upon the firſt Occaſion: The Regiment of *Saxe Gotha* is likewiſe actually on its March to join them.

From *Amſterdam*, The Project which its pretended the *French* are about to execute, of an Irruption into *Saxony*, begins to make a great Noiſe in *Germany*; and many draw from that Deſign, the Motives of King *Auguſtus*'s ſudden Return to *Dreſden*.

From *Paris*. We have nothing new to communicate from our Armies on the *Rhine*, or in *Italy*. The Accounts of the old Marſhal *de Villars*'s Indiſpoſition and Death were the Whiſpers of the King's Levee at *Verſailles*, but we do not find that they are yet confirmed by any Publick Advices. All agree, that Don *Carlos* goes on ſwimmingly with his new Conqueſts; and that Deputies have attended him from moſt of the Cities and Provinces in *Naples*, to make their Submiſſion to him, and renew their Fealty to his *Catholick* Majeſty.

From the ſame Place. 'Tis now reported in good Earneſt that *Dantzick* is in Danger; the Winds have been ſo adverſe to our Tranſports, and at the ſame Time ſo favourable to the *Ruſſians*, that we fear the Succours ſent to King *Staniſlaus* will arrive too late, or perhaps have their Landing diſputed: 'Tis prudent to fear the worſt; for which Reaſon, as we hear, our Miniſter at the Court of *Berlin* has engaged his *Pruſſian* Majeſty to grant King *Staniſlaus* a ſafe Retreat into his Territories, in Caſe he ſhould be oblig'd to quit *Dantzick*, and to receive him with all the Honour due to the Father-in-Law of the moſt Chriſtian King.

From the ſame Place. They write from *Legborn*, that the Fortreſſes of the City of *Naples* are actually beſieg'd by the Count de *Marſillac*, and 'tis reckon'd will make no great Defence, becauſe the Garriſons left in them are very weak; till the Surrender of which the Serene Infante Don *Carlos* has put off his Publick Entry. Moſt of the Towns and Provinces have already ſent Deputies to ſubmit to his *Catholick* Majeſty, and Detachments are ſent to ſummon the reſt.

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THE LONDON MAGAZINE.

MAY, 1734.

A View of the Weekly ESSAYS *and* DISPUTES *in this Month.*

Grubſtreet Journal, May 2. N° 227.

Of ſome Practitioners in the Law; continued from p. 176.



Will begin (ſays *Timon*, in ſome of the former Company, who were met again) with the lower Tire of Profeſſions, the Catch-poles, or, as y are intitled near the Court, the rd Mayors and Sheriffs Officers: A odly Body theſe, both in Number Qualification. Their Buſineſs originally deſigned to procure eſt Men their own: But, by a t Perfection in Practice, their ſent Employ, or Myſtery, if you ſe, is to put the Subſtance of ho- Men into the Pockets of Knaves. the Execution of which noble ce, they are abetted by their ther Heroes next above them. their great Dexterity (tho' they er were any Diſciples of *Fawkes*, they perform being by Dint of and the corroborating Counte- e of their Fellow Cormorants be next ſpoken of) many an ho- Man has been ruin'd, for a Debt, originally amounted not to Half the Amount of their Extortions: And Thouſands, at this Day, remain under Dureſs, ſhameful Inſtances of their Barbarity, and periſhing Witneſſes of the Inhumanity and Supineneſs of a polite People. But as A theſe return the Compliment of their Employers, the Attornies, in laying all the Blame at their Doors, I ſhall next proceed to take that ſecond worthy Branch of the Law into Conſideration. —— A huge, not to ſay a monſtrous Body! ſo extrava- B gantly productive, that a Man, without the Gift of Prophecy, may venture to read the approaching Deſtiny of the Nation from their over-fruitfulneſs. They value themſelves upon being Gentlemen, and not Mechanics. But if that is moſt pro- C perly call'd mechanic, which employs the Labour of the Hands, as well as the Brain; what Occupation, I beſeech you, can be ſaid to be more mechanical? Or rather, what mechanical Operation can be ſaid to be equally mechanical with D theirs? Hands and Brain are agreed to be eſſentially neceſſary, and equally ſo in common Mechaniſm: Whereas Hands without Brain will ſerve the Attorney, and do as much Miſ-

chief in Life, as other Mechanics do Good.

I ſhall place to their Charge, and I hope very juſtly, a Practice more mechanical, in the loweſt Acceptation of the Word, than any of the greateſt Mechanics. If an honeſt Mechanic obſerve, that any of his Brethren impoſe upon a Chapman, either in Goodneſs, or Price; far from falling in with the Fraud and Covin of his Brotherhood, he reſents the Wrong; and, rightly conſidering it as a Blemiſh upon the Occupation, never leaves expoſing, if not proſecuting the Aggreſſor, till he has brought him to a Senſe and Reparation of the Injury. Permit me to look into the Reverſe, and examine a little into the Behaviour of theſe our un-mechanical Gentry; and I dare appeal to the unbiaſſed and unprejudiced of Mankind, whoſe Conduct is moſt agreeable to the Laws of Juſtice and right Reaſon. Upon any Injury received, if you make Application for Redreſs to a Brother of the Quill, without the Gift of Divination, I will point you out the Reception you are like to meet with. After a long Detail of your barbarous Uſage, he will ſhrug up his Shoulders, and very likely cry out, 'Tis 'like the Man; for he has a very 'vile Character.' Incourag'd by which, if you proceed to deſire his Aſſiſtance towards a Redreſs, you will, forty to one, find yourſelf grievouſly miſtaken, and the Matter accommodated in this healing Manner. 'Why it's true, the Man has a very vile 'Character, has uſed you ill, and de'ſerves to be ſeverely handled for it: 'But we Gentlemen of the Law do 'not think it conſiſtent with the 'Rules of Honour to proſecute any 'of the Brotherhood: Therefore I 'hope you will be ſo good as to ex'cuſe me; but in any other fair 'Cauſe, you ſhall find me your hum'ble Servant.' This, to my Knowledge, has been the Plea; and therefore I cannot be deemed any Thing arrogant in imagining them ſo pleading here.

Craftſman, May 4. N° 409.

The humble Repreſentation of the Nobility *of* Livonia, *to the King of* Sweden, *in* 1692, *giving a lively Idea of the terrible Evils conſequent on the Loſs of* Liberty.

WE your Majeſty's faithful Nobility of this your moſt humble Province, appear before your Majeſty with this lamentable Supplication, aſſuring ourſelves of a moſt merciful Conſtruction of it from your Majeſty, and that it will be look'd on as a Token of an humble devoted Loyalty, when oppreſs'd Subjects, having ſuffer'd patiently as much as was poſſible, yet being overwhelm'd with Miſery, and having no more Strength left to ſupport it any longer, they muſt lay their Grievances, in a moſt ſubmiſſive Manner, and humble Relyance, before your Majeſty, as the only one from whom they can expect Relief in their diſtreſs'd Condition. The Neceſſity and Miſery of our native Country are ſuch, that we are aſhamed to relate our own Condition, and have nothing to alleviate our Misfortunes but Tears and Groans, whilſt we perceive that our Neighbours look on us with Pity and Aſtoniſhment. 'Till now we have ſuffered all Things with Silence, out of profound Reſpect to your Majeſty, and have ſupported all Extremities with awful Obedience, and in a Manner overcome human Impatience with Conſtancy, to give Proofs of our Loyalty towards your Majeſty, and have hitherto comforted ourſelves with Hopes that you would, out of your own royal Compaſſion, find and meaſure out the Time to deliver and reſtore us.

But having this Experience, that Nature ſinks under the Weight, and that Humanity cannot bear it any longer, ſince no Proſpect of Redreſs preſents itſelf to us, we are forced to ap-

apply ourſelves to our laſt Refuge, which is the Repreſentation of our humble Complaints to your Majeſty; for the wretched State of this Country hath been kept from your Majeſty's Knowledge, and hath been intirely miſrepreſented by thoſe, who, for ſelf-intereſted Regards, have made Relations different from the Truth.

But we find ourſelves obliged to lay before your Majeſty the true Condition thereof, being neceſſitated by the greateſt Extremity, which is exempted from all Obedience to Laws; and beſides this, our Oaths of Fidelity taken to your Majeſty with all Solemnity, *Ann.* 1687, did oblige us before God and your Majeſty, with the Hazard of our Salvation, not to conceal any Thing, that we think might tend to your Majeſty's and your royal Succeſſors Prejudice.

The Proſperity of this Land is your Majeſty's true and real Intereſt, and therefore ought not to be ſeparated; which makes us hope that your Majeſty will not ſhut up the Bowels of your Chriſtian Compaſſion towards us, your miſerable and utterly ruined Subjects, but rather mercifully hear us with Patience.

Our Afflictions, moſt gracious King, ariſe from hence, that we are not only expell'd out of our *Properties*, which we have purchaſed partly with our own Money, Blood, faithful Services, and Lives, and thereby are precipitated from a proſperous Condition into the Abyſs of moſt bitter Poverty; but this Proceeding is aggravated by taking from us (after we are fallen under that fatal Reduction) our *Goods* and *Moveables*, and there is not ſo much left us out of the *Seizures*, as will enable us to ſuſtain our Bodies and Lives; but we are forced to beg the Aſſiſtance of well-diſpoſed Chriſtians; nay, we are ſo extremely ill-uſed, that thoſe, who have poſſeſs'd Eſtates worth above 20,000 *Crowns*, have had all taken from them, and they cannot gain Admittance to *farm* that, which was *their own*, tho' they endeavour in any Quality to continue on the *ſame Lands*, and offer all the Securities, that a *Stranger* can give.

And ſince by the viſible Puniſhment from Heaven, the *preſent Scarcity* hath levelled all our Eſtates, as well thoſe, who were intirely reduced, as thoſe, that are not, whereby all the Supports of Life are vaniſhed; we cannot but with Fears, and great Commotions of our Souls, ſee how many Inhabitants are forced to forſake their native Country, where their Anceſtors and themſelves have lived many Ages, in Honour and Plenty, and muſt now fly into other Lands for Security, as well as a Maintenance for themſelves, their Wives, and Children. If there be any of our Brethren, who, in this Calamity, are deſirous of Shelter for themſelves, and not to ſtarve with their Family, without any Thing but the Sky for their Coverlet, and for that End employ their Pains to farm the *ſame Eſtate*, which was taken from them, the Lands are ſo *highly rated* to them, and no Allowance made for thoſe Years of *Scarceneſs*, with which it pleaſes the moſt High to ſcourge the whole Land, that they cannot gain *daily Bread* by it; which reduces them to ſell, Year after Year, the little they had left; and when they have nothing more to make Money of, they are hardly uſed with *Diſtraints*; and laſtly, are forced to fly their Country, to avoid perpetual Fear of being apprehended, and put in the *Gaols* and *Corps de Gardes*, with the reſt of the *noble Leaſſees*, who have not been able to pay their Rents; an Inability, occaſioned by the extraordinary Price of the Leaſes. So that a *Steward*, who enjoys his Wages, is more out of Danger and in a much happier State than *thoſe*, who farm from the King what formerly was their own, and who have nothing to expect each Hour but final Ruin.

Your Majeſty hath been graciouſly pleaſed to promiſe, *Anno* 1687, to ſome of them a *Tertial*, or an Allowance of a *third Part in their Eſtates*; but no Body hath had the Benefit of it; for the *Price* hath been raiſed ſo exceſſively, that they had rather renounce the *Tertial*, intended as a royal Favour, and chuſe to pay what Rent can be demanded in Reaſon and Equity. If your Majeſty hath been ſo gracious to ſome, as to beſtow on them a ſpecial Allowance in thoſe reduced Eſtates, which hath been enjoyed for ſome Years; yet did it reach no farther than to give them Bread to mix with their Tears; for they were unawares beſet with a Tribe of *Inſpectors*, who forced them to make good all the *Arrears*, they were pleaſed to exact; and this Proceeding, contrary to the Laws of all Nations, was the neceſſary Occaſion of their utter Ruin. If all theſe hard Uſages were inſufficient to deſtroy them, there are other Ways found out, whereby thoſe, who are not yet wholly diſpoſſeſs'd of their Eſtates, are vex'd and tormented. Theſe are overwhelm'd with *military Execution*, under ſeveral Pretences; of which one is, that *former Taxes* have not been paid, tho' they prove the contrary, and make it appear by ſufficient Acquittances. Since therefore we are deprived of all, in this Manner, no Gentleman is able to farm thoſe *ſeiz'd Domains*, or *Staroſties*, tho' they are intitled to it by antient Privileges, and your Majeſty's own Aſſurance, under your Hand and Seal yet extant. But the extreme Poverty, fallen upon them, not by their own Fault, but by the abovementioned Perſecutions, occaſions that any *mean* and *vulgar Perſon*, who hath any little Eſtate, is preferred to a *Nobleman*, and this *able Farmer*, becauſe he cannot manage ſuch large Diſtricts by himſelf, lets it out to others with Advantage.

Beſides all this, the abovemention'd poor Plaintiffs, being undone by *Dearth* and *Scarcity*, are yet obliged to pay the Rent not only in *ready Money*, but in ſuch Species as they call the *Bank*, which is not the current Money of the Land, whereby they loſe 5, 6, or 7 *per Cent.* by the Change. It gives us a no leſs ſenſible Grief to hear that we are made a Scorn, by ſome inconſiderate People in their Aſſemblies, where they openly ſay, that within ten Years there is not to be left a *German* in theſe Countries; and it ſeems thoſe Threats are purſued by the Methods taken in the Univerſity of *Dorpat*, from whence they impoſe People upon us of another Nation and Language, as well in the Pulpits as elſewhere; and whenever it lies in their Power, they abrogate the Sermons to be preached in the *German* Tongue, and have them deliver'd by thoſe, who don't underſtand our Country Language; ſo that after this Manner, by ſo many growing Evils, both in temporal and ſpiritual Concerns, our Country muſt become deſpicable.

We cannot forbear repreſenting to your Majeſty, with deep Concern, the great Oppreſſion ſome groan under, by that inſupportable *Reviſion*, or *Taxation of Lands*, or *Acres*; and we cannot believe that your Majeſty would any longer ſuffer that Burthen upon your loyal Subjects, if you was only graciouſly pleaſed to hear us with Patience. Firſt, they compute uncertain Revenues, that never come in, for certain ones. Secondly, we are forced out of thoſe caſual Revenues to pay certain Taxes at 25 *per Cent.* which Taxes, if they be brought to the true Standard, amount to more than 33 *per Cent.* and which, from the Scarcity of late Years, exceed abſolutely all our Income. Another Grievance ariſes from this *new Survey*; which is the Proviſion we furniſh for *Troops*, whoſe Numbers have been augmented.

And

And there is no Tax, that hath been raiſed and impoſed upon us in the moſt difficult Times, during the *Wars*, which hath been ſo grievous as this *preſent Land Tax* at a Time, when we ſhould enjoy the Sweets of *Peace*,

When we conſider all theſe intolerable Burthens and Misfortunes, under whoſe Weight our very Souls muſt bend, we are forced, moſt gracious King, at the ſame Time to repreſent to ourſelves, with the utmoſt Deſpair, the unavoidable Conſequences of them; that ſuch a *Nobility*, who have conquered this Land from the Heathens with their Blood, converted its Inhabitants to the Chriſtian Faith, and ſo often ſignalized themſelves in faithful Services towards the Crown of *Sweeden*, muſt be obliged at laſt to follow the Example of thoſe, who have already forſaken their native Soil, with Sighs to the moſt high God; and this muſt be the unhappy Fate of all thoſe, who yet remain.

We are not able to deſcribe to your Majeſty all our Miſeries, they being without Number, and of ſuch a deplorable Length, that *Liſland* is no more what it was formerly; for tho' it is bleſt with Plenty of Corn and all Neceſſaries in ſuch Quantities, that many foreign Kingdoms and Provinces have been furniſhed with Proviſions from hence; yet the Inhabitants of it are reduced to ſo wretched a Condition, that in theſe late Years, whilſt they have in vain implored Relief, many poor People are dead with Famine; others have laid violent Hands on their Families and on themſelves, out of Hunger and Deſpair; Thouſands of Country Peaſants with their Families have already deſerted us to live in foreign Countries, having plundered many Places, where they thought to find Something; and we can moſt humbly aſſure your Majeſty that if God Almighty had been pleaſed to leave it to our own Choice, either to ſuffer a cruel War from our *neighbouring, tyrannical Enemy*, or to endure *theſe preſent, deplorable Times*, our woeful Experience would leave us in Doubt whether the *firſt* had not been preferable to the *laſt*.

To ſum up all. If your Majeſty, out of your Clemency, does not relieve us, we your faithful and loyal Subjects can promiſe your Majeſty nothing elſe but heavy Conſequences and a deſerted Land, which may occaſion irreparable Damages, tho' many Millions ſhould afterwards be employed to retrieve them.

That your Majeſty may be aſſured this is the very Truth, and does not proceed from any ill grounded Motives, but only from extreme and lawleſs Neceſſity, which hath unavoidably forced us to this univerſal Complaint; *your Majeſty's faithful Nobility* hope, with all due Submiſſion, that you will be pleaſed in your royal Wiſdom to appoint *certain diſintereſted Perſons* to inform your Majeſty what is the true State of this Land. Your Majeſty will then find not only this moſt humble Remonſtrance to be true; (the *Nobility* will warrant and engage their Lives and Fortunes for the Truth of it) but many other Circumſtances of our Oppreſſions will appear, which we are prevented by *our Oppreſſors* from laying before you.

We therefore proſtrate ourſelves moſt ſubmiſſively before your Majeſty's Throne of Clemency, with afflicted Hearts and Minds, humbly begging with Tears in our Eyes, for the Mercies of *Chriſt*, that your Majeſty will be pleaſed to look upon our Neceſſities and Miſeries with Favour and Compaſſion, and deliver us with your powerful Aſſiſtance out of our infinite and intire Ruin, and we will conſtantly ſpend our Blood and

For-

Fortune for your Majeſty's Service, and ſo live and die,

Moſt gracious King,
Your Majeſty's moſt humble,
And faithful Subjects and Servants.

In the Name and Behalf of the Nobility of the Dukedom of Liſland.
May 30, *Ann.* 1692.

This moſt pathetick Supplication, ſufficient to have moved an Heart of Rock, was pronounced *ſeditious* at the Court of *Stockholm*; and the *noble Patriots*, who ſign'd it, were condemn'd to loſe their *Heads* and *Eſtates*. This Sentence was afterwards mitigated, upon great Interceſſion, to *Impriſonment for ſix Years*, which they ſuffered *two Years and an half*, and then the King ſign'd their Releaſe on his Death Bed, at the Requeſt and Admonition of his ſpiritual Director.

I thought (ſays *D'Anvers*) this diſmal Repreſentation of a brave People ſtruggling under all the Miſeries of Tyranny and Oppreſſion would be no improper Leſſon for my Countrymen at *this Seaſon*; for if ever a *corrupt Britiſh Parliament* ſhould give up our Liberties, as the *States of Sweden* did, how can we expect to avoid the ſame Fate?

Fog's Journal, May 4. N° 287.

Of Publick Spirit, with two remarkable Characters, one that of the Earl of S——r.

PUBLICK Spirit is that Spirit, which inſpires us with the Love of our Country, with the Love of Virtue and Honour; which teaches us to know the real Value of Liberty, and makes us jealous and vigilant for the Preſervation of it. Publick Spirit is ever accompanied with many other Virtues: And the Man, who is poſſeſſed of it, will always have an open and honeſt Heart; he will be prudent, humane and generous, patient in Adverſity, temperate in Proſperity, and intrepid in the greateſt Dangers. Publick Spirit is ever diſintereſted, and incorrupt; abhors all baſe and irregular Purſuits, and can never be made ſubſervient to the Cauſe of Injuſtice and Oppreſſion. There cannot be a greater Proof of the Excellency of this Spirit, than that every one would be thought in ſome Degree to be actuated by it. The very Men who would bring upon us Publick Servitude, pretend, that all their Actions are directed to the Service of their Country. As bad as the Times are, few Men, I believe, are to be found ſo abandoned, as openly to avow the Principles of Corruption: When *S*—— ſpeeched it in Defence of Penſions and Penſioners, alas! the good Man did not intend to give a Sanction to Bribery: He only aſſerted the royal Prerogative, and laboured to prevent an abſolute Independency in the Houſe of C——.

My Lord ——, who lately deſerted the Party and the Cauſe, in which he had from his Infancy been engaged, would notwithſtanding grow very angry, if you ſhould ſuſpect him to want a Grain of Honour. He is therefore aſtoniſhed, that his old Friends (whom he has *only* betrayed) ſhould look ſhy upon him. But what has this Man really gain'd by his Apoſtaſy! Why, he has the beſt Promiſes that a great M——r can give him, beſides the Pleaſure of being confirmed in his new Syſtem of Politicks, by the *Sunday* Lectures of his honeſt Countryman. And this is all he ever ſhould have, if the M——r would for this one Time be adviſed by me. I am ſure if Sir —— has half as much Underſtanding, as I am willing to allow him, he will as ſoon make *S*—— A—— of *C*—— as beſtow on this Lay-Proſelyte an Hereditary Seat in Parliament. For what Service can he render the A——n, who has now but very little Intereſt, and leſs Reputation to bring with him? Or who would truſt

truſt that Man, who has already violated all the Obligations of Friendſhip and Society? A Prime M——r has always more Demands made upon him, than he can anſwer; and therefore 'tis not unuſual for him to promiſe much more than he intends to perform. But he is at no Time ſo well juſtified, as when he breaks his Word with a Traytor. Even I, who never yet bowed my Knee to a golden Image, would hammer out ſome Kind of Panegyrick on Sir *R*—— if I could ſee him diſappoint the Hopes of a Man, who is thus earneſt to exalt himſelf on the Ruins of his Country. For this muſt certainly be the Method of exalting himſelf, if we may give Credit to his own Declaration, *that he would join with* Belzebub *to raiſe his Family and his Fortune*; which by the Way is no great Compliment to his new Friends. However, if my Advice ſhould be diſregarded, and his *Lordſhip* after another Year of Probation ſhould receive the Rewards, which he expects, new Dignities, Places, or Penſions; with what Satisfaction or Peace of Mind can he ever enjoy ſuch unrighteous Acquiſitions? Let him be aſſured, that notwithſtanding any artful Pleas, which he may invent to extenuate his Crime, he will be abhorred by all thoſe noble Patriots, whom he has deſerted, and be deſpiſed by the Party, to which he has ſo ſhamefully acceded.

But let us view the Reverſe of this Picture in the Perſon of the Earl of S——r; a Man, according to my Eſtimation, far ſuperiour to all, whom he has left in Employment behind him. I do not here conſider him as a great General, or an able Miniſter, tho' in both thoſe Qualities he did much Honour to his Country. But I conſider him now as a true *Britiſh* Patriot, inſpir'd with a double Portion of that Publick Spirit I have deſcribed above. His Conduct during the two laſt Seſſions of Parliament is a ſufficient Proof of his Paſſion and Concern for his Country; and the Loſs of his Employments is a Proof of his Diſintereſtedneſs and Sincerity. The Speech he made when the Affair of the *Scotch* Peerage was debated, was the Speech of an old *Roman*; and the Steadineſs and Temper of Mind with which he received the News of his Diſgrace, is never to be met with but in a Heroe and a Philoſopher. The very Matters which his Enemies object to him, ſerve to heighten his Character. They ſay, he had due Notice given him, and all thoſe friendly Whiſpers and Admonitions which ſhould influence a Politician to change his Way of Thinking, and yet he continued inflexible, and perſevered in his Oppoſition to the Meaſures of the A——n. Can his Friends ſay any Thing which redounds more to his Honour? They tell us likewiſe that he is poor, that the Loſs of his Military Command muſt neceſſarily embarraſs his private Circumſtances; and that he ſhould not therefore have offended paſt Forgiveneſs. Whether there be any Truth in this Report I know not, but 'tis not improbable, becauſe his Enemies take a malicious Pleaſure in ſpreading it: Suppoſing it to be Fact, in what Manner does this Imputation affect his Character? Is it not a Demonſtration of his Integrity? And can it ſeriouſly be urged for any other Purpoſe but to raiſe his Glory, if any Thing can be added to raiſe it higher? I have indeed been aſſured, that when he received his Letter of Diſmiſſion, he ſaid to ſome Friends about him, that he thanked God, he had learn'd a new Trade, and underſtood the Management of the Plow: Which was ſpoken in the Spirit of that great *Dictator*, who, when the *Samnites* attempted to bribe him with a great Sum of Gold, produced the earthen Pipkin in which he was boiling Turnips for his Dinner, and then asked them

them if they imagin'd, that a Man, who was contented to live in that Manner, could be corrupted by all the Wealth of their Country?

I cannot conclude this Subject without taking some Notice of a malicious Story, which I find has obtain'd Credit, and seems to have been invented by ill-designing Persons, who incline to make every Thing worse than it really is, and intend by this Means to cast a Blemish on that Part of our Nobility, which is attached to the M——r. 'Tis said, that from the Moment the E. of *S.* was removed, there was not one of those Gentlemen (or but one) who dared to visit him, tho' he had always liv'd with many of them in very good Friendship. This Report cannot be true for two Reasons: First, Because no such Thing ever happen'd before in this Country, or ever can happen in a free State. Secondly, because *all* our Nobility are born with great Souls, and have great and independent Fortunes: And as they have, moreover, all had a liberal and polite Education, it would be a Crime so much as to suspect, they could be guilty of a Meanness so unworthy their Birth and Quality. They are not insensible, that if ever they should become such obsequious Flatterers, as to part with their good Manners, and even forbear the common Acts of Civility, to gratify the little Malice of any Man in Power, they would give us a terrible Prognostick of their future Behaviour. Should we not then have good Reason to fear, that they would very easily be disposed to put a Chain of Slavery about our Necks, who are so ready to put one about their own.

I am, *&c.* *L. L.*

Universal Spectator, May 4. N° 291.

Of Reproof.

NOTHING is more common than to give *Reproof* to others, nothing more displeasing to many than to receive it themselves. *Instructions* flatter the *Self-Love* of him who gives them, and denote his Superiority over him who is instructed; he is pleas'd at thinking himself wise enough to direct the Conduct of another, and yet has not the Power to follow his own good Counsels. To *receive* Advice gives us Displeasure, as it shews us our Folly or our Vices are known to the World; and however weak or vicious Men may be, few but have such an Opinion of their Wisdom, or are not so far past Shame, but it gives them some Uneasiness to be found out.

The censuring of Faults in our Friends, has been attributed, and not unjustly, more to *Pride* than *Love* or *Charity*, as we endeavour not so much to *correct* them, as to make them believe we are without them ourselves. Such *Reproof* is only a Cover to our own *Hypocrisy*.

Reproof, as Mr. *Wycherley* somewhere observes, *is often to the weak Mind what Physick is to the weak Body, which either not timed seasonably, or given in too great a Quantity, makes the Remedy worse than the Disease.* Nothing requires more *Care*, *Experience*, and *Knowledge* than the Office of a *Reprover*: He who would correct his Friend, must do it with *Caution*, and make a nice Choice of a convenient *Time* and *Place*; he should be free also from *Prejudice*, *Passion*, and *Invectives*, and consult the Temper of him to whom he speaks, that he may talk to him in that Manner which is most suitable to it. To do all this is not so easy a Task.

Tho' there are many Absurdities in *giving* Reproof, there are some in *receiving* it. To reprove a *Self-Opinionist*, tho' with ever so much Caution and Friendship, as it calls his own Conduct in Question, will be only affronting him; he cannot bear to think he has acted foolishly,

or at leaſt that any one has perceiv'd it. Many receive the Reproof of their Friends according to the Dignity of the Reprover: They have a *Pride* in being inſtructed by ſome one above them, but cannot bear Advice from an Equal. *Sophronia* is left under the Care of two Clergymen, who are her Guardians; the one a *Vicar*, the other a *Prebendary*! She has too *high a Spirit* to be guided by a Country Vicar, but attentively liſtens to him who bears ſome Dignity in the Church: However ridiculous *Sophronia* may ſeem, there are a great Number of her Sex who nearly reſemble her.

No one is either too *wiſe* or too *good* to be *reprov'd*; therefore when Reproof is juſt and gentle, it ſhould be eſteem'd as the kindeſt Office of a Friend. To *give* Reproof, is the moſt difficult; he who ſets up for a Reformer of others, ought always to watch over himſelf; for ſhould he happen to fall into the Frailty he condemns, he affords a publick Scene of Laughter and Ridicule.

Grubſtreet Journal, May 9. N° 228.

How to chuſe a Wife, and how to behave afterwards.

THE firſt Rule I have ſet to myſelf, is this, that if ever I will change my preſent State of Life, I will prefer neither Beauty, nor Fortune, to Senſe and Good-humour. Roſe, as a Poet of our own finely ſays, will ever laſt, when Beauty may, and muſt fade; and Fortune itſelf will have no Power to make Life eaſy, without the other two.—But, ſecondly, I will endeavour to chuſe a Wife, who, if ſhe be no Beauty, is at a pretty good Diſtance from Deformity. For, tho' it is commonly enough ſeen, and in ſome Meaſure it may be true, that Fancy ſurpaſſes Beauty; yet there is no more Reaſon, that a Man's Fancy ſhould ſtigmatize his Wife, than that his Patience, doubtleſs to be tried enough without, ſhould bear the Burden of perpetual Sarcaſms. The World is wide enough: And a Man, who has lived to my Years a Batchelor, will have no need to run a double Gantlope, where the Wits of the Age declare any one of them a ſufficient Topic for Satire.—Yet, thirdly, If a homely Piece of Houſhold-ſtuff ſhould fall to my Lot, I would of all Things take particular Care not to provoke the Satire of my Neighbour, by any overweening Reflections or Compariſons. To be ſure, under ſuch a Diſaſter, I would endeavour to ſecure ſome fiddle-faddle Grace or other, to commute for my Liberty: Good Senſe, or good Houſe wifery, or good Humour, or ſome other good Thing, ſhould excuſe me to myſelf at leaſt: And ſo long as I find Complaiſance and Content at Home, my Neighbour muſt have very little to do, and muſt approve himſelf a Man of vaſt Receſs, both of Buſineſs and Wiſdom, who will go about to diſturb the Peace of one that never troubles his Head with him, or any Thing that belongs to him.

If I think my own Wife handſomer, diſcreeter, or a better Houſewife than his, can it be any Addition to my own Happineſs, to endeavour to leſſen his, by acquainting him with my Sentiments? But on the contrary, if I am conſcious to myſelf, that we are barely on a Level in the Matter, as to outward Appearance at leaſt; what a Laxneſs of Tongue, or what an Abſence of Diſcretion, ſhall I demonſtrate, to triumph in Advantages, of which I cannot make others ſenſible, without expoſing myſelf to the Cenſures and ill-natured Obſervations of thoſe, who perhaps would not, without ſuch a Provocation, ever have troubled their Heads with me? Sure the Height of every Man's real Enjoyment muſt be in his own domeſtick Content. He that pretends to be happy without it, deludes himſelf. To enjoy our own with Satisfaction,

faction, and to rejoice in the Satisfaction of our Neighbours, is an Attainment at which very few arrive: Among whom thoſe can never be reckoned, who endeavour to make others uneaſy in their Enjoyments, by a ridiculous Oſtentation of their own.

Craftſman, May 11. N° 410.

Annals *of the Adm—tra—on of a certain* Great Man.

I Chuſe this chronological Method, (ſays the *Craftſman*) not only for the Sake of *Impartiality*, but likewiſe *Eminentiæ Gratiâ*; for as Kings date all their publick Acts from the *Year of their Reign*, and our Rev. Prelates from the *Year of their Conſecration*, I have often wondered that our *miniſterial Vice-Roys* never aſſumed the ſame Style, and ſign'd their Inſtruments according to the *Year of their Adminiſtration*. But as this may be owing to their great Modeſty and Tenderneſs of approaching too near the Character of their *royal Maſters*, I think it my Duty to do them Juſtice, and ſhall therefore proceed in the following Manner.

Anno primo.

On the *1ſt of April* 1721, (of all Days in the Year) the *great Man*, of whom I am now writing, was ſworn into the Offices of *C——r of the E——r* and *firſt L—d C——r of the T——y*; having ſufficiently merited thoſe important Employments, in the preceding Seſſion, by his great Zeal in pacifying the Reſentments of the People, occaſioned by the Miſmanagement of the *South Sea Scheme*, and his Abilities in relieving them, by *Schemes of Ingraftment* and the *Bank Contract*. (Vol. II. p. 229.)

This Year a large Fleet was ſent up the *Baltick*; the King of *Sweden* was complimented with a Subſidy of 72,000*l.* (but on what Account does not appear;) and a farther Sum of 500,000*l.* was granted, to make good the Deficiencies of his late Majeſty's *Civil Liſt*.

The ſame Year is likewiſe remarkable for the *private Treaty of Madrid*, and the *Letter from his late Majeſty*, upon which the *Spaniards* found their Claim to the Reſtitution of *Gibraltar*.

The remaining Part of the Year was ſpent in providing for *Relations*, ſecuring a *new Parliament*, and taking other proper Methods to eſtabliſh himſelf in Power.

Anno 2do.

A moſt deteſtable Conſpiracy was diſcover'd by the ſingular Dexterity of the *ſame Gentleman*, who produced ſuch Evidence of the Reality of it, by Letters intercepted at the *Poſt-Office*, *Decyphering*, and *other Methods*, as gave full Satisfaction to the *Parliament*, and *King's-Bench*; for, upon this Account, *Chriſtopher Layer*, Eſq; was excuted at *Tyburn*; Dr. *Atterbury* was deprived and baniſhed by a *Bill of Pains and Penalties*; and Mr. *Kelly* and *Plunket* were impriſoned in the *Tower*, during Life.

The *Habeas Corpus Act* was likewiſe ſuſpended for a whole Year, on the ſame Account.

Anno 3tio.

Little was done this Year, beſides raiſing *Money*, continuing the *Army*, and granting Mr. *Wood* the famous Patent for ſupplying *Ireland* with *Copper Half-pence*.

Anno 4to.

His late Majeſty aſſured us from the Throne, that *we had Peace with all Powers Abroad, and at Home perfect Tranquillity*. But ſo deſirable a Situation was ſoon altered, as we ſhall ſee in the next Article.

Anno 5to.

This Year is become a remarkable Æra in our Hiſtory by the *Hanover Treaty*, which cemented ſo cloſe an Alliance between *Great Britain* and *France*, in order to reduce the exorbitant Power of the *Emperor*, and defeat that formidable Conjunction of the Courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid*, which

which gave our *Politicians* ſuch terrible Apprehenſions.

Anno 6to.

In Purſuance of the ſame Alliance, *three great naval Armaments* were, this Year, diſpatch'd, with ever-memorable Inſtructions, to the *Baltick*, the *Mediterranean*, and the *Weſt-Indies*; where they perform'd ſuch Exploits as will do immortal Honour to the *Britiſh* Name.

Twelve Thouſand Heſſians were taken into the Pay of *Great Britain*, and continued for 4 Years afterwards, at an annual Expence of near 250,000 *l.* A moſt horrid Plot againſt our *excellent Miniſter* was likewiſe diſcover'd by a *Penny-Poſt Letter*, in which Notice was given him of a Deſign to burn his Houſe; but by his prudent Conduct in communicating the Contents of it to his *next-door Neighbour*, and imploring his Protection, the Perpetration of ſo flagitious an Act was happily prevented.

Anno 7mo.

This Year will be for ever diſtinguiſhed in our Annals by the Acceſſion of *Holland* to tht Treaty of *Hanover*, under pretty large Reſtrictions, as well as that of *Sweden*, in Conſideration of a Subſidy of 50000*l.* *per Ann.* for 3 *Years*, and the glorious Alliance between *Great Britain* and the Duke of *Wolfenbuttle*, at ſo ſmall an Expence to us as the Sum of 200,000 *l.*

The Siege of *Gibraltar* was likewiſe undertaken this Year, and vigorouſly puſh'd on by the *Spaniards*, without any Moleſtation from *our Fleet*, which ſuffer'd ſeveral Ships, laden with Ammunition, to paſs under the Stern of our *Admiral*, and ſend them ſafely for the Uſe of the Siege.

Anno 8vo.

This Year was remarkable for *Embaſſies*, *Negotiations*, and *Conventions*, but without any conſiderable Effect.

The Bill againſt *Bribery and Corruption in the Elections of Members to ſerve in Parliament* was this Year paſs'd, by the indefatigable Endeavours of the Malecontents. (*See an* Abſtract *of this* Act, p. 189.)

Anno 9no.

We now come to a Year full of memorable Events; Such as the gallant Behaviour of our Fleet at *Spithead*, and the honourable Treaty of *Seville*, which diſſolved the formidable Conjunction of *Spain* and the *Empire*, diſpens'd with the *Quadruple Alliance*, by providing for the Introduction of *Don Carlos* into *Italy* with *Spaniſh Troops*, (which have ſince had ſuch a glorious Effect,) and paved the Way for that happy Union between *France* and *Spain*, which is at laſt brought to full Perfection.

The famous Sum of 115,000*l.* was this Year granted by Parliament, to make good a Deficiency, or Arrear, of the *Civil Liſt*. (See p. 193.)

An Officer in the *Engliſh* Navy was alſo broke for audaciouſly preſuming to make a *French* Ship ſtrike to him, as ſhe was coming into one of our Harbours.

At the latter End of this Year an *Act of Grace* was ſaid to be drawn up and actually laid before the *Attorney General* for his Opinion; but the *Malecontents* having got Intelligence of it before it was brought into the Houſe, made ſuch invidious Comments upon it, that it was thought proper to drop it.

Anno 10mo.

Another bloody Conſpiracy againſt the *Miniſter* was this Year carried on by a Set of Gentlemen, who met in *Durham Yard*, and had actually got Witneſſes to prove that the Port and Harbour of *Dunkirk* were repaired; but this Deſign was likewiſe prevented by the Vigour of Parliament, and the Information of a very *honeſt Fellow*, who did not ſcruple to perjure himſelf for the Sake of the Cauſe.

The ſame Year the *Salt Duty* was taken off, upon a gracious Recommendation from the Throne; by

which the *poor Artificers* and *Manufacturers* were not only relieved, but the Nation was delivered from the Burthen of 600 *Officers*, who ſwallowed up great Part of the Income, and were always ready to vote according to Order.

A Licence was this Year granted to the *French*, for recruiting in *Ireland*, and ſeveral Officers were actually arriv'd here for that Purpoſe; but this Deſign was defeated by the unreaſonable Clamour of the *Gountry Party*, who repreſented it as little leſs than *Treaſon*, and obliged our *Miniſter* to revoke his Licence, to the inexpreſſible Concern of another *profound Politician*, who was at the Bottom of it.

Anno 11*mo.*

This Year produc'd the laſt Treaty of *Vienna*, by which we broke off that cloſe Conjunction with *France*, which we had ſo induſtriouſly cultivated for ſome Years paſt, guaranty'd the *Pragmatick Sanction*, and convoy'd the *Spaniſh Troops* into *Italy*.

That arch Incendiary Mr. *Richard Francklin*, who had pry'd into all the Cabinets of *Europe*, and given infinite Diſturbance to a *certain Hon. Gentleman*, was this Year convicted, by a *Special Jury*, of having printed the *Hague Letter*, and ſentenced to ſuffer *one Year's Impriſonment*, to pay a Fine of 100l. and to give Security of 2000l. more for his good Behaviour for 7 Years.

Anno 12*mo.*

This Year the *Salt-Tax*, which had been taken off but two Years before, was laid on again, and mortgaged for *three Years*, in Order to raiſe 500,000l. for the current Expences of the Year. (V. I. p. 429.) It was likewiſe ſeparated from the *ſinking Fund*, to which it formerly belong'd, and hath been ſince mortgaged for a *Million* more; ſo that it may now be ſaid to be made *perpetual*.

The *Charitable Corporation*, (Vol. I. p. 519.) the Sale of Lord *Derwentwater*'s Eſtate, (Vol. I. p. 506.) and ſome other Peccadilloes of the ſame Kind, became the Subjects of Enquiry and Debate this Seſſion.

Another Plot was likewiſe diſcovered to have been carried on by Signior *Belloni* and one Mr. *On*, againſt that upright Patriot Mr. *John Thompſon*, the Warehouſe-Keeper, and his Confederates. (Vol. I. p. 183.)

Anno 13*tio.*

I now come to the Year 1733, which is branded to all Poſterity by the Deſeat of the *Exciſe Bill*, and the popular Reſentments againſt the *Projector* of it, who was burnt in *Effigie*, in all the Market-Towns in *England*, and had other Indignities offered to him, far beneath the Dignity of ſo illuſtrious a Perſonage. (Vol. II. p. 211, *&c.*) — But I have the Pleaſure to obſerve that ſome Examples have been likewiſe made on the *other Side*; for ſeveral *great Lords* and *other Perſons* have been diſmiſs'd from their Employments, for concurring with the People in their Oppoſition to that *glorious Scheme*.

I ſhall here cloſe my *Annals of this Gentleman*; for as he is but juſt entered on the 14th *Year of his Adminiſtration*, I muſt reſerve the Remainder of *this Chronicle* to another Opportunity. I ſhall only obſerve that he ſeems, at preſent, to be in full *Confidence* and *Credit*; and if he ſhould wind up his Bottoms in a Manner ſuitable to his former Conduct, he muſt be allowed to out do all the *Miniſters*, that ever went before him.

Fog's Journal, May 11. N° 288.

Of the late Vote of Confidence *and* Credit: *Being an Extract from a Pamphlet, entitled,* Remarks on our Domeſtick Affairs from the Year 1721, to the preſent Time. (See p. 173, 200.)

THIS *moſt extraordinary Vote* (ſays this Writer) ſurpaſſes *all Truſts of the ſame Kind*, that ever yet

yet received the Sanction of *Parliament*; as it ſeems to be grounded on the ſlighteſt Pretences, and countenanc'd by *Precedents*, which fall infinitely ſhort of it.

The *Firſt* was in the Year 1702; when the Nation was in *actual War*, and the *Queen* laid before the Houſe ſeveral Memorials and Repreſentations from the States of *Holland*, deſiring her to increaſe her Forces, for the better enabling them to oppoſe the great Preparations making in *France*; upon which the Houſe impower'd her Majeſty to augment her Forces, in Conjunction with *Holland*.

In 1715, at the Time of an *actual Rebellion*, his late Majeſty was impowered to increaſe the *Land Forces*; and in 1719, it having been repreſented to both Houſes, in a Speech from the Throne, that his Majeſty had received Advice of an *intended Invaſion*, he was authorized to augment his *Forces by Sea*.

Is there the leaſt Reſemblance between any of *thoſe Precedents* and our *preſent Situation in full Peace*; when no Danger is ſo much as inſinuated but from a *French Squadron*, that was fitting out, to take the Convoy of ſome Land Forces, which every Body believes are intended for *Dantzick?* To this Alarm, indeed, there was added the *Weakneſs of the Barrier in Flanders*; tho', by the Way, it was not ſo much as pretended that the States of *Holland* had made the leaſt Application about it. Nay, every Man who conſiders how the Forces of *France* are now engaged in *Italy* and on the *Rhine*, muſt be convinced that if *Great Britain* will let them quietly purſue their Deſigns in *thoſe Parts*, their own Intereſt will not ſuffer them to provoke us, either by an *Invaſion*, or attacking the *Barrier of the Dutch*; and we might have lived more ſafely without a *Troop*, or a *Company* this Year, than at any Time for theſe 40 Years paſt.

If any new Alliances, or Proviſions were neceſſary, with Regard to the preſent Circumſtances of *Europe*, was there not the ſame Occaſion before the *Parliament* met; and might they not have been called ſooner, or kept ſome Time longer, before their *Diſſolution*, 'till it was ſeen, by the Operations of the Campaign, what Part it was proper for *Great Britain* to act, and to have ſhewn them the Decency, at leaſt, of taking their Advice upon it? Would not this have been more agreeable to our *Conſtitution*, at ſuch a critical Conjuncture, than to deſire that the preſent Safety and future Happineſs of a whole People ſhould, in the moſt implicit Manner, be left to *their Diſcretion*, whoſe paſt Conduct hath brought *theſe Difficulties* upon us, and given them the only Pretence for drawing *ſuch an enormous Power* into their own Hands?

For by *this Vote* our Forces by *Sea* and *Land* may not only be augmented, but any Number of *foreign Troops* may be poured into the Kingdom, on as good a Pretence as can be given for bringing over *ſix* or *eight Regiments* from *Ireland*; ſince if any Danger really threatens us, nobody can think it would be proper to leave *that Kingdom* expoſed, where there are great Numbers of *Papiſts* and *Jacobites*.

I leave it therefore to be conſider'd, whether the People of *England* may not apprehend that *theſe Forces* are ſent for over to awe the *Elections*; and that if any *Tumults* can be artfully fomented, it may be made a Pretence for continuing a greater Army on the Kingdom.

An *Engliſh* Parliament would not permit our glorious Deliverer King *William* to keep his own Regiment of *Dutch Guards* in this Kingdom, even at a Time, when *real Plots* had been diſcovered; nor did this Refuſal proceed from *Tories* and *Jacobites* only, as ſome have fooliſhly aſſerted, but

but from the trueſt Friends to our *Conſtitution*; who argued very juſtly that his Majeſty had a ſufficient Body of *Engliſh Guards* to defend his Perſon, as far as *Guards* could defend it; and wiſely foreſaw that *one foreign Regiment* might be made a *Precedent*, according to Cuſtom, for introducing more; till at laſt a whole Army of them might be eſtabliſhed amongſt us: But by the late *Vote*, it is in the Power of the *Adminiſtration* to bring over as many *Hanoverians*, *Heſſians*, or *other foreign Troops*, as they pleaſe, according to *Law*. I do not ſay, or ſuppoſe, any ſuch Thing will be done; but only mention it to ſhew what an unbounded Latitude the *Parliament* hath given them.

To *theſe Powers* is added a Liberty of expending any *Sum of Money*, and for what Purpoſes they pleaſe; which ſeems to have no very good Appearance ſo near the Election of a *new Septennial Parliament*; for notwithſtanding ſome late confident Aſſertions, *that none of the publick Money can be applied in this Manner*; is any Thing more eaſy, under the Name of *Subſidies to Foreign Princes*, or *Conventions for taking Foreign Troops into our Pay*; and is there a *Prince abroad*, who for a *good Bargain* will refuſe to give a Receipt for 300,000l. tho' he may be content perhaps, with half the Sum? By theſe Means, it is in the Power of any *Miniſter*, arm'd with *ſuch an unlimited Confidence*, to procure Money for *private Purpoſes*, without the Knowledge of *Parliament*, or even of the *King* himſelf. Nay, ſomething of this Kind hath been lately done, with Regard to the *Heſſians*, as was obſerved in *Politicks on both Sides*; for when a Demand was made in Parliament for 22,694l. 7s. 6d. to compleat a Subſidy, ſtipulated to be paid by *France* to the King of * *Denmark*; it appeared to the Houſe that a large Sum had been already paid to the ſame Uſe, out of the Money granted for the Pay of 12,000 *Heſſians*; and when it was moved to enquire whether any farther Deductions had been made, the Motion was rejected.

Indeed, it is ſcarce credible that, at the latter End of a *Seſſion*, and even on the very Point of a *Diſſolution*, when many Gentlemen were gone out of Town; (on the Preſumption, if not an Aſſurance, that no more Buſineſs of any Conſequence would be brought into the Houſe) I ſay, it is ſcarce credible that any Number of Gentlemen could have been induced to concur in *ſuch a Voice*, but *thoſe*, who have forfeited all Hopes of returning to their Seats in Parliament, unleſs by the Influence of that *exorbitant Power*, which themſelves had created, perhaps, for that very Purpoſe.

Nor can any Proceeding be more dangerous, and even contrary to all the Uſages of Parliament, than after a Seſſion of many Months, when the *Services* and *Eſtimates* had been duly conſider'd, the *Supplies* voted and appropriated, to inſert a Clauſe in the *ſame Bill*, unappropriating the *whole* again, and leaving all *Deficiencies* which the Extravagance of a *Miniſter* may create, to be provided for by a *new Parliament*.

If this is our Caſe, have we any Thing to depend on, beſides his Majeſty's great Goodneſs in preſerving and reſtoring to us thoſe *precious Liberties*, which our *Repreſentatives* have thus depoſited in the Hands of his *Miniſters*? It is certain that they cannot want this *unuſual and extraordinary Power*, in any Exigency; for in Caſes of an *Invaſion*, or any other *viſible Neceſſity*, all Governments, *limited* as well as *abſolute*, muſt be veſted with a Power of *Self-Defence*, and why ſhould not this *legal Prerogative* be thought ſufficient? I am afraid the Reaſon was not to compliment the *Parliament*, as it was ſaid, but

* *The whole Sum paid by* England, *on this Account, was* 58,667*l.* 10*s.* 6*d.*

but to give the *Miniſters* a Colour to exert *this Power*, at Pleaſure, under *Pretence of an Exigency*, which could not be juſtify'd by the *Prerogative*, but from a *real Exigency*; and, perhaps, to habituate *Parliaments*, by repeated Precedents, to the Delegation of *this Power*, till it becomes the common Concluſion of every Seſſion. Thus a Sanction may be given to all the Proſuſions and Oppreſſions of *wicked Miniſters*, during the Intervals of Parliaments, by engaging them blindly beforehand to authenticate Meaſures, which would probably be condemn'd without ſuch a *previous Commiſſion*.

I cannot cloſe this Head, without leaving it to the ſerious Conſideration of every *Engliſhman* how far *ſuch Practices* contribute to that Reverence for *Parliaments*, which ought always to be preſerved amongſt the People; and whether they may not be apt, upon theſe Occaſions, to recollect by what Steps and Approaches *Slavery* hath been impoſed on our neighbouring Nations.

Dr. *Robinſon*, in his Account of *Sweden*, tells us, 'That ſo favourable was *this Conjuncture* for the 'Advancement of the *King*'s *Authority*, that he ſcarce needed to ask 'whatever he deſired; each Body of 'the *States* ſtriving which ſhould 'outbid the *other* in their Conceſſions. —— The *Nobility* and *Gentry* were obliged to keep Pace with 'the *Officers of the Army*, who ſate 'in their Houſe, and vigorouſly promoted the *King*'s *Affairs*.

London Journal, May 4, & 11.

IN theſe Papers *Osborne* makes ſome *Remarks* on the foremention'd *Pamphlet*. Infamous Aſſertion! (ſays he) to ſay as this Author does, *That the* preſent Safety *and* future Happineſs *of a whole People is, in the moſt implicit Manner, left to the* King; *and that the People of* Great Britain, *at this Hour, are under as* abſolute *and* uncontrouled *a* Power, *as any of our* neighbouring Nations; for, truly and juſtly ſpeaking, his Majeſty hath no more Power *by this Law*, than he had *before*, by Virtue of his being *King*, according to our *Conſtitution*. It is no *Enlargement* of Power to the *Sovereign*, but may be a *Security* to his *Miniſters* in Time to come, and therefore a *wiſe* and *honeſt* Proviſion; for, even a *juſt Prerogative* may be attacked, but a *juſt Law* is out of the Reach of Malice; *Prerogative* may not be *ſeen* or *denied*, but *Law* is *viſible* and *undeniable*. There's a *Conceſſion* for our Author. Let him make the moſt of it.

Then, to ſuppoſe Tumults to be *artfully fomented* by the *Miniſtry*, to have a *Pretence* for *continuing a larger Army*, is ſuch a confirmed Piece of Roguery, as can be ſcarce found any where but in the Breaſt of *ſo abandoned* an Author; who, rather than not carry a Point againſt the Miniſtry, would involve the Kingdom in all the Miſeries of a Civil War, and hazard the Deſtruction of his Country. This late *Act of Confidence* repoſed in the King, will either *prevent* a War, or enable his Majeſty to begin it with *Honour*, and, I hope, end it with *Succeſs*.

If this Author had nothing elſe in View but the Cauſe of *Truth* and *publick Virtue*, he would have acted up to the Profeſſions he hath made of both; he would not have taken Delight in *expoſing* and *aggravating* any national Calamities, much leſs would he have *framed* and *created* Calamities for his Country; and yet this has been his Buſineſs thro' the whole Book.

Among the Inſtances of *Saving* theſe are produced, 4000*l.* paid from 1721 to 1725, by Way of *Secret Service Money*, for ſecuring the Peace of the *Highlands*, and 2500*l.* more, for *diſarming* the *Highlanders*; and in 1726, the Sum of 7000*l.* for *repairing*

pairing Fortifications, building Barracks, &c. in *Scotland*; and, since that, 22,000*l.* for repairing and making *new Roads* in that Part of the Kingdom, *&c.*

The Answer is, That all this Money, and every Thing else he mentions, was *judiciously* expended; and this very Road, which is now (only in Spight to the Ministry) complained of as a *Piece of Luxury*, goes near 200 Miles thro' *Scotland*, and was always thought *absolutely necessary* for Travelling; and that it will be a Means of civilizing the *Highlanders*, by making a *general Communication* among the several Parts of *North Britain*. This Road, call'd *Wade*'s *Road*, is esteemed so advantageous, that it has *immortaliz'd the General* among the *Scots*; but nothing will please our *Malecontents*, not even Works of Virtue and *Publick Good*.

Weekly Register, May 11. N° 218.

THE Author of the *Review of the Publick Buildings*, &c. having occasionally made some Reflections on the Clergy, particularly on the *Dean* and *Chapter* of *Westminster*, in speaking of *Milton*, p. 30, of Queen *Catharine*'s Bones, p. 75, and of the Wax-Work Figures in the *Abbey*, p. 68. A Writer in the *Miscellany* of the 4th Instant publish'd an *Answer* to these Passages, which occasion'd a *Reply* from the Author of the *Review*, &c. The Objections and the Reply are in Substance as follows.

MISCELLANY.

The *Dean* and *Chapter* are no farther concern'd, as to the erecting of Monuments in general, than to give Leave for it, to such as desire it; and they voluntarily apply all the Fees paid for the Ground and Monuments to the Fabrick, and other publick Buildings belonging to the College. And if this Gentleman will apply to them for erecting any Monument or Inscription in Honour to the divine *Milton*, which is not offensive to *Religion*, to *Church* or *State*, or to *good Manners*, I believe he will find them as ready to grant Leave, as he shall be to ask it. And he may have this further Pleasure in it, that he may know, that the accustom'd Fees which will be requir'd of him, will not be put in the Pockets of this Body, whom he treats with *such Respect*; but will be apply'd to the *Abbey*, and consequently to the *Preservation* of the *honorary Memorial* itself which he shall erect.

REGISTER.

When I took the Liberty to lament that true such great Names as Shakespear *and* Milton *had not due Honours paid to their Memory, I meant it as a general Reflection on the Ingratitude and Insensibility of the whole Nation: Neither did I expect the* Dean *and* Chapter *of* Westminster *would be at the Charge of erecting Monuments to them, or even to the Messiah himself, if he was to put on Mortality, and die a second Time: I was willing indeed to find out some Palliation for the general Neglect of these two inimitable Authors; and, tho' no Excuse was left with Regard to* Shakespear, *I thought the many Libels which have been publish'd by the Clergy, to insult the Memory of* Milton, *afforded a very good Reason to believe they would oppose any publick Compliment that might be paid to his Ashes: But it seems I was mistaken, and I am very glad of it: Tho', even by the Objector's own State of the Case, they would not permit it, till they were paid their Fees to the utmost Farthing; and, on the same Terms, they would grant the same Privilege to* Jonathan Wild, *or* Colonel Chartres.

MISCELLANY.

The *Dean* and *Chapter* are no farther concerned in shewing the Tombs, than in the permitting it; and if any Indecencies are committed in it, it is without their Direction or Privity. This Grievance in particular, which our Author so much complains of, if it be continued, is directly contrary to their Orders, who long since directed that it should be redressed, and have been assured their Orders have been obeyed. They give all the Profit which arises from shewing the Tombs, to the *Choir* and *Officers* of the Church, who divide it among them, and manage it as they think best for their own Interest.

REGISTER.

What I mention'd with Respect to the Bones of Queen Catharine, *is a Matter of Fact which any Body may be convinc'd of for Six-Pence any Day of the Week: Neither could I be supposed to understand that Orders had ever been given for their Interment, as long as they are still above Ground: So that if the* Dean *and* Chapter *were not guilty of the first Indecency, they may, at least, be accused of a Neglect for its Continuance. At all Events, the Gentleman himself seems to allow it an Impropriety, and therefore I am justify'd for representing it accordingly.*

Mr.

MISCELLANY.

The Matter of Fact, with Reſpect to the Wax-work Figures, happens, moſt unluckily for our Author, to be this. *Henry* the VIIth's Chapel, where the firſt and chief are placed, belongs to the King; and the *Dean and Chapter* have barely the Cuſtody of it. Inſomuch, that no Corpſe is or can be bury'd there, nothing is erected or pulled down, no Alterations made, but by the Board of Works, or by his Majeſty's expreſs Order, ſignify'd by Warrant from the Lord Chamberlain. So that all the Wit and Satire here, ſo far as it is intended to affect the *Dean* and *Chapter*, is quite loſt, and the Severity of the Reflection, if juſt, falls much higher than this Gentleman intended.

REGISTER.

As to the Wax-work Figures, *which deſerve to be cenſur'd ſo ſeverely, I am told I have put the Blame in the wrong Place; that is to ſay, 'tis not the* Dean *and* Chapter *which deſerve it, but the* Board of Works: *But ſuppoſe it is, I don't find my Reflections on the Subject are condemn'd, they are only miſapply'd it ſeems, and I ſhould be glad to know, if 'twas not natural for me, or any Body elſe, to fall into the ſame Miſtake? But the Objector triumphs a little too ſecurely in this Place: There are* Wax-work Figures *in the* Abbey, *as well as in* Harry's Chapel, *and I hope the* Board of Works *are not accountable for them too: The King* William *and Queen* Mary, *which are quoted in the* Review, *are modern to thoſe in the Chapel, and there is a Caſe erected too, to do the ſame Honour to Queen* Anne. *Now, tho' it ſhould appear the* Dean *and* Chapter *did not begin this ridiculous Cuſtom, they are as much open to Cenſure for continuing it; and they would ſhew their Senſe and Taſte a great deal more, in utterly aboliſhing it, than forming Pretences to excuſe it.*

Free Briton, May 16. N° 237.

On ſome Proceedings relating to the Election of Members for London.

ON this unfortunate Event (*viz.* Mr. Ald. *P.* and Mr. *Willi*ott encreaſing every Day in their Majority) *Mr.* Ald. *B——r* employed his ready *Wit*, and great *Abilities*, to vilify the *Proteſtant Diſſenters*, and a wiſe Advertiſement was publiſhed, that they had met at the Buffaloes Head to ſupport the *Good Old Cauſe*; which, by a ſubſequent Advertiſement, was interpreted to ſignify the *Cutting off the Head of* Charles I. In this credible Manner were we aſſured, that the *Proteſtant Diſſenters* had met at a Tavern in *May*, 1734, to ſupport the Election of *two* City *Members*, that they might cut off the Head of our *bleſſed Martyr*, who ſuffered in 1648. And this, tho' neither Truth nor Senſe, had great Applauſe as *Wit*; whereas, had any one affirmed, that *Mr.* Ald. *B——r* made a Journey to *Rome* in 1722, to promote the *Reſtoration*, I queſtion whether ſome Men would have conceived it a Project ſo poſſible to be undertaken, as the *Cutting K.* Charles's *Head off*.

It may deſerve Animadverſion, that neither his preſent Majeſty, nor his Royal Father, nor any of their illuſtrious Family, have ever ſhewn the leaſt Uneaſineſs concerning the *Proteſtant Diſſenters*. Whatever this *good old Cauſe of King-Killing* is ſuppoſed to mean, I am firmly of Belief, that our moſt gracious *King George* had never the leaſt Suſpicion of his dutiful Subjects, the *Diſſenters*, whoſe faithful and zealous Attachment to the Throne, as it is entailed on a *Proteſtant Succeſſion*, no Man can doubt of.

If we were to obſerve, that ſome of the *moſt* orthodox *Churchmen* embarked in the *bloody Aſſaſſination-Plot*, againſt our *brave King William*, would this entail the Name of *Aſſaſſins* on all the *Sons of the Church* down to the lateſt Generation? I do then inſiſt, that the *Trial or Death of* Charles *the Firſt*, which was wholly the Effect of military Violence, was no more the *Act of the Diſſenters*, nor any more countenanced by their Advice or Approbation, than the Aſſaſſination of our *Great Deliverer* was the Deſign, or projected on the Principles of the *Church of* England.

Craftſman, May 18. N° 411.

Remarks on a Letter to the Freemen *of* Canterbury; *publiſh'd in the* Kentiſh Poſt.

THE Subſtance of this extraordinary Letter, ſign'd *J. C.* is as follows. I i 'The

'The *Oath*, that is to be taken 'by this late *Act of Parliament*, is 'the Milſtone that will grind you 'to Pieces, if you do not ward off 'the Blow; and ſurely had Gentlemen conſider'd enough the Conſequences of it, they would never have conſented to it.

'I ſpeak as a *Chriſtian* to *chriſtian Electors*; and it puts me in Mind of *another Bill*, carried on by a *noble Lord* of more Wit than Charity, who ſaid *by that Bill he had damn'd one Part of the Nation, and ſtarv'd the other.*

'It puts an entire Stop to all Acts of *Charity*; as, for Inſtance, had any Candidate been inclined to have paid off your *heavy Work-Houſe Debt*, it muſt have precluded the Votes of a great many Conſciences truly ſcrupulous; and I queſtion much whether *theſe Garments* lately given to Poor People and their Children may not be conſtrued *Bribery*, when to be ſure it could come from no other Deſign than *cloathing the naked.*

'But to the Point. As the Caſe now ſtands, *my Brethren*, I do adviſe you, as far as you can, to ſave *this City* from Judgments, that may hang over it by the Guilt of *Perjury*; for I hear at preſent they are determin'd to *ſwear the Electors.* Conſider how many poor, inconſiderate, drunken People there may be, who will take *raſh Oaths?* and it is only in their Power to prevent it by the following Method.

'Let the *three Candidates* and their *chief Friends* meet and agree that *no Oath* ſhall be tender'd, (and if *they* do agree, I can't ſee who will offer to demand it without their Approbation) and the Buſineſs is done. By this Means you will ſave the Souls of many People from Perdition, and their Family from Ruin. Conſider the Fate of *Dover*, who are now ruining each other with Action upon Actions, and be wiſe at other People's Coſts. 'Should *all*, or any *one Candidate* 'refuſe to *oblige* you, let the *Refuſer*, or *Refuſers*, loſe your Favour, and you will eaſily find *other* 'Gentlemen of Fortunes and Abilities 'to ſupply their Places. This, Gentlemen, I adviſe you to from no 'other Motive but a *true chriſtian* 'Zeal, to prevent the Miſchiefs that 'muſt enſue, ſhould *this Oath* be adminiſtered.'

This Epiſtle (ſays *D'Anvers*) is written with ſuch an Air of *Chriſtian Zeal and Charity*, that the *Author* ſeems deſirous to impoſe himſelf on the World for one of the reverend Dignitaries of *Canterbury*; but the *Charity* which he takes ſo much Pains to inculcate, is much of the ſame Kind with that recommended by Father *Dominick* in the *Spaniſh Fryar*, viz. *A corrupt Reward for doing wicked and ſcandalous Jobs.*

The *late Act againſt Bribery* (ſee p. 189.) hath given great Offence to a *certain Party*; who, having forfeited the natural Affections of the People by their former Conduct, can entertain no Hopes of reconciling them to their Intereſt, but by *corrupt Methods*, and therefore endeavour to remove *this Obſtacle* out of their Way. It is indeed the *Rock, upon which they are afraid of ſplitting*, and the *Miſtone, that will grind them to Pieces.*

I never was an Advocate for the Multiplication of *Oaths*, which I always thought to be a Thing of dangerous Conſequence; but if *Swearing* was ever neceſſary and juſtifiable, it is certainly ſo upon this Occaſion, in Order to preſerve the *Freedom of Elections*, that great Bulwark of our Conſtitution, and Corner-Stone of all our Liberties. On the other Hand, what can be more ridiculous than to hear *thoſe Men* preaching againſt the Impoſition of *Oaths*, who have already proſtituted them in ſuch a Manner, as to render the Neglect of them almoſt proverbial; and lately projected a *Scheme*, which would have render'd the ſtrict Obſervation of

f them abſolutely impracticable?

It might have been expected that a *Writer*, who affects ſo much *Piety* nd Regard for the *Souls of Men*, would have endeavoured to divert he *Judgments of God*, which he eems to apprehend, by exhorting his A Fellow-Citizens in the moſt pathe-ick Manner to avoid the *Guilt of Perjury*, and give their Votes freely, ccording to the beſt of their Judg-ent, without any *corrupt Influence*. This, I ſay, would have been more onſiſtent with the Character of ſo B *nſcientious a Writer*, than adviſing em to defeat the Intention of the egiſlature, by obliging their *Candi-ates* to agree *that no Oath ſhould be nder'd*, and thereby opening a Door r *Corruption*, which is certainly a in as well as *Perjury*; eſpecially in Point of ſo much Conſequence as e Choice of a *free Parliament*, and e Safety of our *Conſtitution*.

As to our *Author*'s Apprehenſions at *this Law will put an entire Stop all Acts of Charity*, it is certain D at *Charity* may degenerate into *Cor-ption*; or, to ſpeak more properly, *rruption* may be practiſed under e Pretence of *Charity*; but I deny at the *Act* was deſigned to prevent *publick Benefactions*, or that it n be juſtly conſtrued in ſuch a E nſe. It relates only to perſonal ratifications, of a *corrupt Nature*, Way of Bargain and Sale for tes. Beſides, I ſhould be glad to ow how it comes to paſs that Gen-men ſhould have ſo much uncom-n Generoſity and Benevolence juſt F on the Point of an *Election*, more n at any another Time. There Opportunities enough for the ſt *charitable Chriſtians* to open the wels of their Compaſſion, with-any Danger of Proſecutions, or n the Suſpicion of private Ends; G if *this Gentleman* himſelf ſhould piouſly diſpoſed to pay the *Work-ſe Debt* he mentions, to *cloath all naked in Canterbury*, or even to *uild the Metropolitan Church* there, I will undertake to indemnify him from all the Penalties of *that Act*.

I cannot think it very politick in him to mention the Caſe of *Dover*, where *open Bribery* was not only added to *notorious Influence of another Kind*, but *ſome Perſons* were not aſhamed to encourage the People in their *Corruption* and *Perjury*, by aſſuring them that all ſuch Offences would be wip'd away by an *Act of Grace* as ſoon as the Parliament meets.

Fog's Journal, May 18. N° 289.

Of Dangers ariſing from a Multitude of Placemen.

THIS Paper begins with a Quotation from a Pamphlet, C written in the Beginning of the Reign of King *William* III. which is as follows.

" A Government is a mere Piece of Clockwork, and having ſuch Springs and Wheels, muſt act after ſuch a Manner; and therefore the D great Art conſiſts in conſtituting it ſo, that it muſt neceſſarily move to the publick Advantage. It is prudent to preſume that every Man will act for his own private Intereſt, and all wiſe Governments are founded on that Principle, ſo that the whole Myſtery E is only to make the Intereſt of the Governors and the Govern'd the ſame. In an abſolute Monarchy where the whole Power is in one, his Intereſt, and that of his Creatures will be only regarded; in an Ariſtocracy the Intereſt of the Few; but F in a free Government the Intereſt of the Many; and this laſt will be the Caſe of *England*, if ſome Abuſes lately crept into our Conſtitution can be remov'd.

The Liberties of this Nation depend on the Peoples chuſing, without G Influence, the Houſe of Commons, which is a Part of the Legiſlature, and have the ſole Power of giving Money: Were this a true Repreſen-

tative, free from external Force, and private Bribery, nothing cou'd paſs there but what muſt be for the publick Advantage; for if they have no Dependance on the Court, their own Intereſt will be ſo interwoven with the People's, that if they act for themſelves, (which every one will do as near as he can) they muſt act for the common Intereſt of *England*; and if a few amongſt them ſhould be gain'd over, and abuſe their Truſt, it will be the Intereſt of the reſt to puniſh them for it; and then our Government wou'd act mechanically, and a Rogue wou'd be as naturally hanged, as a Clock ſtrikes Twelve when the Hand points to that Hour.

This is the Fountain-Head from whence the People muſt expect all their Happineſs or Miſery; it is only from thence they muſt look for Redreſs of Grievances; and if we can preſerve them free from Corruption, they will keep the Miniſters and every Body under the Miniſters ſo.

Our Conſtitution ſeems to have provided very well for our Safety, by never ſuffering the King (till *Charles* IId's Reign) to have a mercenary Army to frighten our Parliament into Compliance; or Places or Revenues large enough to bribe them into it. The Places in the King's Gift were very few, and moſt of them Patent Places for Life, and the reſt great Offices of State, enjoy'd by ſingle Perſons, which ſeldom fell to the Share of the Commons; ſuch as the Lord Chancellor, Treaſurer, Privy Seal, High Admiral, *&c.* and when theſe Offices were poſſeſſed by the Lords, the Commons were ſevere Inquiſitors into their Actions.

Thus the Government of *England* continued from the Time the *Romans* quitted this Iſland, to the Time of *Charles* I. who was the firſt that I have read of, that made an Oppoſition to himſelf in the Houſe of Commons, the Road to Preferment; of which the Earl of *Strafford* and *Noy* were the firſt remarkable Inſtances; who from being great Patriots, became ſtrenuous Aſſertors of arbitrary Power; but this turn'd to ſmall Account to him, nay, rather proved his Deſtruction, becauſe he had neither Employments enough at his Diſpoſal, nor Revenues large enough to bribe a Majority: It is true, he rais'd ſome Money upon the People; but it being done without Authority of Parliament, and without an Army to back him, he not only met with Difficulties in raiſing it, but the greateſt Part of it was ſunk by the Perſons employ'd to levy it, ſo that it cou'd not turn to the Deſtruction of the People's Liberties."

His Son came in by the general Voice of the People, who in a Fit of Kindneſs gave him a larger Revenue than his Predeceſſors had enjoy'd; but he being an expenſive Prince, cou'd not ſpare Money to do any great Miſchief; it was ſuſpected, indeed, that he had tampered with ſome of the People's Repreſentatives; but, if true, it was but with a few, and he fed them only from Hand to Mouth, ſo that he was kept in a Dependance on them, rather than they upon him; for as to Employments, he was in the ſame Condition with his Father, he had not enough to ſecure a Majority; for the fine Practice of ſplitting and multiplying Employments, which has been ſince found of ſo great Uſe, was not then known: At that Time there was but one Lord Treaſurer, whereas ſince we have ſeen 5 or 6 Lords of the Treaſury; inſtead of one Lord High Admiral, we have ſince ſeen 7 Lords of the Admiralty; and perhaps, all theſe Lords, as they are call'd, have been Members of the Houſe of Commons at the ſame Time: We have ſeen, beſides, 7 Commiſſioners of the Cuſtoms, 9 of the Exciſe, 14 of the Navy Office, 10 of the Stamp Office, 16 Commiſſioners of Trade, 2 of the Post Office, 4 of the Tranſport Office, 4 for Hackney Coaches, 4 for Wine Li-

Licences, and ſuch a Number of others, that this Paper would not be large enough to enumerate them all.

It ſeems the Publick is of Opinion, that the Buſineſs of theſe ſeveral Offices has not been executed, either with more Addreſs, or cleaner Hands, than while each was committed to the Management of a ſingle Perſon; but perhaps a Place-Man will tell you, that tho' ſix dull Heads are not better than one in an Office, ſix corrupt Votes are better than one in another Place; and tho' being elected into Parliament does not make a Man a greater Tool than he was before, yet on the other Side it is ſtrange to ſee that a Man who was conſider'd with no Regard either by the Publick, or his own private Friends, while out of Office, if he can but bribe a poor little Borough in *Scotland*, or *Cornwall*, or *Devonſhire*, ſhould immediately become qualified to be a Plenipotentiary, to make Treaties, to command a Regiment, to be an Admiral, a Judge, or a Commiſſioner; the firſt of which requires good natural Parts as well as great Knowledge in the Intereſt of the Nation; and all the reſt require at leaſt Practice.

But as Offices and Employments are very much increas'd, even ſince this Complaint was firſt made, if they ſhould be all diſpoſed of amongſt thoſe who are to be Inquiſitors into the Actions of the Miniſters, and appointed to watch the Liberties of the People, what would become of the Conſtitution? Might not a Miniſter make any Attempts againſt his Country without Fear of being puniſh'd? Might not the moſt blundering and arbitrary Fellow living challenge his Enemies to impeach him? No doubt he might; for to impeach a Man ſo ſupported, would be like trying a common Felon by a Jury conſiſting of the very Perſons who had aided and aſſiſted him, and were his Accomplices in all his Robberies; no, if once Criminals become Judges, and Malefactors are to be try'd by none but themſelves, their common Danger will make them unite and adhere together; let there be ever ſo much Villainy, Blundering or Miſmanagement, all the Attempts of an uncorrupt Minority to impeach will come to nothing.

The Author (ſays *Fog*) from whom I have borrow'd theſe Hints ſays, that there was a Time within his own Memory, that if the Miniſters had 30 more Employments at their Diſpoſal, the Liberties of *England* had been at an End.

An Act was made by a Parliament, that we may believe was not bribed, that no Employments or Offices ſhould be given to Members of Parliament; but how ſhamefully was this afterwards quibbled away; when a Member of Parliament receives an Office, he is forſooth to be re-elected; as if this Re-election, like Confirmation by a Biſhop, would give him new Grace, and make him act for his Country, not for his Employment. But it ſeems when a good Law has paſs'd, it is the Policy of ſome Men to take away all the Advantages the Nation can have by it, under Pretence of explaining it.

There is nothing ſo univerſally allow'd in Politicks, as that Liberty cannot ſubſiſt where the executive and legiſlative Part of the Government are not kept aſunder. If we ſhould run into a contrary Practice, and ſee our Lawgivers made up of Place-Men Civil and Military, they will have nothing to fear, or nothing to do, but every Man to be as great a Knave in his Poſt as he thinks fit; and when a general Diſaffection is ſpread amongſt the People from ſuch a melancholy Scene, they may enact penal Laws to quel the Spirits of the People, and to make them ſubmit to the Yoak; and leſt thoſe ſhou'd not be ſufficient, in order to make themſelves more ſafe, let them keep a Standing Army; then will you ſee a poor Rogue hang'd for ſtealing a Shilling, while a Thief that robs the Publick

lick of Thouſands ſhall be honoured and preferr'd, and no Knave of any Rank will ever ſuffer, unleſs a Prime Miniſter ſhou'd take it in his Head out of Love to his Country to hang himſelf.

London Journal, May 18. N° 777.

Of Annual Parliaments, in Anſwer to the Craftſman. (See p. 184.)

THE Statute of *Edward* the IIId. which enacts, That Parliaments ſhould be *held once a Year, and oftener if need be*, hath no Relation (ſays *Osborne*) to *New Parliaments*, or Parliaments *annually choſen*, but was only thought a *wiſe Proviſion* againſt our Kings governing *without the Advice* of a *National Council*; which had been very much the Practice from the *Norman* Conqueſt to that Time. It was an Act for *frequent Seſſions*, but not for *frequent new Parliaments*.

D'Anvers defies me to ſhew, that *any one Parliament* ſat two Years without *a new Election*, from the 4th of *Edward* the IIId. to the 22d of *Henry* the VIIIth. Very particular truly! And yet, notwithſtanding this bold Defiance, the *Practice*, *Uſage*, or *Cuſtom* of theſe 200 Years is fully and directly againſt him.

As to this Reign in particular: In the 4th or 5th of *Edward* the IIId. (the Year from which our Author dates his *Annual Parliaments*) there was a Parliament held at *London*: And from thence to the 17th of his Reign, as appears by *Daniel*, there was no *new Parliament*; that is, there was *no new Parliament for* 12 *Years together*, commencing immediately from the making this *new imaginary Act* for *Annual Parliaments!* And from the 17th to the 35th of the ſame Reign, there was *no new Parliament*, but *the ſame* met ſeveral Times by *Prorogation*.. This Author ſays, indeed, that the Practice of *Prorogation* was firſt introduced the 22d of *Henry* the VIIIth; but *Daniel* ſays expreſly, in the 18th of this Reign, 'The next Year after *another* Parliament, or rather, *the ſame prorogued*, was held at *London*.' And *this ſame Parliament*, choſen in the 17th Year, and meeting at *London* the 18th, met again at *Weſtminſter* in the 24th Year; for *the Acts* of that Parliament are called *other Acts* of the *ſame Parliament*. 'Tis alſo true, that in this very Reign (in the Beginning of which the ſuppoſed Act for *Annual Parliaments* was made) there were but 9 or 10 *Parliaments*, during the Space of 51 *Years*.

Univerſal Spectator, May 18. N° 293.

The Deſcription of London, *continued from p.* 197.

IT would conduce much to the Preſervation of the *Inhabitants* of this *Metropolis*, was a Law enacted, that the *Phyſicians* here ſhould practiſe in the ſame Manner as thoſe in *China*. *Phyſicians* there make up themſelves the Medicines they preſcribe, nor are they paid till their Patient is *cured*, but if they cannot perform a *Cure*, they receive no *Money*.

Beſides theſe regular *Phyſicians*, who kill and cure with *Licence*, and *according to Art*, there are an infinite Number of Practitioners call'd *Quacks*, who live by curing *incurable* Diſeaſes: They are generally the *Seventh Son of a Seventh Son*, Aſtrologers, Fortune-Tellers, Conjurers, and *unborn Doctors*; ſome pull out old Teeth, others place in new ones; ſome promiſe to give Beauty to the Face, others to reſtore it if loſt: Their Emiſſaries with *Bills* in the Day, and a *Lamp* at their *Door* in the *Evening*, will direct one to their Dwelling.

Bookſellers, *Printers*, *Pamphlet-Shops*, and *Authors* are in great Numbers in this *Metropolis*: There is no City in the World where ſo many Books are to be found, and ſo few good ones. Here are Men who will write on *all* Subjects, and underſtand none; will tranſlate from *Latin*, *Greek*,

Greek, *French*, or *Italian*, without knowing a Word of the Language, write *Politicks* without *Senſe*, and *Poetry* without *Rhimes* or *Meaſure*.

As to Pleaſure, all Things that can be deſired may be had here, if you have Money: There are People whoſe whole Study is to vary and heighten Pleaſure: The *Peripateticks* and *Stoicks* never took ſo much Pains to reform Mens *Morals*, as *Cooks* do here to pleaſe their *Palates*, *Taylors* to adorn their *Bodies*, and *Women* to allure their *Fancy*; yet he who is *poor* in this City, will be ſtill *poor*: Nothing is to be had without Money; and they who want it, are forbidden *Fire* and *Water*, as the *Criminals* were in the Time of the *Romans*.

There is an *epidemical Evil* very troubleſome to the Inhabitants of both Sexes, which is call'd the *Faſhion*, which ſhews itſelf in their Diet, Way of Living, Health, and Conſciences. Several Diſhes to a Meal is the *Faſhion*, therefore almoſt every Citizen has them: Why do ſo many live beyond their Income, debauch, drink, or run after a favourite Preacher; 'tis the *Vogue?* The greateſt Vice, I think, which at preſent has the *Authority* of *Faſhion*, is *Gaming*, which levels a *Peer* to a *Pickpocket*, and a Woman of *Quality* to her *Chambermaid*.

The great Number of *Churches* in this City wou'd give a Stranger a great Idea of the *Devotion* of the Inhabitants; but, to my Surprize, I found *Churches* were Places for People to ſhew once a Week their *Cloaths*, their *Head-dreſſes*, their *Diamonds*, *Rings*, *Toupees*, and *Snuff-Boxes*; every Thing but their *Devotion:* Here ſome whiſper, nod, bow, ogle, kneel and laugh; others look about, frown, are concern'd, affronted with their Gallants; they ſeem *ſerious* with their *Lovers*, and *trifling* with their *God*. Going to *Church* is a *Sunday Amuſement*, where an idle Hour may be ſpent in criticiſing on the comely Mien, the pretty Tone of Voice, and the white ſtretch'd-out Hand of the *Preacher*, who is endeavouring to render them better, while they never trouble their Heads about becoming ſo. *Latin* and *Greek* Quotations to old Women and Pariſh-Clerks are out o' Faſhion here, as at *Oxford*, and for the ſame Reaſon, becauſe they are not underſtood by the People.

Weekly Regiſter, May 18. N° 219.

Of certain officious Coxcombs.

THERE is a certain Set of People who proſtitute their Underſtanding to their Appetite, and give up their Reaſon to the ſordid Intereſt of a Dinner, or a Diſh of Chocolate: Men who have Souls fit to govern, and yet are Slaves to all thoſe who have Fortune enough to treat them: Wretches who, by I know not what Perverſion of Nature, make the Head pimp for the Stomach.

Theſe are ſuch as haunt Noblemen's Tables, and who are ſo very obliging as to divert his Lordſhip at the Expence of their Underſtanding. There's ſcarce a great Family in the Kingdom, but what has two or three of theſe artificial Idiots, beſides the Chaplain, who conſtantly pay their Attendance when his Lordſhip is in a Humour to receive them: For whenever he's either ſupercilious, or has a real Fool of a higher Rank with him, then 'tis, *Procul O! Procul eſte profani!* And our mercenary Droll (like his Compeer the Chaplain, when the Deſert comes in) is obliged decently to withdraw. In my Reading I have often met with a very venerable Compariſon, where a worthy four-legg'd Species of Animals, call'd *Monkeys*, are pretty near ſet upon a Level with that two-legg'd one call'd *Man*: But in our Caſe, methinks, the Simile would be much more natural *vice verſa:* For 'tis the utmoſt Perfection of one of theſe Mimicks I'm ſpeaking of, to be as like a Monkey as poſſible: And indeed I muſt do them

them that Juſtice as to ſay, they very ſeldom fail of coming up in every Particular to their facetious Architype.

'Tis not long ſince I happened to dine at the Count *de Bellair*'s, a Nobleman who perhaps is not ſo much honour'd by his Title as he honours that; one who in a particular Manner has ſignaliz'd himſelf in the Camp, and if he does not blaze altogether ſo much in the Senate as ſome others of his own Rank, yet does it not proceed from his Incapacity of ſpeaking, but from the Solidity of his Judgment, by which he very well knows, that he who talks always, muſt often ſay ſome Things not to the Purpoſe. And as he has too keen a Taſte to bear a Foible of that Nature in others, ſo he is not willing to be guilty of it himſelf. This, as near as I can form a Judgment, is the true Character of the Count *de Bellair*, and yet I know not by what Depravity of Temper, this very Great Man had one of theſe Animals at Dinner with him. The Minute I ſtept into the Room, the officious Creature began to play his Tricks: The firſt Thing he preſented us with, was all the Variety of Ridicule which ariſes from the different Diſtortions of the Body, ſuch as the awkard-Bow, the unnatural Cringe, the forced Smile, *&c.* This Scene of Action held till Dinner was over; for he that came to eat had little to ſay till that was done: But when the Table was cleared, and the Bottle fill'd, then, like all other managed Brutes, he knew what was next in Order, and began to open. His Tongue now was to be as ſervile as the other Parts of his Body had been; and accordingly, with a great deal of Volubility, it run thro' all the Figures of Buffoonery, ſuch as Punning, Rhiming, Tranſprofing, making Senſe Nonſenſe, Nonſenſe Senſe, *&c.* till at laſt his Lordſhip beginning to yawn, the Gentleman, like *Jolly* the Spaniel, knew the Clack of the Whip, and at once left the Room with a Precipitation, which too plainly diſcovered what he was afraid of.

But it muſt be confeſs'd, that the Weightineſs of this Subject, as conſider'd in itſelf, requires ſome ſerious Reflections. For to debaſe the Faculties of the Underſtanding, and make them ſubſervient to another's Will, is certainly a Crime; and tho' not ſo great a-one as in the Caſe of Conſcience, when that is made to ſtretch, and buckle in the ſame Manner; yet in Regard of Honour and Reputation, 'tis what a Man who has the leaſt Value for either, will never come into himſelf, and will as certainly condemn in others that do: For 'tis altogether as inconſiſtent with a Man of Honour to ſacrifice his Underſtanding to his Intereſt, as 'tis incompatible with a Man of Honeſty to give up his Sincerity to it.

For my own Part, I can never ſee one of theſe mean Objects, but I'm much more ſenſibly touch'd with Reſentment, than I am with Compaſſion at the Sight of one of thoſe whom Nature has incapacitated. For what Nature has done, let Nature anſwer for: But what is a Man's own Act and Deed, what he himſelf is the Author of to himſelf, that ſurely he himſelf is liable to be cenſured for. And tho' we may pity an involuntary poor Wretch, whom Nature never furniſh'd with the Abilities of Senſe and Reaſon, yet ſurely we muſt do ſomething more than pity, and rather deteſt and abhor that voluntary Wretch, who tho' ſufficiently ſtock'd by Nature and Art with all thoſe Qualifications which make Man Lord of the Creation, yet does what lies in his Power to conceal and ſtifle them, and baſely feigns himſelf an Idiot, for no other Reaſon, but to pleaſe a Fool or a Humouriſt.

Grub-

Grubſtreet Journal, May 23.

THIS Paper contains ſome critical Remarks on ſome Writings relating to the *Exciſe-Scheme*; but we have had ſo much of this already, that we believe the Reader will eaſily excuſe our paſſing it by.

Craftſman, May 25. N° 412.

Obſervations on the Elections.

THE Elections for this Part of *Great Britain* being now generally over, *D'Anvers* propoſes to make ſome Obſervations on the Courſe of them.

I ſhall not enter (ſays he) into any Examination of the Methods previouſly taken by the *Favourites of Power*; ſuch as the Artifices employ'd to procure *returning Officers* in Boroughs, the Nomination of *proper Sheriffs* for Counties, *&c.* It will be ſufficient, at preſent, to begin at the Cloſe of the *laſt Parliament*.

The firſt Thing remarkable is the uncommon Expedition, and even Precipitation, in chuſing a *new Repreſentative*; for the laſt Parliament was *prorogued* one Day, a Proclamation order'd for *diſſolving* it the next, and the Writs for electing a new one bore *Teſte* on the third; ſo that many Gentlemen, who thought it incumbent on them to attend their Duty in Town, and not ſuffer any ſurreptitious Points to be carried, without hearing their Teſtimony againſt them, had not Time to viſit their Boroughs, or at leaſt to make the proper Application to their Electors, by explaining the Reaſons of their Conduct, and the preſent Situation of Affairs. In the next Place, the Elections of *thoſe Places* which were ſufficiently prepared to chuſe their Repreſentatives according to Direction, happened very luckily to come on firſt; and thoſe who appear'd out of Humour at *ſome late Meaſures*, had Time given them to cool and conſult their *true Intereſt*. Out of the *former Claſs* I muſt indeed except the antient Dukedom of *Cornwal*, which was reſerved, by the ſame happy Accident, as an Aſylum for thoſe *worthy Gentlemen*, who have been *excis'd* out of their own Counties and Boroughs by the Peeviſhneſs of the People.

The *miniſterial Scribblers* ſeem to be in high Delight on this Occaſion, and flatter themſelves that the Return of a *new Parliament* will intirely ſilence all our Pretences to *Popularity*; but, if we may take Mr. *Rapin*'s Opinion, there is no true Judgment to be made of the *Senſe of the People* by the *Choice of their Repreſentatives*. Whether this Obſervation will hold good in general, I ſhall not determine; but it is ſo in a very great Degree; for if we conſider the particular Members, who compoſe the Body of a *Britiſh Houſe of Commons*, we ſhall find that a Majority of them are ſent from Seaport Towns, governed by *miniſterial Influence*, and little beggarly Boroughs, whoſe *Poverty* makes them an eaſy Prey to the Baits of *Corruption*. It would be endleſs to enumerate the various Kinds of Influence, which our *Debts*, *Taxes*, and *Funds* have lately created. There is not a City, or Corporation, where *this Evil* does not prevail; and if it is ſuffered to increaſe upon us, as it hath lately done, moſt of the *Boroughs* will become little more than the Tools of a *Prime-Miniſter*; for I am informed that it is lately made a Rule not to admit any Perſon into the meaneſt Employment, unleſs he is duly qualified to ſerve his King and Country with a *Vote for Members of Parliament*; and it is currently reported that the Election of *one Borough*, where there happens to be a great Number of *Bargemen*, was carried by granting them *Protections from the late Impreſs*. I leave it to our *Connoiſſeurs in Elections*, whether it might not be of Uſe, at theſe Times,

to iſſue out large Numbers of *Preſs Warrants*, in order to alarm the Seafaring Part of the Nation, and oblige them to commute, by ſerving their Country *at home*, inſtead of *abroad*.

It is therefore poſſible that the *miniſterial Writers* may have ſome Reaſon to exult on their Succeſs in the *Borough-Elections*; but I muſt beg Leave to differ from *theſe Gentlemen*, if they produce ſuch Inſtances as any Proof that the *Senſe of the People* is on their Side. This is to be ſeen beſt in the *Elections for Knights of the Shire*; for tho' there is not one County in *England*, where the ſame *miniſterial Influence* does not prevail in ſome Degree; yet as the Body of the Inhabitants, in every Shire, is generally aſſembled on theſe Occaſions, we may eaſily judge from the *Voice of the People* what are the *genuine Sentiments of the People*; and if thoſe *modeſt Writers* will be pleas'd to look over the Liſt of *Knights of the Shire*, I believe they will find at leaſt *Three to One* choſen againſt them.

I muſt particularly mention the late Election for *Kent*, which was carried by an almoſt incredible Majority, when we conſider the prodigious Influence on the *other Side*, viz. *three Docks*, *two Epiſcopal Sees*, and *four Cinque-Ports*, beſides that infinite Multitude of *Revenue Officers*, who ſwarm round the whole Coaſt, and hold all the lower Sort of People in Dependence.

Nothing therefore can be more ridiculous than to collect the Senſe of the People from the *Borough-Elections*; for if the *Cuſtom-Houſe*, the *Exciſe Office* and the *three great Companies* were each of them allowed to ſend *two Repreſentatives* to Parliament, the *miniſterial Writers* might argue with as much Reaſon that *theſe Elections* would determine the Senſe of the City of *London*.

I know they will alledge that all the Members of the *Houſe of Commons* are upon a Foot of Equality, and therefore they are ſure of a *Majority*. For the Sake of *England*, I wiſh they may find themſelves miſtaken; but I hope the *Court-Writers* will be ſo modeſt, for the future, as not to inſiſt on the *general Senſe of the People*; nor to ſay *that every Body, except the* Craftſman, *hath done with the* Exciſe; for the late Elections are ſufficient to convince them that it is neither forgot nor forgiven by the Body of the Nation, who have halloo'd it down thro' the whole Kingdom.

Indeed, thoſe Perſons, who have dared to violate ſo ſolemn an Act as that againſt *Bribery* and *Corruption*, may be juſtly thought capable of any Thing; and that there are ſuch Men amongſt us, the *late Elections* give us too melancholy a Proof. Some have had the Aſſurance to offer their Bribes publickly at Market-Croſſes, in open Defiance of *that Law*, and to promiſe the poor deluded People that all Proſecutions upon it will be ſtopt by an *Act of Grace*; which is as much as to ſay; *Gentlemen, if you are not afraid of the Penalties of* Corruption *and* Perjury *in another World, you may depend upon Indemnity here*. Others have been ſo modeſt as to content themſelves with condemning *that Act*, and expreſſing their Reſolution to *aſſiſt in the Repeal of it*. But we may ſafely rely on his Majeſty's Goodneſs, that he will ſcorn to pardon ſo flagitious a Crime as *Corruption*, back'd with *Perjury*; and we have Reaſon to hope that our *Repreſentatives* will never repeal the *only Law*, which can ſecure the *Freedom of Elections*; for notwithſtanding all the vile Artifices to defeat it, I cannot help thinking that it hath already had ſome Effect, and will certainly have a great deal more, if it is put vigorouſly in Execution againſt the *Corruptors* and the *Corrupted*. I am inform'd there is Evidence actually in Hand, ſufficient to make ſome Examples of *both*; and if

If *thoſe*, who are thus armed, ſhould be prevailed on to ſcreen *ſuch Delinquents*, they will draw great Part of the Guilt upon themſelves, and forfeit all Right to the Favour of their *honeſt Countrymen* for the future. One or two Convictions in *Weſtminſter-Hall* would create ſuch a Precedent, as might eſtabliſh *this excellent Law* for ever, and deter the moſt harden'd *Agents of Corruption*.

I cannot conclude without taking ſome Notice of thoſe Practices, which too often ſucceed the *Choice of a new Parliament*; I mean what is commonly, tho' ſomewhat improperly, called *Weeding the Houſe*; for if we examine the Conduct of our *Political Gardiners*, on theſe Occaſions, we ſhall find that they frequently root up the *Flowers*, and plant the rankeſt *Weeds* in their Room. Menaces of this Kind have been already thrown out very liberally againſt ſeveral Members, who are choſen on the *Country Intereſt*; and, if I am not miſinform'd, ſome of our moſt noted *Borough-Jobbers* actually retain'd Counſel, before the *Elections* began, to defend theſe laudable Practices; ſo that thoſe, who are put out of the Houſe at the *Fore-Door*, may have a *Back-Door* opened for them, and preſs themſelves, as it were, into the Service of their Country.

The *Freedom of the Houſe of Commons* depends ſo much on the *Freedom of Elections*, that a *Committee* always appointed for that Purpoſe; and without ſome Regulation of that Kind, the Houſe might be filled with Members illegally returned; but this Proviſion, like all others, is liable to many great Abuſes, and there have been ſo many Conteſts about the *Right of Voting*, and the Conduct of *Returning Officers*, that it affords a Pretence for a Multitude of *Petitions*; which puts it in the Power of a *Miniſter*, who may gain an abſolute Aſcendency in *that Place*, to nominate the *ſitting Members*, and thereby model the Houſe to his own Purpoſes.

Such Practices as theſe have occaſioned great Complaints in former Times; and, if we may give Credit to ſome Papers lately publiſhed, or the confident Diſcourſes of a *certain Set of Men*, there ſeems to be a Deſign of reviving them; for we have been given to underſtand that the Right of *honorary Freemen* is to be ſet aſide, wherever their Votes have ſerved the *Country Party*; particularly at *Warwick*, *St. Alban's*, *Southampton*, and *Northampton*. At the ſame Time, ſome nice Diſtinction, perhaps, will be found out to eſtabliſh it in *other Places*, where it hath been made ſubſervient to the *oppoſite Intereſt*; eſpecially at *Malden* and *Liverpool*, where it is notorious that the Returns have been abſolutely founded on the Votes of *honorary Freemen*, made for that Purpoſe.

This, I ſay, is what the *Creatures of Power* have had the Inſolence to threaten; but I hope both *they* and their *Maſter* will be deceived, and that the Gentlemen elected will not ſuffer themſelves to be made the Tools of any *deſperate Miniſter*, but form all their Reſolutions by the ſtricteſt Rules of Honour and Juſtice.

Fog's Journal, May 25. N° 290.

'Squire Scrubb's *Converſion*.

Maſter Fog,

I Happened lately to be in Company with ſome Gentlemen, who have made a Sort of Convert of me: Your Lucubrations and thoſe of the *Craftſman*, having been the Topicks of the Evening's Converſation, one turn'd towards and addreſſed me as follows.

" I am not a little ſurpriz'd, Mr. *Scrubb*, to ſee a Gentleman of your Family herd with the M——ts, while there are ſome great Men living, who have a particular Regard

to your Name and Family, and have provided for ſuch a Number of them, that, except yourſelf, there are few *Scrubbs*, but who are ——, or provided with good P——s: —— the preſent Perſons ſo famous for Wealth and ſomething elſe, we may ſay, in a great Meaſure are made up of *Scrubbs*, and there is ſo great Partiality ſhewn to your Family by a certain Gentleman, that the higheſt Honours, both in C—— and S—— are conferred on *Scrubbs*; and whenever a *Scrubb* ſtands Candidate for a P— or P——, every one elſe is forced to drop his Pretenſions, as knowing the beſt are not ſufficient to ſtem the Tide of Favour, which flows upon your Family. —— I reply'd, that I was very ſenſible of the Regard that a certain Perſon ſhew'd for thoſe of my Name, and it might ſeem a Paradox to find any *Scrubb* on the Side of the Anti-m—l Writers; but for my Part, I could not approve the Meaſures taken by certain Perſons not a thouſand Years ago, which I thought were copied from 3 *French Miniſters*, whoſe pernicious Schemes had enſlaved their Country.

The Gentleman replied, is not yours a Zeal, Mr. *Scrubb*, without Knowledge? and are not your Writers injuring thoſe for whom they are ſo very anxious? Nay, do they not act as indiſcretely as unjuſtly? What has been the Conſequence of raiſing that mutinous Spirit in the People, which is more viſible than dangerous, and of which the *Craftſman* and *Fog* are the ſole Authors? Why, it has augmented the Number of Troops, and obliged the Parliament to ſtrengthen the Hands of the King, that he may confine this malignant Spirit within the Circle of *Grumbling*, in which the Lenity of the Court may indulge them. But dear Mr. *Scrubb*, why all the Noiſe which is made by theſe *Writers* about Bribery, Corruption, *&c.* If any Member has made his Way into the Houſe by corrupting Voters, are not ſuch Voters as much to blame who took, as as he who gave the Money? But for my Part, I think a Man may lawfully make the moſt he can of his Suffrage; he has a Right to ſet his Liberty and Property to Sale, and to diſpoſe of it as he thinks fit, by either preventing an impending Evil, or obtaining a preſent Advantage. When a Freeholder has bargained for himſelf and Poſterity, he and they are become the Property of the Purchaſer. If this is Fact, as you muſt allow me it is, how unjuſtly do you alarm the People with the Danger of Liberty and Property, and terrify them with Standing Armies, when it is evident, that after they have taken Money in *Market-Ouvert* for their Birth-right, they have no longer the leaſt Claim to it; and they can no way blame a Purchaſer, who makes the moſt he can of a Bargain, which was made with mature Conſideration on the Part of the *Vender*.

Your Writers make a great Noiſe about Liberty, and againſt Bribery, and by what I have ſaid, it is evident they are for clipping the Wings of that Liberty; reſtraining it in a very eſſential Point; which is, that of Diſpoſing of it; they are turning a *Liberty in Fee Simple*, to a Tenure for Life only; putting it out of the People's Power to diſpoſe of themſelves and Poſterity, as they ſhall think proper; but I hope the Nation will never be ſo gulled; but that we may yet ſay with Mr. *Odway* in the Play, that we are *free-born Subjects, and can diſpoſe of our Perſons*. What they term Bribery is a fair, open, undiſguiſed Bargain, without Compulſion, or the leaſt Colluſion; and I think the Venders for the Term of ſeven Years ought to give the higheſt Marks of Gratitude to the *Venders* for the moderate Uſe they have made of their Purchaſes; ſince by the Compact they were impower'd to wipe out the very Names of Liberty and Property.

The Inſults of your Faction, are moſt flagrant Proofs of the Lenity of the Miniſtry, which has much more Power than Inclination to make you ſmart for your Follies; their Condeſcenſion gave Way to your Clamours, and a Scheme was drop'd, becauſe you expreſs'd your Averſion to it; but ſtop here, don't let that encourage you to be froward, leſt you fare like the Aſs in the Fable, which being loaded with Salt, by Accident fell down in a Rivulet; he found this Fall had greatly lighten'd his Burthen, and the next Time he paſs'd the River, laid himſelf down; his Maſter finding this, loaded him with Sand; the Aſs not knowing the Difference, lay down again, but was hardly able to travel under the additional Weight of Water, or to ſupport the Baſtinadoes of a mercileſs Driver."

I muſt own to you, *Maſter Fog*, that I find a good deal of ſtrong Reaſon in this Gentleman's Diſcourſe, and the Sting in the Tail has warmed me ſo much, that I am almoſt determin'd to accept of a Share in the A——n.

Maſter Fog, I am, &c.

Timothy Scrubb.

§. *The following Letter relates to the Honour and Intereſt of Religion; it is addreſs'd to a particular Perſon, but I am much afraid (ſays* Fog*) the Matter of it relates to more Perſons than one.*

PERMIT me, without Offence, to expoſtulate with you as a Friend in Relation to your Conduct in this Pariſh, the Benefits of which you have enjoyed many Years, the Profits whereof as you well know, have been greatly advanced by the late Improvements. I can ſolemnly profeſs, I never defrauded or withheld the leaſt of your Dues, and therefore hope I may take the Liberty of repreſenting our Grievances.

Since you were inducted to this Living, you have never reſided, but have vouchſafed to viſit your Flock ſometimes twice, and never oftner than four Times in a Year, and then your Stay has been no longer than what was neceſſary for receiving your Rents. To the Curate, out of 500*l. per Ann.* you allow 30*l.* and the Surplice Fees. He is indeed a merry Companion, a great Lover of Fiſhing and Fowling, from which nothing but Chriſtnings and Burials can divert him.

The viſiting the Sick and the Poor ſeems to be no Part of his Regard; catechiſing the Children, and inſtructing the Congregation in the Principles of the Chriſtian Religion, is in a Manner totally neglected; ſo that there is too much Reaſon to apprehend, that there are many in this Pariſh that know very little more of the Chriſtian Religion, than that their Godfathers told them, they were once chriſtened, and therefore are Chriſtians. He has indeed a fine Knack of Preaching, but to how little purpoſe is too evident, from the Ignorance and vicious Lives of great Part of the Pariſh. Tho' he has a very tunable Voice, yet his Way of reading the Prayers is ſo very haſty and abſurd, that there is very little Appearance of Devotion in the Reader or the Hearers,

This, Sir, has fill'd both the Meetings of the *Presbyterians* and *Quakers*, with thoſe who in your Predeceſſor's Time conſtantly attended the Church; and if Things go on in the Manner, that they at preſent are, many more will go into them, or elſe turn *Papiſts*, or *Infidels*.

Sir, the Freedom of this Addreſs to you may ſeem ſomething ſtrange, allow me to tell you what has prompted me to it.

The laſt Summer two young Gentlemen from *London* came to viſit their Friends, one of them an Attorney's Clerk, the other a Draper's

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Apprentice; both being out of their Time, their Appearance here was more gay than any of our Country 'Squires, every Day they went to the *Coffee-House*, where the Clergy was the conſtant Subject of their Raillery. Being one Day in their Company, and hearing with what Contempt they treated not only the Clergy, but the Chriſtian Religion, I thought it was my Duty openly to oppoſe them, which I did in the beſt Manner I could, to which no other Reply was made but Sneer and Banter; and quitting their pretended Reaſonings againſt Chriſtianity, one of them very ſeverely reflected upon the Conduct and Behaviour of the Clergy, and particularly upon yourſelf; turning his Diſcourſe to me, ſaid, Do you think your Doctor believes that Mankind are accountable for their Actions in another Life? Read the Ordination of a Prieſt, and with what Solemnity they take upon them the Care of what they call immortal Souls; compare his Behaviour ſince he became your Paſtor, with what Care he has taken of his Flock; is it poſſible (ſays he) that any Man that really believes what they ſo ſolemnly vow at their Ordination, ſhou'd act the Part, as many of them do, in their Eccleſiaſtical Functions? Some (ſays he) even among the Biſhops, have been tranſlated from one See to another, without being once in the Dioceſe, to which they were firſt conſecrated, and ſome others ſeldom or ever reſide in their Dioceſe, having other Livings. They are indeed (ſaid the Attorney's Clerk) very well acquainted with the real Values of all their Leſſees Eſtates, and know exactly how to advance the Fines; they ordain (ſays he) any young Fellow that can get a Certificate, which is eaſily obtained. And thus I fear (ſays this Writer) many of the Clergy have brought themſelves into that State of Contempt, in which, to my great Sorrow, I now ſee them expoſed.

I hope you will not think me leſs your Friend for telling you theſe plain Truths, and I am confident if you wou'd ſeriouſly conſider the Solemnity of your Vows at your Ordination, and the great Charge you then took upon you, you wou'd ſoon be induc'd to alter your Conduct; and let me plainly tell you, Sir, that, in my Opinion, neither Sermons nor Books will have any great Effect for the putting a Stop to the Infidelity which has diffus'd itſelf into all Parts of the Nation, till the Clergy begin the Reformation at themſelves; for their Eccleſiaſtical Immoralities will always be the ſtrongeſt Fortreſs of the Infidels.

I am, Sir, &c.

Univerſal Spectator, May 25. N° 294.

Concluſion of the Deſcription of London. (See p. 246.)

THE *Great Men* at the Court End of the Town are peculiarly diſtinguiſh'd, by refuſing to do any Thing to ſerve others; and by a great Number of tall, powder'd *Animals* with two Legs, who walk before a Chair, or hang like a Cluſter of Bees at the hind Part of the Chariot. For the Benefit of this Part of the *Metropolis*, which includes the *Beau-Monde*, the *King* has given the Liberty to all *idle People*, of walking in *St. James's Park:* Here is the *Mall*, famous for being the Rendezvous of the Gay and the Gallant, who aſſemble there to *ſee* and be *ſeen*, to *cenſure* and be *cenſured*; the *Ladies* to ſhew their fine Cloaths and the Products of the Toilet, the Men to ſhew their Toupees, obſerve all the Beauties, and fix on ſome Favourite to toaſt that Evening at the Tavern. Every one here is curious in examining thoſe who paſs them, and are very nice and very malicious. In this Place, People often join in the Company of thoſe whom they either deride or hate; for *Company* is not ſought

ſought here for the Benefit of *Converſation*, but Perſons couple together to get a little *Confidence*, and embolden themſelves againſt the common Reflections of the *Place*. They talk continually, no Matter of what, for they talk only to be taken Notice of by thoſe who paſs by them. At this Place *Ladies* will walk 4 or 5 Miles in an Evening with all the Alacrity imaginable, who at home think it an inſupportable Fatigue to journey from one End of their Chamber to the other.

Not far from hence is a *Place* where *Truth* and *Falſhood*, *Vice* and *Politeneſs*, *Good* and *Evil* equally reign; where they who are diſpleaſed, ſmile, they who are pleaſed, diſſemble their Paſſion; where *Flattery* is called *Complaiſance*, and *Extravagance*, Taſte; where Men embrace the Villain they deteſt, and are embraced by thoſe who deteſt them. Strangers are welcome to this Place, provided they *ask* for *nothing*; they may *gaze*, *bow*, and *return*, and with no other Employment amuſe themſelves ſome Years in an *Anti-Chamber*, a *Court-Yard*, or a *Stair-Caſe*. *Friendſhip*, *Promiſes*, *Offers* of *Service* are here of the Nature of *Nightingales*, *Vox & præterea nihil*: *Modeſty* is very *unfit* for this Place, therefore very *ſcarce*; *Wiſdom* is *fit*, yet *rarer*: One Man is follow'd here for the Employments he can give, another courted becauſe in Favour with the other, a third becauſe of his Title, yet a fourth of more *Value* than them all, is neglected and deſpis'd, becauſe ——— he is *honeſt*. Is the *Men look* and *ſpeak* different from what they *think*, the *Women look* ſo different from what they *are*. A Female Face, which appears here to be about *twenty*, ſhou'd you ſee it before it came from the *Toilet*, you wou'd be aſſur'd it was *fifty*: The *Mothers* ſeem *Maids*, and the Maids ſometimes *are* Mothers. This *Place* has been the ſame as 'tis now ſome hundred Years paſt, and will be ſo ſome hundred Years to come. As *this Place* is the moſt important of the whole *Metropolis*, I have choſe to conclude my Account of *London*, with it; it is ſituated within 100 *Leagues* of the River of *Thames*, and within 8000 *Furlongs* of the Park of St. *James*'s.

Weekly Miſcellany, May 25, N° 76.

THERE has lately appeared a ſmall Pamphlet, intitled, *An Apology for Dr.* Codex, the Deſign of which is to expoſe the Biſhop of *London*, for oppoſing the Promotion of a certain Gentleman, not long ſince recommended to a vacant Biſhoprick. The Ground of the Oppoſition (*moſt* talked of) are certain *Words* ſaid to have been ſpoken by that Gentleman in private Converſation 13 or 14 Years ago. (See p. 187.)

There are three Points which naturally offer themſelves to our Enquiry, *viz.* Were the Words ſpoken by the Gentleman *really offenſive*, or not? Was it right in the Perſon, who heard and remembers thoſe Words, to *diſcloſe* them to the Biſhop, in order to ſtop the Promotion? Does it appear that the Biſhop hath paid *greater Regard* to ſuch Information than he *ought* to have paid?

The firſt Point will eaſily be diſpatched. The Apologiſt does not deny that *Words were ſpoken*, and only ſays, that they *do not yet appear to be wrong*, and that *perhaps they are right*. To whom does it not yet appear that the Words were wrong? Why to the *Apologiſt* himſelf.

The Gentleman who gave Information to the Biſhop, is charged with *betraying Converſation*.

Now as to this, every one knows, that it is either *right* or *wrong*, as Circumſtances may happen. The *Apologiſt* himſelf tells us, that *ſome Diſcourſes, ſuch as Treaſon againſt the King and State, every Man of Honeſty ought*

ought to diſcover: I deſire no fairer Inſtance: And I will beg Leave to demand an Anſwer to this one plain Queſtion. Suppoſe the *King* intended to make a certain Perſon *Secretary of State*, or a General in the Army, whom the Apologiſt knew, from ſome Words by him ſpoken, at ſome Time or other in Converſation, to be *diſaffected* to his Government, and in the Intereſt of the *Pretender*, would he not think himſelf bound upon his Allegiance to make Diſcovery of it? O! but ſays the Gentleman, there is great Difference in Caſes. *In but Matters of meer Speculation, no one is obliged to diſcover to another's Prejudice* what paſſes in Converſation: *Matters of meer Speculation* (in the Language of ſuch Writers as this) *are all Matters of Religion*; and the Gentleman's Meaning (if he would have ſpoke it out honeſtly) is this, That tho' in Caſes where the Intereſt of *Civil Government* is concerned, a Man *may* be *obliged* to *diſcloſe* what he hears in private Converſation, yet in Caſes where the Intereſt of *Religion* alone is concerned, he cannot be ſo obliged: For which I *defy* him to give any *other* Reaſon than this, that tho' a Man owes *Duty* to his *King* and to his *Country*, yet he owes *none* to his *God*, or to his *Saviour*.

Under the laſt Head there are two Things to be conſidered: The *Matter* of the *Information*, and the *Character* of the *Informer*. As to the *Informer*, the Apologiſt tells us, that he is *a Trifler, a Witneſs who ought not to be thought a credible one.* But what has he ſaid to *prove* this? Not one Word.

But to the Matter of the Information, what ſhall we ſay? *An accidental Word, which the Informer may probably have forgot, or miſunderſtood, ----- Words ſpoken unwarily, ---- in the Warmth of Argument, without conſidering the due Force of them, ----- only to ſupport Converſation, and to bear* the Opinion of his Friends. Theſe are the *Suggeſtions.* From the Whole of which the only Thing I can *certainly* gather is this, that the Apologiſt knows *nothing of the Matter.* No Doubt a Diſtinction ſhould be made between *careleſs* and *haſty* Expreſſions, and Words ſpoken *deliberately* and *ex animo.* The Diſtinction ariſes from a Man's *general Character.* And does the Apologiſt know, or has he ſhewn, that the *Informer* or the *Biſhop* has not ſuch Knowledge of the Gentleman's *general* Character, as will *juſtify* them in believing that the Words (whatever they were) were ſpoken *ex animo?* The Publick has been very lately acquainted, that the Biſhop's *Diſlike of the Promotion of this Perſon was expreſſed when it was proper, before he had the Knowledge of what paſſed in this Converſation*; (p. 187.) which is an Evidence that the Biſhop *had* ſome Exceptions to his *general* Character, and that he conſidered this Caſe not as it ſtood *ſingly*, but as *connected* with his *general* Character.

But the *great Secret* which lies at the Bottom, I perceive is this, that a Man's Faith is of ſo little Conſequence, as not to be *worth* being *brought* to *Examination.* The *Apologiſt* ſays, The Gentleman has *Virtue, Knowledge, Modeſty*, and *Benevolence.* But all this is foreign to the Purpoſe, ſince he well knows, that the Queſtion is not about his *Morality*, but his Orthodoxy.

§. *An Hypotheſis concerning* GRAVITY; *by M.* Cramer, *Profeſſor of Mathematicks at* Geneva.

1. SPACE is fill'd with a very ſubtile and very rare Fluid; inſomuch, that there is no ſenſible Point in the whole Extent of the Univerſe, from which an infinite Number of Rays of this Fluid do not proceed, in all poſſible Directions. Our Author calls this Fluid *Æther.*

2. Let us ſuppoſe there were but one Body in the World, What would be the Conſequence? This Body wou'd be ſo preſs'd on all Sides, that its Parts wou'd tend all equally towards their common Centre.

3. Let us ſuppoſe, that, inſtead of one Body, there were two; for Example, the Sun and the Earth. I ſay, continues our Author, that theſe two Bodies, whatever were their Diſtance, would endeavour to come together. Thus it is prov'd. The Preſſure of the *Æther* wou'd not be more uniform, but it wou'd be leſs, in the ſuppoſed Space between the Sun and the Earth. For the *Æther*, which came from the Side where the Sun is, cou'd not preſs the Part of the Earth, which looked towards the Sun, without having traverſ'd its Body, and reciprocally. Now, among the Particles of *Æther*, which thus traverſe the Body of the Sun, and that of the Earth, many of them muſt be reflected in meeting with the ſolid Parts of theſe Bodies, and ſome even ſtop in the Body they ſhou'd traverſe, while others, finding proper Pores to let them paſs thro', loſe however great Part of their Motion *propter affrictum.* Conſequently, the Preſſure of the *Æther* on the Sun will be leſs on the Side of the Earth; and reciprocally the Preſſure of the *Æther* on the Earth will be leſs on that Side of the Sun. The *Equilibrium* thus loſt, it is evident that theſe two ſuppoſed Bodies, preſs'd from without, and not *inter ſe*, will tend the one towards the other, and even come together, unleſs prevented by ſome other Cauſe.

The Story of *Inkle* and *Yarico*. From the 11th *Spectator*.

YE virgin train, an artleſs dame inſpire,
Unlearnt in ſchools, unbleſt with natal fire,
To ſave this ſtory from devouring fate,
And the dire arts of faithleſs man relate.
A youth I ſing, in face and ſhape divine,
In whom both art and nature did combine
With heavenly ſkill to mingle ev'ry charm,
As gods of old did fair Pandora form.
Stranger to virtue, this deceiver held
The box of miſchiefs in his breaſt conceal'd;
His outward form each female heart enflam'd;
His inward beauty lurking avarice ſtain'd.
Inſatiate love of gold, and hope of gain,
Encourag'd him to cut the yielding main;
The winds, or waves, or the decrees of heaven,
His bark upon a barbarous coaſt was driven;
Poſſeſt by men who thirſt for human blood,
Who live in caves, or thickets of the wood:
Untaught to plant (yet corn and fruits abound,
And fragrant flowers enamel all the ground.)
Diſtreſt, he landed on this fatal ſhore,
With ſome companions, which were ſoon no more;
The ſavage race their trembling fleſh devour,
Offring oblations to th'infernal power.
Dreadfully ſuppliant, human limbs they tore,
(Accurſed rites!) and quaft their ſtreaming gore.
Immortal Jove ſtoop'd from his azure ſky,
Grieving a form ſo like his own ſhou'd dye;
To the fair youth mercurial ſpeed beſtow'd,
Swifter than thought he reach'd the ſhady wood.
Beneath a nightly ſhade he panting lies,
Screen'd by all-pitying Jove from hoſtile eyes;
With gloomy ſorrows and unmanly fears
Swell'd his ſad breaſt which he bedew'd with tears:
When lo! a negro virgin chanc'd to rove
Thro' the thick mazes of the nodding grove,
Whoſe glitt'ring ſhells and elegant undreſs,
With various plumes, a noble birth confeſs.
With reverential fear, the well-ſhap'd maid
Straight him a god, and low obeiſance paid.
Her face like poliſh'd marble did appear;
Her ſilken robe, and long-curl'd flaxen hair
Amaz'd the nymph; nor leſs her ſparkling eyes,
And naked beauty, did the youth ſurprize.
Low at her feet, in ſuppliant poſture laid,
With ſpeaking eyes, he thus addreſt the maid.
"O let ſoft pity touch that lovely breaſt!
"Succour a man, by various ills oppreſt:
"Such finiſh'd grace does thro' your perſon ſhine,
"That 'tis enliven'd by a ſoul divine.
The tender negro look'd a kind reply
Thro' pearls of pity, dropping from her eye;
With hands uplifted, did the gods implore,
That her relentleſs countrymen no more
Might ſtain their native land with human gore.
Then ſeiz'd he hand, with tender paſſion preſt,
While copious tears both love and fear confeſt.
The pitying maid view'd him with yielding eyes,
And ſighs from each boſom mutual ſighs ariſe.

His ſafety, now, became her only care,
A ſecret cave ſhe knew, and bid him there;
Adorn'd it with the ſpoils of leopards ſlain,
Which other lovers ventur'd life to gain.
Through mazy thickets, and a pathleſs wood
She preſt, advent'rous, with delicious food.
Daily her hand a rich repaſt did bring
Of ripen'd fruits, and waters from the ſpring:
But when declining, toward the cloſe of day,
The crimſon ſun ſets weary on the ſea,
Strait to a ſhady grove, where fountains riſe,
From woods defended, and inclement ſkies;
Where the wing'd warblers of the air conſpire
From ſeveral boughs, to form a heavenly quire,
Adorn'd with fragrant flowers, and ever-green,
She leads the youth (delightful ſilvan ſcene!)
Where he, in peaceful ſlumbers, takes his reſt,
Forgets his fears, and calms his tim'rous breaſt.
In ſoft repoſe the beauteous lover lies,
While Yarico with care unſeals her eyes;
With anxious fear the matchleſs maid attends,
Careful to ſave him from her barb'rous friends.
The flowing curls which o'er his ſhoulders play'd
With artleſs beauty, pleas'd the negro maid;
She thought her fingers, when entangled there,
Like clouds uncircling Berenice's hair:
The graceful youth confeſſing equal fire,
Did her juſt ſymmetry of ſhape admire.
Oft would he ſay; my Yarico, with thee
(My only bliſs!) cou'd I my country ſee,
If ever I forget my vows of love,
Unbleſt, abandon'd, may I friendleſs rove.
To thee, alone, I owe the vital air;
My love and gratitude for ever ſhare.
I'll gems provide, and ſilks of curious art,
With gifts expreſſive of my grateful heart:
Thou in a houſe by horſes drawn ſhalt ride,
With me, thy faithful lover, by thy ſide:
The female train ſhall round with envy gaze,
Wonder, and ſilent ſigh unwilling praiſe.
Pleas'd with his words, deſiring more to pleaſe,
She from a craggy cliff ſurvey'd the ſeas;
A bark ſhe ſpy'd, and did by ſigns implore,
That they would touch upon the ſandy ſhore.---
With joy ſhe ran---My love make haſte away,
A Veſſel waits us, on the foaming ſea.
Soon be the veſſel's lofty ſide aſcends,
And finds them to be countrymen, and friends.
With lovely Yarico, puts off to ſea;
With equal joy they plough the watry way.
When the fair youth, deſpairing, calls to mind
All hopes eluded of his wealth deſign'd;
Riches the ſeat of his affection ſeize,
And faithful Yarico no more can pleaſe.
Unhappy maid! to waſting ſorrows born,
And fated evils undeſerv'd to mourn.
This youth was born too near the northern pole,
Which chill'd each virtue in his frozen ſoul:
But near the ſun, the nymph her birth confeſt,
Where ev'ry virtue glow'd within her breaſt,
Thus oar lies in the earth, unfiniſh'd, cold;
But purg'd by fire, it brightens into gold.
Propitious Zephyrs fill their ſwelling ſails;
They make Barbadoes, bleſt with proſp'rous gales.

The planters thick'ning on the key appear,
To purchase negroe slaves, if any there;
When the false youth, by curs'd avarice sway'd,
Horrid to mention! sells his faithful maid.
Amaz'd and trembling, silently she mourn'd,
While speaking tears her radiant eyes adorn'd.
Low at his feet, the lovely mourner lay;
Nor would to words her swelling heart give way.
She grasps his knees, in vain attempts to speak,
At length her words in moving accents break:
O much lov'd youth, in tender pity spare
A helpless maid, my long-try'd faith revere.
From you this worst of human ills to prove,
Must break a heart that overflows with love.
Break not my heart, nor drive me to despair,
Lest you deface your lovely image there.
Ah! do not with consummate woe undo
A soul, that father, mother, country, left for you.
What sorrows must my tender parents mourn,
By me forsaken, never to return?
Transfer'd from them, to you my love I gave;
Unjust return! to sell me for a slave.
Oh call to mind the sacred oaths you've given,
Remember there are thunderbolts in heaven.
But if the swelling sorrows in my breast
Your heart of adamant can still resist,
Yet let the infant in my womb I bear,
The blessing taste of your paternal care.
He thrust her from him with remorseless hand,
For her condition rais'd his first demand.
Pleas'd with success he chearfully returns,
While hapless Yarico *in bondage mourns.*
The merchants all the prudent youth admire,
That could, so young, a trading soul acquire.

The PROSPECT.

HOW sweetly opening with the blushing morn,
Yon purpled clouds earth's canopy adorn!
The glorious sun breaks forth to run his race,
And paints with radiant smiles all nature's face.
Hark! from the feather'd choir's harmonious throats,
How all around soft echoing music floats.
But lest the transport too aspiring rise,
The sinking lark employs the ears and eyes.
The waving corn now greets the ravish'd sight,
Wand'ring o'er fertile fields with fresh delight.
Thro' verdant vallies, groves, and flow'ry meads,
Now following where the winding current leads;
Whether with rapid stream the banks it chides,
Or gently flowing, smooth, and silent glides;
In wide expanse, or narrow'd thro' the trees;
Its silver surface ruffled with the breeze:
Which, rising from the west, on fragrant wings,
From herbs and flow'rs refreshing odours brings.
Th' enamell'd grounds, which rise in circuit wide,
Present their teeming banks in sunny pride.
Beyond the hill where that thick forrest grows,
One more aspiring bends its awful brows.
Midst shading woods some lofty buildings stand,
Some from the sloping lawns a view command;
Where num'rous flocks and herds, or grazing stray,
Or fill'd repose, or wanton skip and play:
Farms, villages, and seats, lye scatter'd round,
With orchats, groves, or parks, or gardens crown'd.
The sound of bells from some high steeple swings,
With solemn musick hill and valley rings:
The fancy seeks them, travelling o'er the plain,
Lost in pursuit, yet not pursues in vain:
For there another prospect far extends,
Doubtful, if sea or sky the landscape ends.
But gathering clouds o'ershade the darken'd plain,
And whistling winds foretel impending rain:
The sun withdraws its beams; through clouded skies,
Darted oblique the pointed light'ning flies;
To pious awe awakening bardiest souls,
Succeeding every flash, loud thunder rolls.
Then falls impetuous, rattling hail, or rain,
Whitening the hills, or flowing through the plain.
The storms abate in milder sprinkling show'rs;
The clouds disperse; the sky no longer low'rs:
High in the azure vault, with peaceful form,
Is turn'd the arch of Iris' *painted bow:*
The glitt'ring sun darts down th' inlivening ray,
Reviving nature with returning day;
Whose face, like widow's, after tears more bright,
Smiles by reflected beams with double light.

Q. T.

CERES, the Goddess of Corn. Spoken by a Youth, at one of our publick Schools.

WHen food is scarce, and bellies chime,
Cupboard, then starving poets rhyme;
And now, you know, 'tis dinner time.
Hunger, which some the *Phœbus* deem
Of arts, and *Mercury* esteem
Of wit, reminds me of my theme.
First then (t' advance some useful queries)
Who has not heard of goddess *Ceres*,
Who in our *bread*, and in our *beer* is?
For what (to talk the matter fairly)
Were mortals without *wheat* or *barly*?
Who could his meagre corpse sustain
Without such comfortable grain?
The want of which would surely render
Our bodies like a needle slender.
But hold! as well as she is able,
My muse intends to tell a fable:
Her birth was antient, and her line,
As poets feign, was twice divine;
Begotten on *Olympus'* tops
By *Saturn* on the grandame *Ops*.
(For *heathen* gods, tho' e'er so good,
On proof were downright flesh and blood.)
Her brother *Jove* pursu'd the trade
Of basket-making, as 'tis said,
A roaring, ranting, thund'ring blade:

Who often us'd to play the ape
In ſwan, or bull, or any ſhape;
And at all games, with roving eye,
From his own eagle learn'd to fly:
Who never boggl'd at a woman,
From queen *Europa*, to *Doll Common*.
But ſo much for poetic ſtory.
Ceres ſhall now appear before ye
In genuine, and unborrow'd glory:
To ſing whoſe praiſe wou'd tire the lungs
Of *Stentor*, and a hundred tongues.
I will not to *Parnaſſus* climb,
To crave aſſiſtance to my rhyme:
Ceres alone I will implore,
And ſlight the ſtarv'ling *five* and *four*.
With a full ſtomach I will ſhow ye,
How *Clio* I deſpiſe, and know ye,
That *ſatur eſt cum dicit* (Horatius,) *obe!*
Some with the Muſes make ſuch clutter,
But give me a hot *loaf* and *butter*;
Strengthen'd with that I will maintain
To riſe above a common ſtrain;
And know more ten times of the matter,
Than ſorty wits of the theatre.
For, tell me, did not *Plautus* bawl
On *Phœbus*, on the *nine* and all,
And not one Muſe wou'd hear his call;
Till he was forc'd to learn a trade,
And ſerve a *baker* for his *bread*?
He turn'd the mill, then jok'd and writ,
Each *corn* produc'd a grain of wit.
And who wou'd not, with hunger torn,
Like *Æſop*'s cock, a jewel ſcorn,
Compar'd unto a *barly-corn*?
Of all the Gods and Goddeſſes,
In th' *Iliads*, and the *Odyſſes*,
Than *Ceres* none of them is bigger,
Or makes a more celeſtial figure.
What's *Neptune*, with his three-fork'd ſkew-
Cum grano ſalis, but a *brewer*? [er,
His trident, which they ſo much boaſt on,
Is only fit to ſtick a *toaſt* on.
Vulcan, that lubberly black ſloven,
For *Ceres* us'd to heat the *oven*,
And ſtir the cinders with his raker;
Had not he better been her *baker*,
Than gunſmith to his cuckold-maker?
Pomona's codlings and her crumplings,
Are made for *Ceres*' *pies* and *dumplins*.
Let *Venus* and her little boy,
Who ſhoots his bodkins to deſtroy,
Pallas and *Juno*'s form upbraid;
Yet without honeſt *Ceres*' aid,
For *Venus* had been ſtill a maid.
Ceres, in pity, taught us how
To uſe the harrow and the plough.
When food was ſcarce, and men and ſwine
At the ſame commons us'd to dine,
Acorns and water, (as we're told)
Were a delicious fruit of old,
Or pamper hogs, and th' age of gold.
But *Ceres* had more kindneſs in her,
To fed us with a better dinner:
To put ſome *barly* in the juice,
For her brother *Jove* to uſe;
And if ſhe with a little *wheat*
Wou'd add a *pudding* to the treat,
What God wou'd wiſh for better meat?
Hail! moſt indulgent *Ceres*, hail!
Thy deity ſhall moſt prevail:
In vain the Gods have each his ſhrine,
When all the offerings are thine.
Behold the tiller's ſweaty brow,
Thoſe briny drops are ſhed for you.
The trembling daſtard hazards battle,
To plunder fields of *corn* and cattle.
For thee *Jack Tar* will plough the main,
Tho' winds forbid, and floods of rain.
The artiſt too, a quaffing wight,
From early dawn to candle-light,
Sticks to his craft for ſweet regale
Of humming *beer*, or nappy *ale*.
And when night's come, then to the ale-houſe
He jogs, with jovial b nny fellows,
And ſings *old roſe, and burns the bellows*.

PLEASURE and *PAIN*. A Fable.

THE Gods one time, as poets feign,
Would *pleaſure* intermix with *pain*;
And perfectly incorporate ſo,
As one from t' other none might know;
That mortals might alike partake
The Good and Evil which they make.

In mighty bowl they put theſe twain,
And ſtirr'd and ſtirr'd but all in vain:
Pleaſure wou'd ſometimes float aloft,
And *pain* keep *pleaſure* down as oft:
Yet ſtill from one another fly,
Deteſting either's company.

The Gods, who ſaw they ſooner might
Mix fire and water, day and night,
Unanimouſly then decreed
They ſhou'd alternately ſucceed;
Each other's motions ſtill purſue,
And a perpetual round renew:
Yet ſtill divided ſhou'd remain,
Tho' link'd together with a chain.

Thence comes it that we never ſee
A perfect bliſs or miſery:
Each happineſs has ſome alloy;
And grief ſucceeded is by joy.
The happieſt mortal needs muſt own
He has a time of ſorrow known:
Nor can the pooreſt wretch deny,
But in his life he felt a joy.

The worſt on't is, that in this chace,
They do not keep an equal pace:
Pleaſure by minutes does appear,
But *pain* ſtill loiters by the year.

A SONG.

WHILST I fondly view the charmer,
Thus the God of love I ſue:
Gentle *Cupid!* pray diſarm her,
Cupid! if you love me, do;

Of a thouſand charms bereave her,
Rob her neck, her lips, her eyes;
The remainder ſtill will leave her
Power enough to tyrannize.

Shape and features, flame and paſſion
Still in every breaſt will move;
Still will fire the inclination;
Still will charm the heart to love.

You may dreſs a world of *Chloes*
In the beauty ſhe can ſpare:
Hear him, *Cupid*, who no foe is
To your altars, or the fair.

Fooliſh mortal, pray be eaſy,
Angry *Cupid* made reply;
Do *Florella*'s charms diſpleaſe ye?
Die then, fooliſh mortal, die.

Fancy not, that I'll deprive her
Of her captivating ſtore;
Shepherd, no, I'll rather give her
Twenty thouſand beauties more.

Were *Florella* proud and ſour,
Apt to mock a lover's care;
Juſtly then you'd pray that power
Might be taken from the fair.

But tho' I ſpread a blemiſh o'er her,
No relief from thence you'd find.
Still, fond ſhepherd, you'd adore her
For the beauties of her mind.

True Happineſs.

NO glory I covet, no riches I want,
Ambition is nothing to me;
The one thing I beg of kind heaven to grant,
Is a mind independent and free.

With paſſions unruffled, untainted with pride,
By reaſon my life let me ſquare;
The wants of my nature are cheaply ſuply'd,
And the reſt is but folly and care.

The bleſſings which providence freely has lent
I'll juſtly and gratefully prize;
Whilſt ſweet meditation, and cheerful content,
Shall make me both healthy and wiſe.

In the pleaſures the great man's poſſeſſions diſ-
Unenvy'd I'll challenge my part; [play,
For every fair object my eyes can ſurvey
Contributes to gladden my heart.

How vainly thro' infinite troubles and ſtrife,
The many their labours employ!
Since all that is truly delightful in life,
Is what all if they will may enjoy.

WOMAN: *Written in the Spirit of* Sappho. *By a Student of St.* John's-*College in* Cambridge.

COULD nature greater joys diſpenſe
To feaſt the eye, or pleaſe the ſenſe?
Could *Jove*, almighty *Jove*, prepare
A greater bleſſing than the fair?
'Twas not triumphant *Cæſar*'s carr
When loaded with the ſpoils of war,
In all its glories ſeem'd ſo gay
As *Chloris*, on her wedding-day;
When each ſmiling, winning feature
Shews the ſoftneſs of her nature,
Such perfections we diſcover,
Gods! what mortal can but love her!
Oh the teazing, pleaſing anguiſh!
Oh how ſweet it is to languiſh!
But how much ſweeter to enjoy
Beauty that can never cloy!
As leaning on *Corinna*'s knee,
Talking love, and ſipping tea,
She oft corrects me with her fan,
Sure I'm an happy, happy man!
Her mien, her voice, her merry glee,
Her wit, or ſmarter repartee,
Her ev'ry virtue does combine
To make the goddeſs more divine:
And if the bright *Corinna* be
True to love, and true to me,
'Tis not the formal cap, and gown,
Nor all the nonſenſe of the town,
Not the boaſted ſtores of knowledge,
Not a fellow of the college,
Can ever ſo inviting ſeem
As *Corinna*, beauty's queen!
Then farewel ſtern philoſophy;
In *Cupid*'s ſchool I'll take degree
With love and pleaſing poetry.

The Billingſgate Conteſt. *A* Piſcatory London Eclogue. *In Imitation of the Third Eclogue of* Virgil.

WELFLEETA. OYSTERIA.

Oyſteria.

HO! *Nan*, whoſe fiſh are thoſe that look ſo dry? [cry.

Welſt. Young *Polly Melton* gave 'em me to

Oyſt. Unhappy *Polly*, who thy *ſtand* can leave,
And with vain hopes of *love* thyſelf deceive!
While you *Jack Tar* will court, but court in vain,
Fearing that I your ſailor ſhall obtain.
Here, *Poll*, another will thy gains devour,
Nor turn a lucky penny in an hour;
Thy tubs unwaſh'd, thy *Mackarel* forſook,
And two-pence ſunk in ev'ry groat that's took.

Welſt. No ſcandal, *Madam*; if you come to that, [what.—

Some may be told of you.—We know what's
When *Billy*'s boat came floating down the tide,
You with him at the bottom was eſpy'd,
To kiſs and toy, and—ſomething elſe beſide;
Till the neglected boat ran cloſe to ſhore,
And to ſome laughing maids diſcover'd your amour. [rehearſe,

Oyſt. 'Twas at that time, ſince follies you
When you, in heighth of kiſſing, ſtole a purſe.

Welſt. No; when beneath a tree in *Green-wich Park*,
You was with *Jenny*'s huſband in the dark,
Tore her lac'd coif, then raving, ſtamp'd and cry'd:---
But for the miſchief, you for ſpight had dy'd.

Oyſt.

Oyſt. What yes your miſtreſs, *impudence*, wou'd prate,
When you can tell 'em at ſo round a rate!
Did not I ſee you, Madam, watchful ſtand
To ſteal a ring from ſleeping *Peggy*'s hand,
Stroaking her finger with your utmoſt care:---
But I came in, and rouz'd the ſleeping fair;
Thieves, thieves, I cry'd; defeated of your prey,
Like dog that's burnt his tail, you ſtole away.
Welſt. Where-e'er we find it, we may take our own;
The ring was mine, by ſinging fairly won;
But ſhe wou'd never give me up the prize,
Nor yet the truth of what I ſay denies.
Oyſt. You ſing with *her!* who are at beſt but fit [ſtreet:
To ſquawl a wretched ballad through the
With *me* you dare not ſing: a match I'll make,
And boldly back my wager with a ſtake;
Theſe golden beads with which myſelf I deck,
Which in three rounds hang pendant on my neck:
Do you ſtake ought of equal value down,
The *necklace* win, and wear it as your own.
Welſt. Of equal value I can nothing boaſt,
At home a cunning ſtep-dame rules the roaſt,
Who tells each morn my fiſh into my tray,
And to a farthing counts the profits of the day:
Yet this I'll pledge, to me of more eſteem,
Than any poliſh'd *gold*, or ſparkling *gem*,
This ſilver *thimble*, this my will ſhall prove,
The lateſt token of my parting love,
Which *Johnny* gave 'fore he laſt voyage made,
And which as yet was ne'er to needle laid.
Oyſt. To match your pledge, this ſilver *ſeal* I ſtake,
Which much I value for my *Tommy*'s ſake,
Who parting gave it, ſighing on my breaſt,
And which as yet was ne'er on *letter* preſt.
---But haſte, begin, nor thus the time prolong;
Let *Maccarella* judge of either's ſong.
Maccarella. Sing then, my fair ones, for the coaſt is clear,
And all is peace, as much as can be here;
The *market*'s o'er, then let your ſongs begin,
And I'll decide with juſtice who ſhall win;
By turns let each ſome tuneful ditty chime;
You'll pleaſe the more, the more ye change your rhime.
Welſt. From *Cupid*, ruler of the gods above,
My ſong begins, for all are rul'd by *Love*;
To him the care of maids and ſwains belongs,
He hears their *pray'rs*, and he applauds their *ſongs*.
Oyſt. I ſeek no *god*, my *Tommy* me inſpires
With as much *love*, and with as happy fires;
To him, ſweet youth, as ever croſs'd the ſea,
To him, as due, my ſongs ſhall ever be.
Welſt. My *Johnny* taps my neck in wanton play,
Then wiſhing to be ſeen, he trips away. [knee,
Oyſt. My *Tommy* flies not, but upon my
Swears he ne'er ſaw a maid ſo fair as me.
Welſt. This crooked groat I'll ſend my ſwain, to prove
My heart is bent like this to him and love.
Oyſt. But for my ſweetheart I this ring deſign'd,
The trueſt emblem of a faithful mind:
This circle has no ending, this I ſend
To tell my love my paſſion ne'er ſhall end.
Welſt. How oft has mine in fondeſt rapture ſwore,
He never chang'd his miſtreſs with his ſhore:
Gods, hear the ſound, and bleſs the conſtant man:
Shew ſuch another ſailor, if you can.
Oyſt. But mine with more inconſtancy will court,
And gain new miſtreſſes at ev'ry port;
Fond, tho' inconſtant, pleaſing, tho' he's free;
Yet none can keep the rover's heart but me.
Welſt. I keep my birth-day, from the coaſt of *France*, [dance.
Sweet *William* come, and grace it with a
Oyſt. I'm with ſweet *William* more in grace than you;
To me he ſwore at *Wapping* to be true:
Hoiſting the ſails when he on deck did ſtand,
To me adieu he cry'd, and wav'd his lilly hand.
Welſt. If you can tell, ſay in what foreign land,
The golden oar lies ſparkling in the ſand;
Where, as one river flows with comely pride,
It bears the wealth of *Europe* in its tide.
Oyſt. Nay tell me firſt, on what rich coaſts are found
Spices that breathe their fragrant odours round;
Where nutmegs will their charming ſcents diſpenſe,
And in their balmy gales can raviſh ev'ry ſenſe.
Maccarella. Hold, maidens, hold; for I ſhall never tell [well.
Who ſings the beſt, when both can ſing ſo
Both ever happy be, and all who prove
By turns the various ſweets and pains of love.

An Enquiry after true Pleaſure. A Fable. By Mr. Dodſley.

THE * kingly ruler of the plain,
Juſt entring on his ſavage reign,
To grace his coronation feaſt,
Sent and invited every beaſt;
And ſoon the royal cave beheld
With all his various ſubjects fill'd:
For leagues of peace were lately made,
And lambs and wolves together play'd;
Foxes and tim'rous hares agree
With dogs, their common enemy:
And now a ſumptuous table ſpread,
Friendly they altogether fed;
And having din'd, ſit ſtill and prate
Familiarly of this and that:
Till with a kind, yet ſerious look,
The king, deſiring audience, ſpoke.
'My friends, and loving ſubjects all,
'Who've kindly thus obey'd my call,
'I give you thanks, and now I crave
'Your further kindneſs to receive:

* *The Lyon.*

'I'm

'I'm ſeated on the throne you ſee
'In peaceable tranquillity;
'No cares of war diſturb my breaſt;
'With taxes you are not oppreſt;
'This life I'll therefore ſpend in joy;
'None ſhall be happier than I.
'But leſt I ſhou'd purſue falſe bliſs,
'What I would aſk of you, is this,
'To tell me —— *What true* Pleaſure *is?*'
The beaſts ſeem'd pleas'd with this requeſt;
Each thought he could adviſe him beſt,
And ſtriving who ſhould ſilence break,
They all at once roſe up to ſpeak;
Till by his majeſty's command,
Their forward zeal was ſoon reſtrain'd;
Who calmly bidding them ſit down,
And let him hear them one by one,
Th' impatient *Monkey* thus begun.

'Pleaſure, my liege, is free from ſtrife,
'To lead a thoughtleſs eaſy life;
'Airy and wild, and briſk, and gay,
'To ſing, and dance, and laugh, and play;
'Now following this, now that, and that,
'And ſo't be new, no matter what;
'Free from all rules of juſt and fit,
'Do miſchief firſt, then laugh at it:
'This is diverſion, pleaſure, wit.
The *Aſs* was here provok'd to riſe,
And gravely thus bray'd his advice;
'If, ſaid he, real pleaſure is
'In ſuch buffoonery as this,
'Then beaus and ſmarts, amongſt mankind,
'Are in their notions moſt refin'd;
'But well we know, by men of ſenſe
'They're tax'd with vain impertinence.
'I therefore think, true pleaſure lies
'(If I may be thought fit t'adviſe)
'In careleſs indolence and eaſe,
'Not ſuff'ring any thing to teaze;
'Regardleſs what th' ambitious fly at,
'So we're but undiſturb'd and quiet;
'Well knowing 'tis but to attain
'More eaſe, that they're at ſo much pain.
'And he's more happy, none can doubt it,
'Who's eaſy without taking pains about it.
Now roſe the *Hog*, and with a grunt,
'Pleaſure, cry'd he, they know nought on't.
'A life trail'd on in lazineſs
'Can only ſuit a ſtupid aſs,
'And fool'd away in monkey mirth,
'It's really full as little worth;
'For doing nothing worth fame,
'And doing nothing's much the ſame.
'But if you'd real pleaſure know
'Let generous liquor ſmiling flow;
'In jovial crews ſpend every hour,
'And drink, and ſing, and rant, and roar:
'Thus every care will ſink and drown,
'Whilſt mirth and joy run laughing round.
'I ſeem a monarch while I drink ſo,
'And you'll be a god do you but think ſo.
Here burſts the *Goat* into a laugh,
And thus beginning with a ſneer,

'Doubtleſs, ſaid he, it muſt be fine,
'T'exalt a naſty dirty ſwine,
'To ſuch a height in fancying,
'As to believe himſelf a king.
'But that which thus perverts our ſenſes,
'Can have, I think, but ſmall pretences
'To recommend it to our favour,
'As pleaſure of the trueſt flavour.
'Nature methinks ſhou'd guide in this,
'Who ſeems t'have ſhewn the higheſt bliſs,
'In having plac'd the ſweeteſt guſt,
'In gratifying natural luſt.
'And that 'tis the ſublimeſt joy,
'I think's ſo plain none can deny.
'Witneſs the mad tormenting pain,
'When diſappointed, we ſuſtain.
'Witneſs how eagerly we preſs on,
'Witneſs our raptures in poſſeſſion.'
But here the *Leopard*, riſing ſlow,
Expos'd his beauteous ſpots to ſhow,
And with a grave majeſtick face,
Thus gave his verdict in the caſe.
'Pleaſure conſiſts not in ſuch ſhort
'Imperfect tranſitory ſport,
'Of which the pains we're at to get it,
'O'er pays the bliſs when we come at it;
'Nor can it e'er be call'd true joy,
'With ſuch a mixture of alloy.
'No, that muſt be the moſt refin'd,
'Which moſt exalts and charms the mind;
'And nothing ſure more charming is,
'Than honour, pomp, and dignities,
'Than grandeur and magnificence,
'Than ſumptuous trains and vaſt expence,
'Than place, diſtinction, and preferment,
'And, when we die, a grand interment.
At this the *Horſe*, with noble look,
Raiſing his creſted neck, thus ſpoke;
'That merit ſhould be rais'd on high,
'I think's ſo juſt none can deny;
'But he who places all his bliſs
'In the external pomp of this,
'Knows not what greatneſs, nor what pleaſure is;
'His judgment errs as much at leaſt,
'As his who thinks that painting beſt
'Which is in gaudieſt colours dreſt.
'Of both we may affirm the ſame,
'Their taſte lies only in the gilded frame.
'I grant preferment, honour, place,
'Are riſing ſteps to happineſs;
'But whilſt we're upwards thus aſpiring,
'We're anxious ſtill, and ſtill deſiring.
'To act with an unbounded will,
'Can only our deſires fulfil;
'Whence, the higheſt bliſs, in my opinion,
'Muſt be in power and dominion.'
Thus all their various ſenſe expreſt;
And each adviſ'd what he thought beſt;
But ſtill what each as beſt eſteem'd,
Was by the next that ſpoke, condemn'd.
Mean while the ſavage monarch ſate,
Attentive to the warm debate;

The

The nature ſaw, without diſguiſe,
Of every beaſt in his advice.
But ſoon the diſputants grew rude,
Confuſion, noiſe, tumultuous feud
Enrage the jarring multitude.
Till weary'd out, the royal beaſt
Thus ſpoke, and filenc'd all the reſt.
'Ceaſe, ceaſe your vain contention, ceaſe
'Your ſhallow ſchemes of happineſs;
'Which only have confirm'd me more,
'Tis where I thought it was before.
'*Greatneſs* is no eſtabliſhment
'Of real bliſs, or true content;
'*Luxurious banquets* ſoon diſguſt;
'We're quickly pall'd with ſenſual *Luſt*:
'*Virtue* alone can give true joy;
'The ſweets of *Virtue* never cloy.
'To take delight in doing good,
'In juſtice, truth, and gratitude,
'In aiding thoſe whom cares oppreſs,
'Adminiſtring comfort to diſtreſs:
'Theſe, theſe are joys which all who prove,
'Anticipate the bliſs above.
'Theſe, are the joys, and theſe alone
'We ne'er repent or wiſh undone.'
He ſpoke; the beaſts without delay
Roſe from their ſeats, and ſneak'd away.

A Song, *by a young Lady.*

I Dreamt I ſaw a piteous ſight,
Young *Cupid* weeping lay,
Until his pretty ſtars of light
Had wept themſelves away.
Methought I aſk'd him why he wept;
Mere pity led me on:
He deeply ſigh'd, and then reply'd,
Alas I am undone!

As I beneath yon myrtle lay,
Cloſe by *Diana*'s ſprings,
Amintor ſtole my bow away,
And pinion'd both my wings.
Ah! ſaid I, 'twas then thy bow
Wherewith he wounded me:
Thou art a god, and ſuch a blow
Could come from none but thee.

Say if thou wilt revenged be,
On that ambitious ſwain;
Set thy wings at liberty,
And thou ſhalt fly again.
Small all the ſervice on my part,
What I require of thee,
That you'd wound *Amintor*'s heart,
And make him die for me.

The ſilken fetters I unty'd,
And the gay wings diſplay'd;
Soon mounting, gently fann'd and cry'd,
Adieu fond fooliſh maid!
But that I bluſh'd, and angry grew,
Could the god believe:
Thinking found my dream too true;
Alas I was a ſlave!

Conſtancy. *To* Sylvia.—*The Nymph that undoes me*, &c.

NO more think me falſe; for the flame never dies,
Which, *Sylvia*, is rais'd by ſuch pow'rful eyes:
Ah view but thyſelf, thence meaſure my love,
And think what a paſſion ſuch beauty muſt move.
Tho' firſt it was beauty which raviſh'd my ſight,
Yet now I look on it as only the light,
Which kindly betray'd the rich charms of thy mind,
Where ſenſe and good nature ſo ſtrongly are join'd.
Then think me not falſe; for the knot will e'er laſt,
Which my fancy has ty'd, and my reaſon made faſt;
So faſt, that tho' time thy eyes may diſarm,
Yet no time ſhall my faith or my love ever harm.
The paſſion I have can never grow leſs,
Not tho' thy fair-ſelf ſhou'd that paſſion oppreſs;
For while I thy face, or thy mind have in view,
Still, ſtill I muſt love you, and loving, be true.

The Old Man *of* Verona. *Tranſlated from* Claudian.

BLEST huſbandman! whoſe horny hands have till'd
(His life's employment) his paternal field;
The cottage and the roof, that did behold
His infant years, now ſee him very old:
Propp'd on his ſtaff he numbers o'er, intent,
The many years within that cottage ſpent.
Fortune ne'er drew him from his peaceful home,
Nor does he wiſh in foreign climes to roam;
Nor dreads ſea-ſtorms, nor hears th' alarms of war,
Nor the hoarſe wrangling of the noiſy bar.
Rude to the world, and ſtranger to its care,
He breaths, in open ſkies, untainted air.
By ſeaſons only, he computes the year,
Flow'rs ſhew the ſpring, and fruits the autumn near.
In the ſame field, at work he does ſurvey
The riſing ſun, and marks its ſetting ray;
And his own labour meaſures out the day.
Yon' ſturdy oak, a ſlender twig he knew;
He and the foreſt, old together grew.
Near to his homely cott *Verona* ſtands,
Yet diſtant ſeems to him as *India*'s lands.
Benacus' lake, which glads his neighbourhood,
He counts remoter than the *Perſic* flood.
Mean time the luſty ſire delights to ſee
Of vig'rous grand-ſons a long progeny.
Who rambles, only knows fatigue and noiſe;
At home who reſts contented, life enjoys.

The

The GENTLEMAN's

Monthly Intelligencer.

MAY, 1734.

ON the 27th of *April*, the Biſhop of *Ely*, after a long Hearing upon the Articles exhibited againſt Dr. *Bentley*, Maſter of *Trinity*-College, *Cambridge*, gave Sentence, that the ſaid Dr. *Bentley* was guilty of Dilapidations of the Goods of the College, and Violation of the Statutes; and that he had thereby incurred the Penalty of Deprivation of his Office of Maſter of the ſaid College. And on the 29th a Mandate was ſent down for depriving him, purſuant to the Sentence of his Lordſhip, who is Viſitor.

On *Apr.* 30, came on the Election of Repreſentatives for *London*. The Candidates were *Humphrey Parſons*, Eſq; *John Barber*, Eſq; Sir *John Barnard*, *Micajah Perry*, Eſq; *Robert Godſchall*, Eſq; Aldermen; *Robert Willimot* and *Joſeph Chitty*, Eſqs; The Sheriffs declared the Majority on the View to be for Aldermen *Parſons*, *Barber* and *Barnard*, and ordered the other Candidates to be put up again, and then declared their Opinion that the Majority was for Mr. Alderman *Godſchall*; whereupon a Poll was demanded for Mr. Alderman *Perry*, and *Robert Willimot*, Eſq; which begun the 1ſt Inſtant.

The Right Hon. *David* Earl of *Buchan*, one of the 16 Peers in the late Parliament for *Scotland*, was removed from being one of the Commiſſioners for Trade in that Part of *Great Britain*, and from being Lord Lieutenant of the Shires of *Stirling* and *Clacmannan*.

FRIDAY, May 3.

From *Cork* in *Ireland*: This Day one *Michael Carmody* was executed here for Felony; upon which the Journeymen Weavers of this City (who labour under great Difficulties, by reaſon of the Deadneſs of Trade; occaſioned by the pernicious Practice of wearing Cottons,) aſſembled in a Body, and dreſs'd the Criminal, Hangman, and Gallows in Cottons, in order to diſcourage the wearing thereof: And at the Place of Execution the Criminal made the following remarkable Speech:

Give Ear, O good People, to the Words of a dying Sinner: I confeſs, I have been guilty of many Crimes that Neceſſity compelled me to commit, which ſtarving Condition I was in, I am well aſſured, was occaſioned by the Scarcity of Money, that has proceeded from the great Diſcouragement of our Woollen Manufactures.

Therefore, good Chriſtians, conſider, that if you go on to ſuppreſs your own Goods, by wearing ſuch Cottons as I am now cloathed in, you will bring your Country into Miſery, which will conſequently ſwarm with ſuch unhappy Malefactors as your preſent Object is; and the Blood of every miſerable Felon that will hang, after this Warning from the Gallows, will lie at your Doors.

And if you have any Regard for the Prayers of an expiring Mortal, I beg you will not buy of the Hangman the Cotton Garments that now adorn the Gallows, becauſe I can't reſt quiet in my Grave if I ſhould ſee the very Things that brought me to Miſery, Thievery, and this untimely End; all which I pray of the Gentry to hinder their Children and Servants for their own Character's Sake, tho' they have no Tenderneſs for their Country, becauſe none will hereafter wear Cottons, but Oyſter-Women, Criminals, Whores, Huckſters, and common Hangmen.

SATURDAY, 4.

On the 21ſt of *March* came on at *Guildhall* the Election of a Chamberlain of the City of *London*, in the room of *Samuel Robinſon*, Eſq; deceaſed. The Candidates were, Mr. *Joſeph Boſworth*, Mr. *William Selwin*, and Mr. *John Thomas*. The Sheriffs declared the Majority of Hands for Mr. *Boſworth*; but a Poll was demanded and granted for Mr. *Selwin*, which began next Morning at Nine o'Clock, and was one of the greateſt and moſt expenſive Struggles that ever was known in this City. Both the Gentlemen were ſuppoſed to be of that Party which is now called the Country Party

arty; but Mr. *Selwin*, beſides his own par-cular Friends, had the Court Intereſt entirely his Favour: The Poll ended on *Friday* the th, and on caſting up the Books, the Num-rs ſtood thus:

For Mr. *John Boſworth*	3326
For Mr. *William Selwin*	3319

So that a Declaration was again made in avour of Mr. *Boſworth*, but a Scrutiny was manded by Mr. *Selwin*, and accordingly anted: Which being ended, Mr. *Boſworth* as, on this Day, declared to be Chamberlain a Majority of Four; the Numbers (after e had Votes were thrown out) ſtanding thus:

For Mr. *Boſworth*	3212
Mr. *Selwin*	3208

After the Declaration, Mr. *Boſworth* ſpoke us to the Liverymen preſent:

Gentlemen,

It is by your Friendſhip that I have the onour to be elected into an Office of very eat Importance to this City, and I aſſure u it ſhall be my conſtant Care to expreſs e grateful Senſe I have of your Favour, by diligent, faithful, and impartial Diſcharge the Truſt repoſed in me.

FRIDAY, 10.

This Day the Sheriffs made a Declaration the Numbers on the Poll for Members of rliament for this City; which were as lows, *viz.*

Humphry Parſons, Eſq;	3932
Sir *John Barnard*, Knt.	3844
Micajah Perry, Eſq;	3717
Robert Willimot, Eſq;	2967
John Barber, Eſq;	2379
Robert Godſchall, Eſq;	1078

ereupon the four firſt were return'd. Al-man *Godſchall* declin'd ſtanding about two s before the Poll was ended.

TUESDAY, 14.

This Morning about half an Hour after ree, the Houſe of Mr. *Cantillon* in *emarle-ſtreet* was perceiv'd to be on Fire, the Smoak and Smother being traced to Bed-Chamber, the Servants ruſhed in, and d their Maſter dead, with his Head oft burnt off. The Corpſe was however ried off, and ſome Jewels and a few other ings of Value ſaved; but the Flames were iolent that the Houſe was ſoon burnt to Ground, as was likewiſe that of the Hon. *Percival*, Brother to the Earl of *Eg-*; the Lord Viſcount St. *John*'s, and two r Houſes adjacent were greatly damaged. Accident was at firſt ſaid to have been ſioned by Mr. *Cantillon*'s reading in Bed, falling aſleep with the Candle burning, ch was ſuppos'd to have ſet Fire to ſome rs that lay near it on the Table; but two is Servants were ſoon taken up on Suſpi-of murdering him, and afterwards ſetting to the Houſe; and after Examination were mitted to the *Gatehouſe*. This Mr. *Can-* was formerly a Banker in this City, but about 15 Years ago removed to *Paris*, where having acquir'd a plentiful Fortune, he lately return'd hither, in order to purchaſe an Eſtate. His Lady is ſtill abroad, but ſhortly expected here. She was Daughter of Monſ. *Omani*, one of the richeſt Merchants in *Paris*, and half Siſter to the Lord *Clare*, an *Iriſh* Nobleman, who follow'd the late King *James* to St. *Germain*'s.

The ſame Morning, Mrs. *Markham*'s Toy-Shop, under St. *Dunſtan*'s Church in *Fleet-ſtreet*, was robb'd of ſeveral Gold Chaſed Watches, a Set of Diamond Stay-Buckles, ſeveral Gold and Silver Snuff Boxes, ſome with Gold and Silver Rims, Gold-headed Canes, and other valuable Things, to the Amount of about 300*l*. The Rogues, 'tis thought, went into St. *Dunſtan*'s Church in Prayer-Time, and there lay conceal'd, and about One in the Morning got out at the Church Window upon the Leads over the Shop, cut away the Lead, ſaw'd the Joyces and Raſtors, and ſo dropp'd down into the Shop. It is imagin'd to have been done by ſome that were well acquainted therewith, for they rifled not only the Shew-Glaſſes, but all the Drawers, &c. After they had committed the Robbery they went out at the Church Door, for that was found open between Three and Four the ſame Morning. The ſame Shop was robb'd but a few Years ſince.

MONDAY, 20.

Sir *John Norris* hoiſted his Flag at the Main Top-maſt Head on board his Majeſty's Ship the *Britannia*, a firſt Rate, of 1000 Men and 100 Guns. And Admiral *Nicholas Haddock* hoiſted his Flag at the Mizen Top-maſt Head on board his Majeſty's Ship the *Namure*, a ſecond Rate, of 700 Men and 90 Guns.

SATURDAY, 25.

Several Perſons were examin'd before Sir *Thomas Clarges* (the Dukes of *Montagu* and *Richmond*, the Earls *Tankerville* and *Cowper*, and ſeveral other Perſons of Diſtinction being preſent) in Relation to the Murder and Robbery of Mr. *Cantillon*: A Poſt-Boy depos'd that he took up a Man at the *King*'s-*Arms-Inn* in *Leadenhall-ſtreet*, who ſaid he was going for *Harwich*, in order to embark for *Holland*, that he had a large Portmanteau with him and ſeem'd to be pretty well provided with Money; which Perſon, according to the Deſcription given of him by the ſaid Poſt-Boy, appears to be one who was diſmiſs'd from Mr. *Cantillon*'s Service about three Weeks ago; it is believ'd he got in by the Help of a Ladder, which was left a few Days before againſt the back Part of the Houſe: The Day the Fire was, the ſaid Perſon was drinking at Mr. *Martin*'s, a *French* Diſtiller in St. *Giles*'s, who was taken up, and on Sunday was examin'd, and then re-manded back into Cuſtody, in order for a fur-ther Examination.

TUESDAY, 28.

Mr. *Cantillon*'s Servants were again examin'd before Sir *Thomas Clarges*, as was alſo Mr. *Martin*, the Diſtiller in St. *Giles*'s, in Relation to the Murder of the ſaid Mr. *Cantillon*; and after ſeveral Interrogatories Mr. *Martin* was admitted to Bail, but the Servants were remanded back into Cuſtody.

A Repreſentation having been made to the King, that *Richard Cantillon*, Eſq; was robb'd and murder'd in his Dwelling-Houſe in *Albemarle-ſtreet*, on the 14th Inſtant, and his Houſe burnt to the Ground, his Majeſty, for the better diſcovering and bringing to Juſtice the Perſons guilty of ſuch heinous Crimes, was pleaſed to promiſe a Pardon to any one of the Accomplices therein concern'd (except the Perſon by whom the ſaid Murder was committed) who ſhall diſcover any one or more of the Criminals, ſo as he, ſhe, or they be apprehended and convicted. And *Philip Cantillon*, Merchant, promiſed a Reward of 200 l. to any one who ſhall make ſuch Diſcovery.

His Majeſty was alſo pleaſed to promiſe his moſt gracious Pardon to any Perſon who ſhall diſcover any of his Accomplices, ſo that they, or any of them may be apprehended, and convicted of breaking open and robbing the Shop of Mrs. *Anne Markham*, under St. *Dunſtan*'s Church in *Fleet-ſtreet*, in the Night-time, between the 13th and 14th Inſtant, and ſtealing divers rich Goods to the Value of 300l.

MARRIAGES *and* BIRTHS.

JOHN *Corrance*, Eſq; of *Roughan-Place* in *Suffolk*, married to Miſs *Anne Cheſter*, one of the Daughters of the late —— *Cheſter*, Eſq; of *Cockenhatch* in the County of *Hertford*.

Rev. Dr. *Finlay*, Rector of St. *Saviour*'s *Southwark*, to Mrs. *Lawrence*.

Edward Northey, Eſq; eldeſt Son of the late Sir *Edward Northey*, Sollicitor General, to Mrs. *Pearce* of *Epſom*, a 10,000 l. Fortune.

Philip Meadows, Eſq; Son of Sir *Philip Meadows*, Knight Marſhal, to the Lady *Frances Pierpoint*, Siſter to the Duke of *Kingſton*, a 20,000 l. Fortune.

Brook Foreſter, of the County of *Salop*, Eſq; to Miſs *Wild*, of the ſaid County, a Fortune of 15,000 l.

Capt. *Forſight*, a great Trader to the *Weſt-Indies*, to Mrs. *Scot* of *Rotherhith*.

Mr. *Payton*, an eminent Diſtiller in *Fleet-ſtreet*, Brother to Sir *Yelverton Payton*, Bart. to Miſs *Hodges*, a Fortune of 10,000 l.

Robert Wilcox, of *Agmondeſham* in *Buckinghamſhire*, Eſq; to Miſs *Barbara Oſley*, a 12,000l. Fortune.

Mr. *Wilſon* of *Clifford's-Inn*, to Miſs *Bunbury*, one of the younger Daughters of Counſellor *Bunbury* of the *Temple*.

The Lady of the Right Hon. the Lord *Tenham*, brought to Bed of a Son.

Thomas Whichcote of *Harpſewell* in the County of *Lincoln*, Eſq; married to Miſs *Tregagle*, Niece to Sir *Francis Whichcote*, Bart.

DEATHS.

LADY *Katharine Wyndham*, eldeſt Daughter of Sir *William Wyndham*; of the Small-Pox.

—— *Stapleton*, Eſq; Deputy-Receiver of the Land-Tax for the City of *London*.

Capt. *Ogilby*, Commander of his Majeſty's Ship the *Hector*; on the Coaſt of *Spain*.

John Lance, Eſq; a very noted Surveyor.

Colonel *Richard Johnſon*, Colonel of a Company in the Reign of Queen *Anne*, in the firſt Regiment of Foot-Guards, then commanded by the late Duke of *Marlborough*.

Mrs. *Elizabeth Jackſon*, a Widow Gentlewoman of a great Fortune, aged 132, at *Richmond* in *Surrey*.

Capt. *Cornelius Stewart*, Brother of Sir *James Stewart*, a *Scotch* Baronet.

Capt. *Boyle*, at *Shipperton* in *Middleſex*.

Mr. *Van Hemert*, an eminent *Dutch* Merchant of this City.

Capt. *Shrimpton*, of the third Regiment of Foot-Guards, commanded by the Earl of *Dunmore*.

Frances Lady *Guildford*, Wife to the Lord *Guildford*, and Daughter to the E. of *Halifax*; of the Small-Pox. Her new-born Daughter died ſoon after.

The Lady of the Hon. Col. *Whitworth*.

John Gape, Eſq; who repreſented the Borough of St. *Alban*'s in ſeveral Parliaments.

Mr. *Shuttleworth*, Organiſt of the *Temple*, and St. *Michael*'s in *Cornhill*.

Capt. *Smithſon*, of the Regiment of Invalids at *Portſmouth*.

Mrs. *Anne Suppleton*, a Maiden Gentlewoman, at *Chelſea*, reputed worth 30,000 l.

Thomas Reuſe, Eſq; at *Laleham* in *Middleſex*.

Juſtice *Gore*, late of *York-Buildings*.

Sir *James Thornhill*, Knt. the greateſt Hiſtory Painter this Kingdom has in any Age produc'd! He painted the famous Hall at *Greenwich*.

Capt. *Jackſon*, who had the Command of a Company in Col. *Lanne*'s Regiment of Foot, on the *Iriſh* Eſtabliſhment.

Capt. *John Curzon*, Commander of the Garriſon in the Iſle of *Scilly*.

George Shaw, Eſq; at *Thames-Ditton*, a Gentleman of an Eſtate of 2000 l. *per Ann.*

Mr. *Norris*, an eminent *Dutch* Merchant.

Mr. *Ruſſell*, an eminent Maſter-Builder in *Bartholomew-Cloſe*, who a few Days before was flung out of a Chaiſe at *Brentford* by an unruly Horſe.

Mrs. *Cock*, Mother-in-Law to Alderman *Perry*.

Mr. *Richard Chauncey*, who for ſome Years was Deputy of the Ward of *Cornhill*.

Capt.

Capt. *Richard Harvey*, formerly Commander of a Ship in the *East-India* Company's Service.

Miſs *Smithſon*, at *York*, a young Lady of 10,000 l. Fortune.

Mrs. *Forteſcue*, a Maiden Gentlewoman, reputed worth 20,000 l. at *Kingſland*.

The Right Hon. the Lord Viſcount *Vane*, lately elected Knight of the Shire for *Kent*; he died ſuddenly of an apoplectick Fit.

Sir *James Willey*, of the County of *Carmarthen*, Knt.

The Rev. *Thomas Ward*, D. D. Fellow of *All-Souls* College, *Oxon*.

The Lady *Burgoigne*, Mother to Sir *Roger Burgoigne*, Bart. and Wife to *Chriſtopher Wren*, Eſq; Son to the late Sir *Chriſtopher Wren*, Knt.

John Hodges, Eſq; one of his Majeſty's Juſtices of the Peace for *Kent*.

Mrs. *Mary Hoare*, Relict of the late *Henry Hoare*, Eſq; formerly an eminent Banker in *Fleet ſtreet*.

The Rev. Mr. *Nightingale*, one of the Minor Canons of *Weſtminſter*.

John Sambroke, Eſq; Member in the laſt Parliament for the Borough of *Great Wenlock* in *Shropſhire*.

Rev. Mr. *Boyce*, Chaplain to Lord *Morrington*.

Capt. *Williams*, an old Officer, and Capt. of a Troop in the Regiment of Dragoons, late the Earl of *Stair*'s.

Mr. *John Clarke*, late Maſter of the publick Grammar-School at *Hull*, and Author of many Treatiſes of Morality, Education, and Claſſical Learning. He died at *Glouceſter*.

The Rev. Sir *Robert Pye*, Bart. at *Cliſton-Compville* in *Staffordſhire*, who dying unmarried, his Eſtate falls to his three Siſters, and the Title is extinct.

Rev. Mr. *Unyon*, Miniſter of *Ludlow* in *Shropſhire*; ſuddenly.

Capt. *Duncombe Drake*, Commander of his Majeſty's Ship the *Argyll*, now lying in the Downs as Part of Sir *John Norris*'s Squadron.

Capt. *Charles Hayes*, an ancient Commander in the Navy.

Capt. *Plympton*, an old experienc'd Officer belonging to the Navy, who had been ſuperannuated for ſome Years.

Captain *Stanton*, an old experienced Officer of the Army.

Madam *Nicholls*, at her Houſe in *Soho-Square*, ſaid to have died worth 10,000 l.

Eccleſiaſtical PREFERMENTS.

The Rev. *James Berwick* preſented to the Rectory of *Weſtboſterton*, *Yorkſhire*.

Mr. *James Shepbard* to the Rectory of *Eſh*, *Yorkſhire*.

Mr. *James Fiſher* to the Rectory of *Malden*, *Eſſex*.

Mr. *William Williams*, to the Rectory of *Leſcard*, *Pembrokeſhire*.

Mr. *Nicholas Jones* to the Vicarage of *Romarſh*, *Suſſex*.

Dr. *Robert Lamb*, of *Trinity-College*, *Cambridge*, Chaplain to the Counteſs of *Coningſby*, had a Diſpenſation to hold the Vicarage of *Heitherwith Kelby*, in the County and Dioceſe of *Lincoln*, together with the Rectory of *Buckingham* in the ſame County and Dioceſe.

Mr. *Woodroffe* preferred by the Archbp. of *Canterbury* to the Living of *Leyſdown* in *Sheppy* Iſland.

Mr. *James Beſtock* to the Rectory of *Wantage*, *Cambridgeſhire*.

John Cummins, M. A. Chaplain to the Earl of *Peterborough*, had a Diſpenſation to hold the Rectory of *Witby* in the County and Dioceſe of *York*, together with the Vicarage of *Carlton*, in the County of *Nottingham* and Dioceſe aforeſaid.

John Bunce, Jun. L. L. B. preſented by the Archdeacon of *Canterbury* to the Vicarage of *Hackington*, alias St. *Stephens*, next *Canterbury*, void by the Removal of Mr. *Buttonſhaw* to *Brookland*.

John Gee, M. A. Chaplain to the Earl *Cowper*, had a Diſpenſation to hold the Vicarage of *Burnwell* in the County of *Cambridge* and Dioceſe of *Norwich*, together with the Vicarage of *Moulton* in *Suffolk*, in the Dioceſe aforeſaid.

PROMOTIONS *Civil* and *Military*.

JAMES *Wilks*, Eſq; appointed a Cornet in General *Evans*'s Reg. of Dragoons.

Joſeling Sidney, Eſq; made Chief Porter of his Majeſty's *Tower* of *London*, in the room of *William Pennington*, Eſq; deceas'd.

Lord *Forbes*, his Majeſty's Envoy to the Empreſs of *Ruſſia*, made Admiral, and Capt. *Nicholas Haddock*, Repreſentative for the City of *Rocheſter*, Comptroller of the Royal Navy of *Great Britain*, in the room of Sir *John Jennings* and the late Admiral *James Mighells*, Eſq;

Capt. *Tancred Robinſon*, Brother to Col. *Robinſon*, of the Foot-Guards, appointed firſt Captain of the *Britannia*, with Rear Admiral's Pay.

Mr. *Fawkes* admitted one of the ſworn Clerks in Chancery, in the room of *Samuel Reynardſon*, Eſq; who is appointed one of the Six Clerks in that Office, in the room of *Sydenham Maltis*, Eſq;

Mr. *Carbonell*, Warden of the *Fleet* Priſon, appointed one of the Commiſſioners of the Salt-Office, in the room of *Joſeph Windham*, Eſq; who reſign'd.

Francis Eyles, Eſq; appointed Commiſſioner of the Victualling Office, in the room of *William Fiſher*, Eſq;

James Tillie, Eſq; appointed to be Superintendant of his Majeſty's Founderies in *Great Britain*, and all other his Dominions, in the Room of *Stephen Biſſe*, Eſq; who is made one of the Commiſſioners for victualling his Majeſty's Navy.

The Right Hon *Henry Boyle*, Eſq; Speaker of the *Iriſh* Houſe of Commons, made a Commiſſioner of Revenue in *Ireland*, inſtead of *Marmaduke Cogbill*, Eſq; who ſucceeds the ſaid Speaker as Chancellor of the *Exchequer* there.

Earl of *Hopton* made a Commiſſioner for Trade in *North Britain*, in the room of the Earl of *Buchan*, who is remov'd.

Sir *James Campbell*, Bart. made Commiſſary of the Muſters in *Scotland*, in room of *H. Cunningham*, Eſq; who is preferr'd. (See p. 220.)

Right Rev. Dr. *Price*, Lord Biſhop of *Meath*, ſworn of the Privy Council in *Ireland*; and the Lord *George Sackville*, 3d. Son of the Duke of *Dorſet*, ſworn Clerk of the Council there; and *Edward Deering*, Eſq; his Deputy.

Burrington Goldſworthy, Eſq; made firſt Commiſſioner of the Foundery at *Woolwich*.

Earl of *Kintore* made Knight Marſhall of *Scotland*.

Tho. de Grave, Eſq; made Comptroller-General of the Firſt-Fruits and Tenths.

Arthur Dobbs, Eſq; Member of the *Iriſh* Parliament, made Engineer and Surveyor General of that Kingdom, in Place of the late Sir *Edward Lowe Pearce*.

Mr. *Harnage* made Surveyor of the Searchers in the Port of *London*, in the Room of the late Mr. *Burren*; and Mr. *Davies* ſucceeds him as Aſſiſtant to the Surveyor of the Warehouſe.

The Hon. *James Lumley*, Eſq; and the Hon. Col. *Berkley*, act by Commiſſion as Maſter of the Horſe to his Majeſty.

The Duke of *Rutland* made Capt. of the Band of Penſioners.

Members choſen for the enſuing Parliament.

Arundel,	*Col. Lumley* *Sir John Shelley*
Great Bedwin,	*William Sloper, Eſq;* *Col. Murray*
Beverley,	Elleker Bradſhaw, Eſq; *Sir Charles Hotham*
Bedford Town,	Sir Jer. Vanacker Sambroke Samuel Ongley, Eſq;
Blechingly,	*Sir William Clayton* *Kendrick Clayton, Eſq;*
Boſton,	*The H. Albemarle Bertie, Eſq;* Richard Fydell, Eſq;
Calne,	*Col. Ducket* Walter Hungerford, Eſq;
Cambridge Town,	Sir John Hind Cotton Thomas Sclater Baeon, Eſq;
Colcheſter,	Matthew Martin, Eſq; Iſaac Lemyng Rebow, Eſq;
Cirenceſter,	William Woodhouſe, Eſq; Thomas Maſter, Eſq;
Cricklade,	*Sir Thomas Read* William Gore, Eſq;
Chriſt-Church,	*Edward Hooker, Eſq;* *Joſeph Hinxman, Eſq;*
Derby,	*Lord James Cavendiſh* The H. Ch. Stanhope, Eſq;
Devizes,	*Sir Joſeph Eyles* *Francis Eyles, Eſq;*
Dunwich,	*Sir George Downing, Bart.* *Sir Orlando Bridgman, Bart.*
Eye,	*Stephen Cornwallis, Eſq;* *John Cornwallis, Eſq;*
Eaſt Grinſtead,	*Lord Middleſex* Edward Conyers, Eſq;
Grantham,	*Lord Viſcount Tyrconnel* Sir Michael Newton
Guilford,	*Hon. Mr. Onſlow* *Colonel Onſlow*
Harwich,	*Carteret Leathes, Eſq;* *Charles Stanhope, Eſq;*
Haſlemere,	James Oglethorpe, Eſq; *Peter Burrell, Eſq;*
Heydon,	Sir Francis Boynton George Berkeley, Eſq;
Honiton,	Wm. Courtnay, Jun. Eſq; *Sir William Yonge*
Ipſwich,	*Samuel Kent, Eſq;* *William Woollaſton, Eſq;*
Lymington,	*Sir John Cope* *Maurice Buckland, Eſq;*
Leiceſter,	Sir Geo. Beaumont, Bart. George Wright, Eſq;
Lewes,	*Tho. Pelham of Stanmer, Eſq;* *Tho. Pelham of Lewes, Eſq;*
Luggerſhall,	*Peter Delme, Eſq;* Governor Boone
Ludlow,	*Henry Arth. Herbert, Eſq;* *Richard Herbert, Eſq;*
Minehead,	*Francis Whitworth, Eſq;* Alexander Lutterel, Eſq;
Maidſtone,	The Hon. John Finch, Eſq; William Turnor, Eſq;
Midhurſt,	Bulſtrode Knight, Eſq; Thomas Bootle, Eſq;
Newport in the Iſle of Wight,	*William Forteſcue, Eſq;* *George Huxley, Eſq;*
Newtown in the Iſle of Wight,	James Worſley, Eſq; Thomas Holmes, Eſq;
Peterborough,	Ed. Wortley Montague, Eſq; Armſted Parker, Eſq;
Saliſbury,	Henry Hoar, Eſq; The H. Peter Bathurſt, Eſq;
Sudbury,	—— Price, Eſq; —— Stephenſon, Eſq;
Scarborough,	*Sir William Strickland* *William Thompſon, Eſq;*
Stafford,	William Chetwynd, Eſq; Thomas Foley, Eſq;
Steyning,	*The Marqueſs of Carnarvon* Robert Fagg, Eſq;

Southampton, Sir William Heathcote
Anthony Henley, Eſq;
Taunton, *Francis Fane, Eſq;*
Henry Wm. Portman, Eſq;
Thirſk, *Sir Thomas Frankland.*
Fred. Frankland, Eſq;
Totneſs, *Sir Charles Wills*
Joſ. Danvers, Eſq;
Warwick, Sir William Keyte, Bart.
William Bromley, Eſq;
Wincheſter, *George Bridges, Eſq;*
Pawlet St. John, Eſq;
Yarmouth in the Iſle of Wight, *Lord Harry Paulet*
Paul Burrard, Eſq;
Aldborough, Yorkſhire, *Hon. Henry Pelham, Eſq;*
William Jeſſop, Eſq;
Bridport, *William Bowles, Eſq;*
Solomon Aſhley, Eſq;
Bridgwater, *Geo. Doddington, Eſq;*
Thomas Palmer, Eſq;
Camb. Univerſity, *Hon. Edw. Finch, Eſq;*
Tho. Townſhend, Eſq;
Dartmouth, *Walter Carey, Eſq;*
George Treby, Eſq;
Dorcheſter, *Sir William Chappel, Knt.*
John Brown, Eſq;
Droitwich, Edward Foley, Eſq;
Thomas Winnington, Eſq;
Grimſby, *Sir R. Sutton, Knt. of the Bath*
Robert Knight, Eſq;
Haſtings, *Sir William Aſhburnham*
Thomas Pelham, jun. Eſq;
Heitſbury, *Edward Aſh, Eſq;*
Hon. Horatio Townſhend, Eſq;
Knareſborough, Sir Henry Slingſby, Bart.
Richard Arundel, Eſq;
Malden, *Henry Parſons, Eſq;*
Col. Martin Bladen
Marlborough, Edward Liſle, Eſq;
Francis Seymour, Eſq;
Milbourn Port, Thomas Medlicott, Eſq;
Michael Harvey, Eſq;
Morpeth, Lord Morpeth
Sir Henry Liddel, Bart.
Northallerton, *Leonard Smelt, Eſq;*
Henry Pierce, Eſq;
Orford, Richard Powys, Eſq;
Lewis Barlow, Eſq;
Oxford County, Sir Wm. Stapleton, Bart.
Henry Perrot, Eſq;
Oxford Univerſity Lord Cornbury,
George Clarke, Eſq;
Preſton, *Sir Henry Hoghton, Bart.*
Nicholas Fazakerley, Eſq;
Retford, *Thomas White, Eſq;*
Sir R. Clifton, Kt. of the Bath
Seaford, *Sir William Gage, Bart.*
William Haye, Eſq;
Tamworth, *Lord John Sackville*
Major Compton
Tiverton, *Arthur Arſcott, Eſq;*
Dudley Rider, Eſq;
Great Wenlock, *Samuel Edwards, Eſq;*
William Forreſter, Eſq;
Whitchurch, *John Conduit, Eſq;*
John Selwyn, jun. Eſq;
Wigan, Earl of Barrimore
Sir Roger Bradſhaigh
Aſhburton, *Roger Tuckfield, Eſq;*
The Hon. Sir Wm. Yonge
Bath, *George Wade, Eſq;*
John Coddrington, Eſq;
Berks, Winchcomb Packer, Eſq;
William Archer, Eſq;
Bewdley, *William Bowles, Eſq;*
Boroughbridge, *Brigadier James Tyrrell*
George Gregory, Eſq;
Callington, *Thomas Coppleſton, Eſq;*
Iſaac Lebeupe, Eſq;
Canterbury, Sir William Hardreſs, Bart.
Thomas May, Eſq;
Chicheſter, *The H. James Brudenell, Eſq;*
Col. Yates
Durham Town, John Shaftoe, Eſq;
Henry Lambton, Eſq;
Eveſham, Sir John Ruſhout
William Taylor, Eſq;
Fowey, Jonathan Raſhleigh, Eſq;
John Hedges, Eſq;
Hertford County, Sir Thomas Sebright
William Plummer, Eſq;
Ilcheſter, *Charles Lockyer, Eſq;*
Sir Robert Brown
Leominſter, *Sir George Caſwall*
Robert Harley, Eſq;
Lincoln Town, *Charles Monſon, Eſq;*
Coningſby Sibthorpe, Eſq;
Lyme, *John Scrope, Eſq;*
Henry Holt Henley, Eſq;
Malton, *Hon. Henry Finch, Eſq;*
Sir William Wentworth
Monmouth, Lord Noel Somerſet
Montgomery, *William Corbet, Eſq;*
Newcaſtle Under-line, Bap. Leveſon Gower, Eſq;
Charles Lawton, Eſq;
Oakhampton, William Northmore, Eſq;
Thomas Pit, Eſq;
Petersfield, *Sir William Jolyffe, Knt.*
Edward Gybbon, Eſq;
Pontefract, *Lord Galway*
Sir William Lowther
Plympton, *Richard Edgcomb, Eſq;*
Thomas Clutterbuck, Eſq;
Plymouth, *Hon. Robert Byng, Eſq;*
Arthur Stert, Eſq;
Richmond, *Sir Conyers Darcey*
John York, Eſq;
Rippon, William Aiſlabie, Eſq;
Thomas Duncomb
Stafford County, Sir Walter Wagſtaff Bagot,
Wm. Leviſon Gower, Eſq;
Suffolk, Sir Robert Kemp, Bart.
Sir Jermyn Davers, Bart.
Surrey County, *Arthur Onſlow, Eſq;*
Thomas Scawen, Eſq;
Taviſtock, *Hon. Charles Fane, Eſq;*
Sidney Meadows, Eſq;

Tewkſ-

Tewkſbury, Robert Tracey, Eſq;
Lord Gage
Weobley, *Sir John Buckworth*
Mr. Baron Birch
Worceſter County, Sir Herbert Packington, Bart.
Edmund Lechmere, Eſq;
Worceſter City, Samuel Sandys, Eſq;
Richard Lockwood, Eſq;
Yarmouth, *Col. Townſhend*
Edward Walpole, Eſq;
Bodmin, *Sir John Heathcote, Bart.*
John Laroche, Eſq;
Borealſton, *Sir Francis Henry Drake*
John Briſtow, Eſq;
Berwick, *George Lyddel, Eſq;*
Lord Polworth
Camelford, *Sir Thomas Littleton*
Col. James Cholmondeley
Eveſham, Sir John Ruſhout
William Taylor, Eſq;
Hindon in Wilts, *Stephen Fox, Eſq;*
George Fox, Eſq;
Helſton, *John Evelyn, Eſq;*
John Harris, Eſq;
Hull, *George Crowle, Eſq;*
Henry Maſters, Eſq;
Hereford, Thomas Foley, Jun. Eſq;
Sir John Morgan
Lancaſter, Sir Thomas Lowther, Bart.
Robert Fenwick, Eſq;
Launceſton, Sir William Morice
Hon. John King, Eſq;
Leſtwithiel, *Richard Edgcomb, Eſq;*
Iſaac Lebeup, Eſq;
Leſkard, *Richard Elliot, Eſq;*
George Dennis, Eſq;
Monmouth Coun. *Thomas Morgan, Eſq;*
Major Hanbury
Melcomb Regis, *Hon. George Doddington, Eſq;*
George Doddington Eſq;
St. Michael's, *Thomas Farrington, Eſq;*
William Wardour, Eſq;
Newton, William Shippen, Eſq;
Leigh Maſters, Eſq;
New Radnor, *Thomas Lewis, Eſq;*
Pool, *George Trenchard, Eſq;*
Thomas Wyndham, Eſq;
Shrewſbury, *Sir Richard Corbet*
William Kinaſton, Eſq;
Saltaſh, *Lord Glenorchy*
Thomas Corbet, Eſq;
Wells, George Hamilton, Eſq;
Thomas Edwards, Eſq;
Weymouth, *Thomas Pearce, Eſq;*
Edward Tucker, Eſq;
Brecon, *Hon. John Talbot, Eſq;*
Boſſiney, *Lord Viſcount Palmerſton*
Townſhend Andrews, Eſq;
Carliſle, *Hon. Charles Howard, Eſq;*
John Hylton, Eſq;
Cockermouth, *Hon. William Finch, Eſq;*
Sir Wilfrid Lawſon
Denbigh, John Myddleton, Eſq;
Eaſtlow, *Edw. Trelawney, Eſq;*
Charles Longueville, Eſq;

Eſſex, Sir Robert Abdy
Thomas Bramſton, Eſq;
City of Glouceſter, *Colonel Selwin*
Hon. Mr. Bathurſt
Liverpool, *Thomas Brereton, Eſq;*
Richard Gildart, Eſq;
Lynn Regis, *Sir Robert Walpole*
Sir Charles Turner
Portpigham, alias Weſtlow, *Edw. Trelawney, Eſq;*
John Willes, Eſq;
Penryn, *Sir Richard Mills*
John Clavering, Eſq;
St. Ives, *Sir Robert Rich*
Wm. Mackworth Prade, Eſq;
Thetford, *Sir Edmund Bacon*
Charles Fitzroy, Eſq;
Tregony, *John Goddard, Eſq;*
Henry Penton, Eſq;
Truro, Robert Trefuſis, Eſq;
——— Courtney, Eſq;
Caernarvon, *Thomas Wynn, Eſq;*
Clitheroe, Thomas Liſter, Eſq;
William Curzon, Eſq;
Dorſetſhire, Edm. Moreton Pleydel, Eſq;
George Chaffin, Eſq;
Glouceſterſhire, Benjamin Bathurſt, Eſq;
Thomas Cheſter, Eſq;
London, Humphrey Parſons, Eſq;
Sir John Barnard
Micajah Perry, Eſq;
Robert Willimot, Eſq;
Newcaſtle upon Tyne, Walter Blacket, Eſq;
Nicholas Fenwick, Eſq;
Nottingham, *John Plumptree, Eſq;*
Borlace Warren, Eſq;
Pembroke, *William Owen, Eſq;*
Rutland, James Noel, Eſq;
Thomas Noel, Eſq;
York City, *Edward Thomſon, Eſq;*
Sir John Kaye, Bart.
Angleſey, Nicholas Bayly, Eſq;
Beaumaris, Lord Viſcount Bulkeley
Cardiff, Herbert Windſor, Eſq;
Caſtleriſing, *Hon. Charles Churchill, Eſq;*
Thomas Hanmer, Eſq;
Haverford-Weſt, Eraſmus Phillips, Eſq;
Herefordſhire, Velters Cornwall, Eſq;
Edward Harley, Eſq;
Huntingdonſhire, *Robert Pigott, Eſq;*
Lord Robert Mountague
Northamptonſhire Sir Juſtinian Iſham, Bart.
Thomas Cartwright, Eſq;
Old Sarum, *Thomas Pitt, Eſq;*
Robert Needham, Eſq;
Suſſex, *Henry Pelham, Eſq;*
James Butler, Eſq;
Corſe Caſtle, John Banks, Eſq;
Dennis Bond, Eſq;
Exeter, *Hon. John King, Eſq;*
Thomas Balle, Eſq;
Wilts, John Ivory Talbot, Eſq;
John Howe, Eſq;
Apulby, *John Ramſden, Eſq;*
Walter Plummer, Eſq;

Bucks,	Sir William Stanhope,
	Sir Thomas Lee, Bart.
Carmarthen,	*Arthur Bevan, Eſq;*
Coventry,	*Sir Adolphus Oughton*
	John Bird, Eſq;
Kent,	Lord Vane
	Sir Edward Dering
St. Michael's,	Robert Ord, Eſq;
	Thomas Watts, Eſq;
Montgomeryſhire,	Price Devereux, Eſq;
Norwich,	*Horatio Walpole, Eſq;*
	Waller Bacon, Eſq;
Salop County,	Sir John Aſtley, Bart.
	Corbett Kynaſton, Eſq;
Southampt. Coun.	Edward Liſle, Eſq;
	Lord Harry Powlet
Warwick County	The Hon. Edw. Digby, Eſq;
	Sir Charles Mordaunt, Bart.
Weſtmorland,	*Anthony Lowther, Eſq;*
	Daniel Wilſon, Eſq;
Carnarvonſhire,	*Capt. Griffith*
Carmarthenſhire,	*Sir Nicholas Williams, Bart.*
Cheſter City,	Sir Robert Groſvenor
	Sir Charles Bunbury
Cheſhire,	Charles Cholmondley, Eſq;
	——Crew, jun. Eſq;
Cornwall,	Sir William Carew
	Sir John St. Aubin
Cumberland,	Sir James Lowther, Bart.
	Sir Joſ. Pennington, Bart.
Devonſhire,	Sir William Courtnay, Bt.
	Henry Rolles, Eſq;
Edinburgh City,	Patrick Lindſay Ld. Provoſt
Flintſhire,	Thomas Moſtyn, Eſq;
Merioneth,	William Vaughan, Eſq;
Nottinghamſhire,	*Thomas Bennet, Eſq;*
	William Levinz, Eſq;
Perthſhire,	*Hon. John Murray, Eſq;*
Somerſetſhire,	Sir Wm. Wyndham, Bart.
	Col. Strangeways Horner
Barnſtaple,	Theophilus Forteſcue, Eſq;
	Sir John Chicheſter, Bart.
Cardigan Town,	*Richard Lloyd, Eſq;*
Derbyſhire,	*Lord Charles Cavendiſh*
	Sir Nathaniel Curzon
Lancaſhire,	Sir Edward Stanley, Bart.
	Richard Shuttleworth, Eſq;
Litchfield,	Sir Rowland Hill
	Geo. Venables Vernon, Eſq;
Northumberland,	Sir William Middleton
	Ralph Jeniſon, Eſq;
Durham County,	John Hedworth, Eſq;
	George Bowes, Eſq;
Winchelſea,	*Robert Briſtow, Eſq;*
	——*Bayne, Eſq;*
Shire of Clydſdale.	*Lord William Hamilton*
Briſtol,	Sir Abraham Elton
	Thomas Coſter, Eſq;
Shire of Bute, &c.	*Peter Campbell, Eſq;*
Denbighſhire,	Watkins Wm. Wynne, Eſq;
Shire of Dumfries.	*Charles Ereſkine, Eſq;*
Stewar, Perth, &c.	*John Drummond, Eſq;*
Glaſgow,	——*Campbell, Eſq;*
Haddington, &c.	James Fall, Eſq;
Shire of Inverneſs.	*Sir James Grant*
Newport, Cornw.	Sir William Morice
	Hon. Tho. Herbert, Eſq;
Pembrokeſhire,	*John Campbell, Eſq;*
Innerk. Stirl. &c.	Peter Halkett, Eſq;
Flint,	*Sir George Wynne, Bart.*
Leiceſterſhire,	Ambroſe Philips, Eſq;
	Edmund Smith, Eſq;

Perſons declared BANKRUPTS.

FELIX *Feaſt*, late of the Pariſh of St. *Luke*, in the County of *Middleſex*, Brewer.

Anne Cockman, of *Uppingham*, in the County of *Rutland*, Mercer and Woolen-draper.

William Reade, late of *New Bond-ſtreet*, in the County of *Middleſex*, Linnen-draper.

Matthias Otto, of the *Strand*, near the *New Exchange*, within the Liberty of the City of *Weſtminſter*, Taylor and Mercer.

Moſes Weſt, of the Pariſh of St. *Mary le Strand*, in the County of *Middleſex*, Joyner and Chapman.

John Skinner, of *Thames-ſtreet*, *London*, Fruiterer.

William Tappenden, of *Crown Key* near *Sittenbourn*, in the County of *Kent*, Honeyman and Chapman.

Richard Bayes, of *Laytonſtone*, in the County of *Eſſex*, Victualler.

Thomas Eedes, of *Spittlefields*, in the County of *Middleſex*, Weaver.

Anthony Faure, of *Pancras-Lane*, *London*, Merchant.

Thomas Green, of *Leeds*, in the County of *York*, Merchant.

Percival Hart, of *Richmond* in *Surrey*, Malſter and Chapman.

Thomas Hewitt, late of *Uttoxeter* in *Staffordſhire*, Linnen-draper.

John Ewer, late of *Pall-Mall*, in the County of *Middleſex*, Goldſmith and Banker.

Raham Reepe, of *Bow-Lane*, *London*, Cutler and Merchant.

Mary Fountaine, of St. *Leonard's Shoreditch*, in the County of *Middleſex*, Tallow-chandler.

John Bodington, late of *Snow-Hill*, *London*, Grocer.

Henry Marſh, late of *Preſcott*, in the County of *Lancaſter*, Merchant and Linnen-draper.

James Gane, of *Southwark* in *Surrey*, Grocer.

John Wingfield, of *Biſhopſgate-ſtreet*, *London*, Linnen-Draper.

Thomas Baniſter, of St. *Bartholomew the Great*, *London*, Packer.

James Rankin, of *Horniſham* in *Wilts*, Chapman.

Prices

Towards the End of the Month.

STOCKS.

S. Sea 75 ½	*Afric.* 22
—*Bonds* 27*s* Prem.	*Royal Aſſ.* 92 ½
—*Annu.* 102	*Lon. ditto* 11 ⅛
Bank 133 ¼ a ½	*Y. Build.* 3
—*Circ.* 6 5*s.* Prem.	3*p. C. An.* 91 ¼
Mil. Bank 104 ½	*Eng Copper* 1*l.* 15*s.*
India 140, 40 ½ ¼	*Welſh* Books ſhut
—*Bonds* 16*s*	

The Courſe of EXCHANGE.

Amſt.	35 10 a 9	*Bilboa*	40 ⅝
D. Sight	35 7 a 6	*Legborn*	49 ⅛
Rotter.	35 10	*Genoa*	51 ⅜ ½
Hamb.	35 8	*Venice*	48 ⅜ ½
P. Sight	31 ¼	*Lisb.*	5 4 ⅞
Bourd ½ uſ	30 ⅝ a ¼	*Oport.*	5 3 ⅞
Cadiz	40 ¼ a ⅜	*Antw.*	36 4 a 3
Madrid	42 ⅜ a ½	*Dublin*	11 ½

Prices of Goods at *Bear-Key*.

Wheat	25 28	*Oates*	10 14
Rye	17 18	*Tares*	18 23
Barley	14 18	*Peaſe*	22 24
H. Beans	16 18	*H. Peaſe*	16 19
P. Malt	17 20	*B. Malt*	16 19

Abſtract of the *London* WEEKLY BILL, from *Apr.* 23 to *May* 21.

Chriſtned	Males 630	Females 608	1238
Buried	Males 990	Females 1012	2002

Died under 2 Years old			838
Between	2	and 5	209
	5	10	82
	10	20	60
	20	30	133
	30	40	185
	40	50	172
	50	60	138
	60	70	88
	70	80	46
	80	90	45
	90	and upwards	6
			2002

Prices of Goods, &c. in *London*. Hay 39*s. to* 42*s.* a Load.

Coals per Chaldron 24
New Hops per Hun. 5*l. a* 5*l.* 10
Old Hops 3*l.* 10*s. a* 4*l.*
Rape Seed 10 *a* 11
Lead the Fodder 19 *Hun.* 1 *half on board,* 14 *a* 14*l.* 10*s.*
Tin in Blocks 3*l.* 18
Ditto in Bars 4*l.*
Copper Eng. beſt 5*l.* 5*s.*
Ditto ordinary 4*l.* 16*s. a* 5*l.*
Ditto Barbary 85 *a* 95*l.*
Iron of Bilboa 15*l.* 5*s. per Ton.*
Ditto of Sweden 16*l.* 10*s.*
Tallow 30 *a* 31*s*
Country Tallow 30*s.*
Cochineal 18*s.* 6

Grocery Wares by the C.

Raiſins of the S. new 34*s.*
Ditto Malaga Frailes 18*s.*
Ditto Smirna new 24*s.*
Ditto Alicant 19*s.*
Ditto Lipra new 20*s.*
Ditto Belvedera 21*s.*
Currants 44*s.*
Prunes French none
Figs 20*s.*

Sugar Powder beſt 54 *a* 59*s.*
Ditto ſecond Sort 46*s. a* 50
Loaf Sugar double ref. 8*d. half a* 9*d.*
Ditto ſingle refine 56*s. a* 64*s.*

Grocery Wares by the lb.

Cinamon 7*s.* 8*d.*
Cloves 9*s.* 1*d.*
Mace 15*s.* 0*d.*
Nutmegs 8*s.* 7*d.*
Sugar Candy white 14 *a* 18*d.*
Ditto brown 6*d.*
Pepper for home conſump. 16*d.*
Ditto for Exportation 12*d.* 1 4*lb*
Tea Bohea fine 10*s. a* 12*s.*
Ditto ordinary 8 *a* 9*s.*
Ditto Congo 10 *a* 12*s.*
Ditto Pekoe 14 *a* 16*s.*
Ditto Green fine 9 *a* 12*s.*
Ditto Imperial 9 *a* 12*s.*
Ditto Hyſon 20 *a* 25*s.*

Drugs by the lb.

Balſam Peru 14*s.*
Cardamoms 3*s.* 6*d.*
Camphire refin'd 14*s.*
Crabs Eyes 1*s* 8*d.*
Jallop 2*s.* 6*d.*

Manna 2*s.* 6*d. a* 4*s*
Maſtick white 4*s. od.*
Opium 9*s.*
Quickſilver 4*s.* 3*d.*
Rhubarb 18 *a* 25*s.*
Sarſaparilla 3*s. od.*
Saffron Engliſh 22*s.* 6*d.*
Wormſeeds none
Balſam Copaiva 3*s. od*
Balſam of Gilead 20*s.*
Hypocacuanæ 5 *a* 6*s.*
Ambergreece per oz. 8*s.*

Wine, Brandy, and Rum.

Oporto red per Pipe 32*l. a* 34*l.*
Ditto white none
Liſbon red 35 *a* 40*l.*
Ditto white 26 *a* 28*l.*
Sherry 26*l.*
Canary new 25 *a* 28*l.*
Ditto old 32 *a* 34*l.*
Florence 3*l.*
French red 30*l. a* 40*l.*
Ditto white 20*l.*
Mountain Malaga old 24*l.*
Ditto new 20*l. a* 21
Brandy Fr. per Gal. 6*s. a* 6*s.*
Rum of Jam. 6 *a* 7*s.*
Ditto Lew. Iſlands 6*s.* 4*d.*

FRO

FROM *Holland.* Their Royal and Serene Highneſſes the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange* having embarked on board their Yacht at *Amſterdam*, in order to paſs the *Zeuder* Sea to *Frieſland*, weighed Anchor ſoon after with a fair Wind, and made the Port of *Harlingen* in *Frieſland.* Their Highneſſes landed under a triple Diſcharge of the Artillery of the Place, and were received with all poſſible Marks of Joy and Reſpect. They proceeded directly on their Journey to *Lewarden*, and made their publick Entry there in a very magnificent Manner.

From the *Ruſſian* Camp before *Dantzick.* The Conditions offered by General *Munich* to the Magiſtrates of *Dantzick* were, That King *Staniſlaus* and all his Adherents ſhall be ſent away: That they ſhall ſend a Deputation to the *Czarina*, to aſk her Pardon for the Affront put upon her Troops, and another to King *Auguſtus*, to ſubmit themſelves and recognize him: And that as the Town, by its Reſiſtance, has put the *Czarina* to a great Expence, it ſhall pay a certain Sum, to be agreed upon, towards defraying the ſame: But the Magiſtrates rejected theſe Propoſals.

From the Camp before *Dantzick.* Our Fire began on *May* 1, from a Battery of 6 large Mortar-Pieces and 8 Batteries of Cannon. We have thrown into the City 330 Bomb-Shells, weighing from 3 to 400 each, and doubt not of the Havock they have made, by the diſmal Cries of the Inhabitants.

From *Berlin.* In the Night between the 12th and 13th Inſtant, an Expreſs arrived from M. *Brandt*, his *Pruſſian* Majeſty's Miniſter at the *Muſcovite* Camp before *Dantzick*, who brings an Account, that on the 9th in the Evening Count *Munich* cauſed the Fortifications on the Hills called *Stoltzenberg* and *Biſchopſberg*, which command the Town, to be ſtormed by a very great Detachment of the *Ruſſian* Army, hoping to be able to carry thoſe Works Sword in Hand; that the Action laſted from 10 at Night till 3 in the Morning, when the *Ruſſians* were forced to retire, leaving 3,000 Men dead on the Spot, amongſt whom were a great many Officers of Rank and Diſtinction.

From the *Hague.* The States had an Account laſt Night from M. *de Blyſwyk*, their Miniſter at *Dantzick*, of the 10th Inſtant, that the *Muſcovites* having the Night before attack'd the Works of the riſing Ground before the Town, call'd the *Hagelberg*, with 6,000 Men, and Ladders, on a Deſign to ſcale the ſame, were not only beat back, but moſt of them cut in Pieces.

From *Stolpen* in *Pomerania.* The Menace which Count *Munich* made the Magiſtracy of *Dantzick*, to lay waſte all the Territory and Neighbourhood of that City, the Moment the *French* Tranſports appeared in the Road, has been executed with all the Horror and Severity imaginable. On the 12th Inſtant, publick Notice was given to the Inhabitants of the adjacent Country, to ſave themſelves immediately, and their Effects, for that all their Houſes would be laid level with the Ground. The People fled accordingly, and by Day-break the next Morning, the *Ruſſians* pointed their Cannon to demoliſh the neighbouring Buildings, which their red-hot Balls ſoon effected. In all Places out of the Reach of the Artillery, proper Detachments of *Coſſacks*, &c. were ſent to eraze them; and during the following Night, the whole Country for ſix Leagues round was in one general Conflagration. On the Morrow General *Munich* retired from his Quarters at *Obre*, and cauſed them likewiſe to be ſet on fire.

From *Berlin.* We have Advice from *Petersbourg*, that the Czarina had entirely rejected his *Pruſſian* Majeſty's Offers of Mediation with reſpect to *Dantzick:* Her Czariſh Majeſty declaring on that Occaſion, that ſhe was reſolv'd to oppoſe *Staniſlaus* with the utmoſt Vigour, let the Conſequences be ever ſo fatal with reſpect to herſelf.

From *Stolpen, May* 27. N.S. Letters from the *Ruſſian* Camp adviſe, that during the 48 Hours Suſpenſion of Arms, the *Pruſſian* Miniſter *Brandt* and the Chancellor *Grumbkow* were in the Town of *Dantzick*, and on their Return to the Camp brought an Anſwer in Writing from the Town to Count *Munich*, the Purport of which was this: *That the* Dantzickers *inſiſted upon their ancient Rights and Privileges, and therefore deſired that General to ceaſe Cannonading and Bombarding them, and to order the Ruſſian Troops to march from before the ſaid Town.* Whereupon the Cannonading and Bombarding were renewed with great Heat on both Sides.

From *Dreſden.* The Defeat of the *Poliſh* Army by General *Lacy* is confirm'd: He laid about 1000 dead on the Spot, and took a great Number of Horſes deſigned for the Service of the *French.* Our laſt Letters from *Cracow* mention another Defeat of 10,000 *Poles* by General *Diemar.*

Prince *Eugene* arriv'd on the *Rhine, April* 26. *N. S.* to take upon him the Command of the *Imperial* Army. His Highneſs performed the Journey in nine Days, having left *Vienna* on the 17th. On the 21ſt he arriv'd at the Court of the Margrave of *Anſpach*, Nephew to her *Britannick* Majeſty, and had the Honour to dine with him and his Conſort, Daughter to the King of *Pruſſia.* The Duke of *Wirtemberg*, with Prince *Frederick* his Brother, met his Highneſs at *Nuremburgh*, and conducted him to *Waghouſell*, where are the head Quarters of the *Imperial* Army. His Highneſs was received in the Camp by Duke *Albert* of *Beveren*, and preſenting himſelf to the Soldiery, who were drawn out occaſionally, the Air rang with Acclamations of Joy.

From *Paris*. On the 4th Inſtant came Advice that the Caſtle of *Traerbach* had ſubmitted to his Majeſty's Troops, and that the Count *de Belliſle* had received a ſlight Wound during the Siege.

From the *Upper Rhine*. The *French* have poſſeſs'd themſelves of the Lines of *Mulhberg* without any Reſiſtance, Prince *Eugene* not judging it proper to preſerve the ſaid Lines, ſeeing they requir'd at leaſt 25,000 Men to defend them. The Motion that Prince *Eugene* made with his Army towards *Mulhberg* was ſolely to facilitate the Retreat of the 12,000 Men of the Circles of *Suabia* and *Franconia* which were in thoſe Lines, and his Highneſs ſo well effected his Intentions, that the Troops, with their Artillery, Baggage and Proviſions, were brought off without Loſs. The ſame Day his Highneſs retir'd in good Order to *Graben*, two Leagues above *Philipſburg*, and on the Morrow marched to *Bruchſal*, from whence he is to encamp at *Obſtatt*. The *French* Army is encamp'd at *Graben*.

From *Heilbron*, May 29. N. S. Prince *Eugene* rides out every Day to *reconnoitre*; and when all the *Auxiliaries* have joined his Army, which will be in a few Days, he will be able to go upon ſome Enterprize worthy himſelf.

From *Ratiſbon*. The Electors of *Cologn*, *Bavaria*, and *Palatine*, have notified to the Dyet now ſitting, that altho' they take no Part in the preſent War, yet their Electoral Highneſſes have reſolved to furniſh their Contingents of the 30 *Roman* Months to the Imperial Cheſt, for the Entertainment of the Army. The Dyet has at Length nam'd the Duke of *Wirtemberg* to hold the ſecond Place in the ſaid Army, the Duke of *Beveren* the third, the Prince of *Anhalt Deſſau* the fourth, and the Count *de la Marck* is made General of the Field Artillery.

From *Heidleburgh*. The general Quarters of the *French* Army of 40,000 Men, which carries on the Siege of *Phillipſburg*, are at *Oberhauſen*, where they have thrown a Bridge over the *Rhine*, to have Communication with the Troops on the other Side. The Beſiegers have begun to turn the Current of the ſmall River of *Satza*, which fal's into the Moraſs, and have thrown a great Quantity of Faſcines into the ſaid Moraſs. The Duke of *Berwick* has poſſeſſed himſelf of the Heights of *Ganſburg*.

From *Mantua*. Count *Merci* having marched with great Privacy to the Right of the *Mincio*, the 1ſt Inſtant, at Five o'Clock in the Morning, 10,000 Foot marched thro' this Place about an Hour after, with the ſame Privacy, not ſo much as a Drum beating, to the Left of that River, having Prince *Lewis* of *Wirtemberg* at their Head; ſo that none of us here knew whither that March was intended. Theſe Troops being arrived at the *Po*, they began to lay Bridges Yeſterday two Hours before Sun-Riſing, and continued till Ten in the Forenoon, when 4000 Horſe paſſed over the ſame without any Accident; and our Vanguard being arrived on the other Side of the *Po*, they immediately ſeized a *French* Spy, upon whom they found Letters from the Marſhal *de Villars* to the *French* General, who commands at *Revero*, over-againſt *Oſtiglia*, where the Bulk of the Army lies. Our Troops having paſſed the *Po* without loſing one Drop of Blood, 6000 *French* poſted there, tho' provided with 10 Pieces of Cannon, fled with the utmoſt Precipitation, and gave us an Opportunity to make about 60 Priſoners. They moreover abandoned *Mirandola*, *San Benedetto*, and *Revero*, which laſt Place was fortified: At *San Benedetto* we found 4000 Sacks of Corn and Meal, and ſome Ammunition.

From *Milan*. The *Imperial* Army on this Side the *Po* is daily encreaſed by the Arrival of new Regiments: That of the Allies conſiſts at preſent of 30,000 Men, and will ſhortly be reinforced with more Troops. His *Sardinian* Majeſty has iſſued an Ordinance, requiring all his Subjects to take Arms; and directs, that ſuch who have none of their own, ſhall be ſupplied from the Royal Magazines. The *Imperialiſts* have the Advantage of our Army with Relation to Proviſions, which they enjoy in great Abundance, whilſt the Allies procure them not without Inconvenience.

From *Paris*. An Expreſs arriv'd here from *Italy*, with Advice, that his *Catholick* Majeſty having declared *Don Carlos* King of *Naples* and *Sicily*, his Serene Highneſs had thereupon aſſumed thoſe Titles, and had made his publick Entry into the City of *Naples* with all regal State and Solemnity. Since which a Courier has been diſpatch'd with Orders to the Marquis *de Biſſy*, his moſt *Chriſtian* Majeſty's Envoy Extraordinary, to compliment that Prince upon his aſſuming the Royal Title, and to acknowledge him as King of *Naples* and *Sicily*.

From the *Hague*. According to our laſt Letters from *Italy*, there is nothing for either the *French* or the *Spaniards* to brag of (I do not include the *Piedmonteze*, becauſe they do not make a Point in that Compaſs). They do not go to the Fight; they muſt be *dragged* to it, or puſhed upon it; and if they had not their King in Sight, from whom they dare not fly, they would perhaps run to *Geneva* without ſtopping.

From *Gibraltar*: That the *Spaniards* had inſulted the Garriſon from their Works; and that a *Spaniſh* Centinel had the Inſolence to fire upon an Officer of very great Rank in the Garriſon,

The

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THE LONDON MAGAZINE.

JUNE, 1734.

PROCEEDINGS and DEBATES in the *last Session* of the late PARLIAMENT.

ON *Jan.* 17. his Majesty open'd the Session with a most gracious Speech to both Houses; which see p. 43.

As soon as his Majesty was retir'd, and the Commons returned to their House, L—d *H——y*, in the House of Lords, made a short Speech, and moved for an Address; which Motion was seconded by the L—d *C——n*. To this Motion there was no Opposition made, nor any Amendment offer'd to the Terms of the Address proposed; only the E---l of *C----ld* said, That he hoped, no Words or Expressions in their Address should afterwards be made use of, either for or against any Proposition that might be made, or any Question that might arise in that House. (See p. 44.)

DEBATE *in the House of Commons upon the Motion for an Address.*

The Speaker having reported to the House his Majesty's Speech; and a Copy of it being read, *J--n C-pb-ll*, Knight of the Shire for the County of *P — ke*, stood up, and after a short Speech, made the following Motion, *viz. That an humble Address be presented to his Majesty, to return the Thanks of that House for his most gracious Speech: To acknowledge his Majesty's Goodness, in the Concern he had expressed on Account of the War unhappily begun in* Europe; *and his great Wisdom in using so much Precaution on that critical Conjuncture, in waiting the Result of the Councils of those Powers, who were more immediately interested in the Consequences of the War, and in taking Time to examine the Facts alledged on both Sides, and to concert with those Allies, who were under the same Engagements with his Majesty, and had not taken Part in the War, such Measures, as should be thought most advisable for the common Safety, and for restoring the Peace of* Europe: *To declare their unfeigned Confidence in his Majesty, that in all his Considerations on that important Affair, his Majesty would have the strictest Regard to the Honour and Dignity of his Crown and Kingdoms, and to the true Interest of his People: And to assure his Majesty that he might entirely depend on the Support and Assistance of his faithful Commons, in such Measures as he should find it necessary to enter into, for attaining and securing these valuable Purposes; and that that House would make such Provision for the Defence of the Nation, as should secure his Majesty's Kingdoms, Rights, and Possessions, from all Dangers and Insults; as might preserve the Respect due to the Crown of* Great Britain, *and not give any Encouragement to the desperate Views of those who never fail to flatter themselves with the Hopes of great Advantages from publick Troubles: And to assure his Majesty that that House would immediately take into their Consideration such Estimates and Demands, as should be made by his Majesty for the publick Service, and raise the Supplies which should be answerable to the present Exigency of Affairs, with their known Zeal and Chearfulness, and with a due Regard to the Interest of their Fellow-Subjects: And, that the publick Business might be dispatched with all proper Expedition, that they would endeavour to avoid all Heats and Animosities, and all Occasions that might tend to protract the then present Session by unnecessary Delays.*

This Motion was ſeconded by *S——n F——x*, Eſq; Member for *S----ry* in *Dorſetſhire*; and alſo by the *L--d T-----ll*, Member for *G——m* in *Lincolnſhire*; who declared it as his Opinion, that as this was a trading Nation, nothing but the moſt abſolute Neceſſity ſhould ever force us into a War. After him,

W------m S--pp--n, Eſq; Member for *N——n* in *Lancaſhire*, ſtood up and ſpoke as follows, *viz.* Sir, I believe it has always been taken for granted by moſt Gentlemen in this Houſe, that the Speeches from the Throne are the Compoſitions of Miniſters of State, and on that Suppoſition we have always thought ourſelves at Liberty to examine every Propoſition contained in them: This Houſe has, on many Occaſions, canvaſſed ſuch Speeches, and debated upon them with great Freedom. Even without Doors People are generally pretty free in their Remarks upon them; and I believe no Gentleman that hears me is ignorant of the Reception the Speech from the Throne at the Cloſe of laſt Seſſion met with from the Nation in general. (See Vol. II. p. 303.)

If then, Sir, ſo much Freedom be taken with the Speeches themſelves; doubtleſs, the ſame Freedom may be taken with any Propoſition made in this Houſe, in Conſequence of ſuch Speeches. I will not ſay that the Queſtion moved by the Hon. Gentleman over the Way was penned by the ſame Hand that penned his Majeſty's Speech, tho' I muſt ſay there is a good deal of Reaſon to believe, that they were both penned by the ſame Hand.

As to the Motion, I have one very great Objection to the Whole, and that is, that it is too cautiouſly and too generally worded: Under ſuch general Expreſſions Deſigns may be concealed, which the Gentleman who penned the Motion, does not think proper now to declare; but when they come to be explain'd, this Houſe may then probably find itſelf drawn into ſome Difficulties by making Uſe of ſuch uncertain Expreſſions. There is indeed one Paragragh in the Motion, which I ſhall now particularly lay my Finger on; I cannot pretend to repeat the very Words, for we who hear the Speech and the Motion but once read, are obliged in ſome Manner to ſhoot flying; but I ſhall repeat them as near as poſſible: I think the Paragraph propoſes for us to ſay in our Addreſs, that we will ſupport his Majeſty in all thoſe Meaſures he ſhall think it neceſſary to enter into. Now, Sir, I am afraid, that under ſuch a general Expreſſion, there may be couched, or at leaſt it may hereafter be inſiſted on, that there is couched, a Promiſe of a Vote of Credit, and therefore I ſhould be willing to have thoſe Words a little explained; for I ſhall always endeavour, as much as I can, to prevent this Houſe's being raſhly drawn into ſuch Promiſes: I ſhall not offer any Amendment till I have heard other Gentlemen's Sentiments on the Queſtion before us; I now only lay my Finger upon this Part of the Motion; and after other Gentlemen have ſpoke, I may then poſſibly give my Opinion farther, and may perhaps offer an Amendment; but I could wiſh rather that the Words were altogether left out.

Sir *J---n H-----d C---tt---n*, Sir, I ſtand up to agree, in a great Meaſure, with the Hon. Gentleman who moved the Queſtion, and with the other Hon. Gentleman who ſeconded his Motion. I had indeed an Objection to one general Expreſſion: But the Gentleman who made the Motion explained it in ſuch a Manner as ſatisfied me, and in which it will, I hope, be explained by this Houſe. The Paſſage is that whereby we promiſe to provide for the Security of his Majeſty's Kingdoms, Rights, and Poſſeſſions: Now, Sir, theſe laſt Words, *Rights and Poſſeſſions*, is an Expreſſion ſo general, that I am afraid it may include his Majeſty's *German* Dominions; I am perſuaded it will be underſtood ſo by all without Doors, whatever this Houſe may intend by it: The Gentleman who open'd the Debate has, 'tis true, ſatisfy'd me, and, I believe every one in the Houſe, that no ſuch Thing is intended; but I think it likewiſe neceſſary to ſatisfy the World; I think it incumbent on us, to aſſure our Conſtituents that no ſuch Thing was ever meant; for which Reaſon I ſhall move for this Amendment, to wit, that the Words, *thereunto belonging*, may be added after the Word *Poſſeſſions*; ſo that the Sentence will then run thus, *as ſhall ſecure his Majeſty's Kingdoms, Rights and Poſſeſſions, thereunto belonging, from all Dangers and Inſults*, and ſo on.

J---n C--pb--ll, Eſq; Sir, I believe I did open the Affair as the Hon. Gentleman has mention'd, but it was not from an Opinion that there was any Poſſibility for putting ſuch a Senſe upon thoſe Words as the Gentleman ſeems apprehenſive of. Thoſe Words are ſo fully explained, both by what goes before, and what comes after, that there is no Room for imagining, they ever were meant to comprehend his Majeſty's *German* Dominions; every Man muſt ſee that they relate only to the foreign Rights and Poſſeſſions belonging to the Crown of *Great Britain*; and I gave ſome Explanation of them, only to preclude any Exception that might have been taken, by Gentlemen's conſidering thoſe general Words by themſelves, and without Regard to what went before, or followed after; but to any one either within or without Doors, who conſiders the Whole together, there cannot ſo much as a Doubt ariſe; every Man muſt ſee that the Words can relate to nothing but what belongs to his Majeſty as King of *Great Britain*, and therefore I cannot think there

there is the leaſt Occaſion for the Amendment propoſed.

The L---d *C----ne*, Member for *B----n* in *Lincolnſhire*. Sir, the Gentleman who ſpoke laſt, has not in the leaſt ſatisfied me; for if thoſe Words be taken in a ſtrict grammatical Senſe, they muſt comprehend his Majeſty's *German* Dominions: Thoſe Dominions are certainly a Part of his Majeſty's Poſſeſſions, and as ſuch muſt be comprehended under thoſe general Words; nor can I ſee that there is any Reſtriction put upon them, either by what goes before, or follows after. Even the Amendment propoſed, will not, I am afraid, be ſufficient to reſtrain them as they ought to be; and therefore I am of Opinion, that the Amendment ought to be in theſe Words, *belonging to the Crown of* Great Britain; ſo as that the Sentence may run thus, *as ſhall ſecure his Majeſty's Kingdoms, and all the Rights and Poſſeſſions* belonging to the Crown of *Great Britain, from all Dangers and Inſults.*

H---y P----m, Eſq; Knt. of the Shire for *S----x*. Sir, the Queſtion moved by the Hon. Gentleman was, as I thought, ſo aptly worded, and, to uſe my worthy Friend's Expreſſion, ſo cautiouſly worded, that I did not imagine, any Objection would have been made to it. As to the Words, *Rights and Poſſeſſions*, the proper Meaning of them ſeems to me to be certain and apparent; it is well known, that Doubts have lately been raiſed about ſome of thoſe Dominions, which belong to the Crown of *Great Britain*; and tho' there never was any Foundation for thoſe Doubts, yet ſome have ſtrongly inſiſted on it, that there was ſomething further neceſſary to be done, in order to ſecure our Enjoyment of thoſe Poſſeſſions; and from that Conſideration alone, if there were no other, every one muſt conclude, that all that could be meant by thoſe general Words, was, to comprehend the ſeveral *Britiſh* Poſſeſſions in foreign Parts; but as to his Majeſty's *German* Dominions, as they in no Way belong to the Crown of *Great Britain*, which is mentioned, in the very next Sentence, I cannot believe that any Gentleman in this Houſe, or without Doors, will ever imagine, they were meant to be comprehended under thoſe general Words.

W-----m P----ney, Eſq; When I heard his Majeſty's Speech, and the Motion made by the Hon. Gentleman, in Conſequence thereof, I was in Hopes, Sir, we ſhould have ſeparated to Day without any Debate; and yet I muſt own, that the Words contained in the Motion, which were taken Notice of by my Hon. Friend over the Way, did at firſt ſtrike me a little. I was indeed a little afraid of the Conſequences, or at leaſt of the Uſe that might be made of ſuch Words, but I was reſolved to paſs them over in Silence: However, now that they are taken Notice of, I muſt ſay, that ſome Amendment, in order to reſtrain them a little will not be unneceſſary. I am not for leaving them out entirely, becauſe one Part of his Majeſty's Speech would in that Caſe ſtand without any Anſwer; and I am unwilling that this Houſe ſhould on any Occaſion ſhew the leaſt Want of Reſpect and Complaiſance towards his Majeſty.

I ſhall therefore, Sir, propoſe an Amendment; but I muſt acquaint the Houſe, that the Motion I am to make for that Purpoſe, is without any View of making a Difference or Diviſion among us this Day; nor ſhall I inſiſt on my Motion, if it does not appear to be agreeable to every Gentleman in this Houſe. I know we are not tied down by any general Expreſſions in an Addreſs of Thanks; but I remember, that a Vote of Credit paſſed in this Houſe, towards the Cloſe of a Seſſion, for which there was no other Foundation but ſome general Expreſſions in the Addreſs of Thanks which had been voted the firſt Day of the Seſſion; and therefore we ought to be extreamly cautious in agreeing to any Sort of Words, from whence the Promiſe of a Vote of Credit may be afterwards inferred: For this Reaſon I ſhall beg Leave to add a few Words by Way of Amendment; but as I ſaid before, I will not inſiſt on it, in Caſe my Amendment ſhould be oppoſed. The Amendment I propoſe is, that the following Words be inſerted, to wit, *Provided ſuch Meaſures ſhall appear to this Houſe to have been neceſſary for obtaining ſuch Ends.* In which Caſe the Paragraph taken Notice of by my worthy Friend, will run thus; *and to aſſure his Majeſty, that he may entirely depend on the Support and Aſſiſtance of his faithful Commons, in ſuch Meaſures as he ſhall find it neceſſary to enter into, for attaining and ſecuring theſe valuable Purpoſes*; provided *ſuch Meaſures ſhall appear to this Houſe to have been neceſſary for obtaining ſuch Ends.*

Mr. C——r of the E———r. Sir, the Hon. Gentleman who ſpoke laſt has propoſed an Amendment, but has not made any direct Motion for that Purpoſe; and he was pleaſed to ſay, that what he propoſed was without any View of making a Difference or Diviſion among us; I am very glad, Sir, to find that the Hon. Gentleman is now come to be of that Way of Thinking; for there is nothing can contribute more to the Honour of this Houſe, than a Harmony and Unanimity amongſt us; and therefore I hope the Gentleman will not inſiſt on his Amendment. One of the Objections to the Queſtion, made by the Hon. Gentleman who ſpoke firſt againſt it, was, that it was too general, and worded with too much Caution: This, I muſt ſay, is an Objection of a very new Nature; for the chief Objection to Addreſſes of this Nature has generally been, that they deſcended too much into Particulars, and were not worded with proper Caution. From this general Objection

the Gentleman was pleaſed to come to a Particular, and took Notice of ſome Words under which, he ſaid, he believed a Vote of Credit was intended to be couched: But does not every Gentleman in this Houſe know, that his Majeſty never deſires any ſuch Thing as a Promiſe of a Vote of Credit, nor has it ever been uſual to make any ſuch Promiſe? The uſual Method has been, whenever his Majeſty wanted a Vote of Credit, he always acquainted the Houſe of it by a direct Meſſage, and therefore there is not the leaſt Ground to preſume an Intention of couching a Promiſe of a Vote of Credit under any general Words propoſed to be put into the Addreſs: As to the Caſe mentioned by the Hon. Gentleman who ſpoke laſt, I do not remember that there was ever any Vote of Credit founded on a pretended Promiſe in the Addreſs of Thanks at the Beginning of the Seſſion. There may have been, for what I know, ſuch a Caſe; but as I now ſpeak upon Memory only, I cannot ſay whether it may have been a late Caſe, or one of an older Date: However, this I am certain of, that no ſuch Thing is intended by the Words now objected to, nor will there, I believe, be any ſuch Uſe made of them.

As to the other Objection, Sir, it is equally without Foundation; I do not believe that it can ſo much as once enter into the Head of any Man to imagine, that by the Words, *Rights and Poſſeſſions*, this Houſe means to include his Majeſty's *German* Dominions: If ever thoſe Dominions ſhould come to be in ſuch Danger, as that his Majeſty ſhould find it neceſſary to aſk the Aſſiſtance of this Nation, he wou'd certainly do it by a direct Meſſage to Parliament; and I am very ſure, that at preſent there is no ſuch Thing thought of, nor is there the leaſt Shadow of Reaſon for ſuſpecting that there will be an Occaſion for any ſuch Demand: The Words, *Rights and Poſſeſſions*, muſt therefore be underſtood to relate only to the foreign Poſſeſſions belonging to *Great Britain*; and had thoſe Words been left out, (to willing Minds, at leaſt) it would have afforded a Pretence for the Raiſing of much greater Alarms without Doors; it then might probably have been ſaid, that we were going to give up ſome of thoſe valuable Poſſeſſions we have abroad; Poſſeſſions ſo valuable, that I hope this Nation will never conſent to the giving them up.

Upon the Whole, Sir, however unwilling ſome Gentlemen may pretend to be, to create Differences and make Diviſions, I am perſuaded, that nothing but a Deſire to do ſo, could have raiſed any Objections to the Queſtion now in your Hands; and as I have not heard any Colour of Reaſon for ſupporting any of the Amendments, I muſt therefore be againſt them.

Sir *W——m W—nd—m.* Tho' the Hon. Gentleman who ſpoke laſt, does not ſeem to remember the Caſe mentioned by the Gentleman who ſpoke juſt before him, I remember it well, Sir, and I ſpeak it with the greater Confidence, becauſe this very Morning I look'd over ſome of the Journals of the Houſe, together with my Hon. Friend on the Floor, by which I found that that famous Vote of Credit was agreed to in this Houſe, on the 12th Day of *April* 1727, which was towards the Cloſe of the Seſſion; and I remember, Sir, that there was but a very thin Houſe; and there was no other Foundation for that Vote, hardly indeed any material Argument offered in Favour of it, than what has been mentioned by my Hon. Friend. I remember, Sir, that it bore a very ſtrenuous Debate in this Houſe, and that the Gentleman who ſits behind the Hon. Perſon who ſpoke laſt, had a very conſiderable Share in that Debate, and was one of the Tellers, againſt the Queſtion.

Whether any ſuch Uſe is now intended to be made of the general Expreſſions objected to, I ſhall not take upon me to ſay; but that I do not take to be the Matter in Diſpute, the proper Queſtion is, whether any ſuch Uſe can poſſibly be made of thoſe general Expreſſions? For if it can, we are not to depend on the Aſſurances of any Member, that it will not; and therefore, leſt any ſuch Uſe ſhould hereafter be made of thoſe general Expreſſions, I think it highly neceſſary that ſome Words ſhould be added for reſtraining them to what is now declared to be the Meaning of them: For my own Part, I am very eaſy about it, becauſe I am now free to declare, that if ever any Vote of Credit of the ſame Nature with thoſe lately agreed to, be propoſed or moved for in this Houſe, I ſhall always be againſt any ſuch, as long as I have the Honour to ſit here; nor ſhall any general Words, or any expreſs Promiſe contained in any former Addreſs, be of the leaſt Weight with me in ſuch a Debate.

T—s W——n, Eſq; ſtood up next, and gave ſome Account of the Vote of Credit agreed to in the Year 1727; and *P—y G——n*, Eſq; and *S——l S——ys*, Eſq; diſagreeing with him in his Account of that Vote of Credit,

Sir *W——m Y——ge* ſtood up, and ſpoke as follows, *viz.* I was at ſome Diſtance, Sir, when the Hon. Gentleman on the Floor firſt mentioned the Caſe which ſeems now to be the Subject of Debate; and tho' I had not look'd into the Journals this Morning, as ſome Gentlemen ſeem to have done, yet I could not but think, that it was impoſſible that ever any Houſe of Commons ſhould have proceeded in the Manner they have repreſented. I have now look'd upon the Journals of that and the preceding Seſſion, and as I have the Book in my Hand, I ſhall from thence ſet that Matter in a clear Light. In 1725, his

late Majesty sent a Message to the House Commons, by which he acquainted them, t in order to prevent and frustrate such De- ns as had been formed against the particular tereſt of this Nation, and the general Peace *Europe*, he found it necessary not only to rment his Maritime Force, but to concert h other Measures as might most effectu- conduce to these desirable Ends; and as se Services would require some extraordi- y Expence, his Majesty hoped he should enabled, by the Assistance of Parliament, encrease the Number of Seamen then be- voted and granted for the Service of that ar; and to enter into, and make good such gagements as the Exigency of Affairs might uire. Upon this Message, the House, as Duty they ought, voted and presented an dress to his Majesty, that he would be sed to make such an Addition to the Num- of Seamen then before voted, and to con- such other Measures as his Majesty should his great Wisdom think would best conduce he Security of the Trade and Navigation this Kingdom, and to the Preservation of Peace of *Europe*; and assured his Ma- y, that that House would effectually pro- for, and make good all such Expences Engagements as should be made for ob- ing those desirable Ends.

t the Beginning of the next Session, his esty, in his Speech, expresly said, that he Expence he had in the preceding Year in a particular Manner entrusted to e, had amounted to no considerable Sum, the publick Utility might again require like Services to be performed, he hoped would again repose the same Trust and idence in him. To which the House, eir Address of Thanks, as expresly an- , and promise, that they would repose a Trust and Confidence in his Majesty as ublick Utility should require, and as his esty should find reasonable and necessary arrying on the great Work in which his esty was engaged, for the Interest and Se- y of his People, and the common Cause *Europe*.

us, Sir, every Gentleman may see, that ote of Credit agreed to at the End of Session was not in Consequence of a few l Words in their Address at the Be- g of the Session, but in Consequence of press Demand in the Speech, and as ex- a Promise in the Address; and from , I think, every Gentleman may see astly different that Case is, from what the Subject of Debate.

n S——pe, Esq; stood up next, ave a short, but most distinct Account the Votes of Credit that had ever been to by that House; after which, he ded, that, in his Opinion, there was endment necessary to that or any other the Motion.

W——m P——ney, Esq; spoke again as follows. Sir, The Hon. Gentleman who spoke last has, in a few Words, explained how the several Votes of Credit have been granted, and he and I do not, I think, differ much in our Accounts; but the Hon. Gentleman who spoke with the Book in his Hand, and who set out with a Promise of clearing that Matter fully to the House, has, in my Opinion, and, I believe, in the Opinion of every Gentleman who heard him, left the Matter just where he found it; and therefore I would advise him, for the future, to speak without Book.

Can any Gentleman, Sir, imagine, that, in Consequence of the Paragraph of his late Majesty's Speech mentioned by the Hon. Gentleman, or the Answer thereto in the Address of Thanks, a Vote of Credit was, or ought to have been agreed to, without a new Message from his Majesty, signifying, that the publick Utility did actually again require the reposing of such a Trust and Confidence in his Majesty? Does any Gentleman suppose, that this House is to repose such a Trust and Confidence in the Crown, only because 'tis demanded by the Crown, and without assigning any Reason for so doing? No, Sir; and I believe I may appeal to every Gentleman who hears me, and who had the Honour to be a Member of this House, when that Address was agreed to, whether he did not then think that all that was meant by those general Assurances, was, that they would again repose the same Trust and Confidence in his Majesty, if upon a new Message, it could be shewn them, that the publick Utility required it; but Gentlemen found afterwards that another Use was made of those general Expressions; they were at the End of the Session made the only Argument for agreeing to a Vote of Credit; and lest the same Thing should be again practised, we ought to be extreamly cautious of putting any such general Expressions in our Address.

When I first stood up, Sir, what I was then to propose was, I said, without any Intention of making a Division or Difference amongst us to Day; and the Hon. Gentleman who spoke next after me, said, he was glad to find me in that Way of Thinking. Sir, I am now in the same Way of Thinking I always was, and if other Gentlemen think in the same Way they have lately taken up, I am afraid we shall have many and great Differences before this Session can well be at an End. The Hon. Gentleman said he did not remember whether the Case of a Vote of Credit I had mentioned was of a late, or of an older Date: Alas! Sir, there are no such Votes of Credit to be found of an old Date; Votes of Credit of old were of a very different Nature, they were never so much as asked, but for some particular Purposes expresly mention-

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ed, the Sum was always limited, the Parliament became Sureties only for that Sum, and an exact Account was afterwards given to Parliament, to what Purpoſes the Money ſo granted was applied; but our late Votes of Credit have all been granted in the Dark; we have granted Sums unlimited without knowing to what Uſes any of the Money ſo to be raiſed was to be applied, and we have never been able to have any proper Account (tho' often aſked for) how the Money was diſpoſed of.

However, Sir, tho' I wiſh we may ſeparate to Day without any Diviſion, yet I hope we ſhall have many Days after this to enter into the Conſideration of Affairs of very great Conſequence; I am fully ſenſible of the calamitous Situation of our Affairs both at Home and Abroad; they neceſſarily require the Conſideration of Parliament: There are many, many Grievances both foreign and domeſtick, under which the Nation groans at preſent, and which call loudly for Redreſs, and therefore, tho' we promiſe not to protract or prolong the Seſſion by unneceſſary Delays, yet I hope we ſhall not ſeparate before we have taken all thoſe Matters properly under our Conſideration: The State of the Nation muſt be called for, and, I dare ſay, this Houſe of Commons which has ſhewn ſo much Regard for their Fellow-Subjects, will envy any ſucceeding Houſe the Glory of redreſſing thoſe many Grievances we now labour under: Upon ſuch an Occaſion, I hope, Gentlemen will attend, I hope they will be emulous who ſhall attend beſt; and when ſuch a Spirit of Liberty appears over the whole Nation, I am convinced no Man will dare deſert his Duty in this Houſe, no Man will dare retire to the Country, when Affairs of ſuch Moment demand his Attendance in Parliament.

After theſe Speeches, as none of the Gentlemen inſiſted on any of the Amendments, the Queſtion was put upon the firſt Motion, and carried in the Affirmative, without a Diviſion; and a Committee being appointed, they drew up an Addreſs, in Purſuance of this Reſolution, which Addreſs was reported next Day to the Houſe, and an Amendment being offered, *viz.* in the ſecond Paragraph of the Addreſs, which at firſt run thus: Not wondering, that the ſame Prudence and Precaution, the ſame Concern and Circumſpection, *and the ſame wiſe Counſels*, that have guided, *&c.* It was propoſed to leave out the Words, *and the ſame wiſe Counſels*, as not being proper in an Addreſs to his Majeſty; and the ſame was agreed to; then the Addreſs itſelf was agreed to by the Houſe, and was the next Day preſented to his Majeſty. [See the Anſwer to it, p. 45.]

On the 23d the Houſe reſolved, *Nem. Con.* that a Supply ſhould be granted to his Majeſty.

DEBATE *on the Motion about the Letters and Inſtructions relating to the* Treaty *of* Seville.

The ſame Day it was reſolved, That a humble Addreſs ſhould be preſented to his Majeſty, that he would be pleaſed to give Directions, that a Copy of the Treaty between his Majeſty and the Emperor, concluded at *Vienna* in 1731, with the ſecret and ſeparate Articles, and the States General's Act of Concurrence to the ſame, ſhould be laid before the Houſe; and the ſaid Addreſs being ordered to be preſented to his Majeſty by ſuch Members of that Houſe, as were of his Majeſty's moſt Hon. Privy Council,

Sir *J——n R---ſo---t*, Bart. ſtood up, and, after a ſhort Speech, moved, that a humble Addreſs ſhould be preſented to his Majeſty, that he would be pleaſed to give Direction, that the Letters and Inſtructions ſent to his Majeſty's Miniſters at the Courts of *France* and *Spain*, relating to the Execution of the Treaty of *Seville*, ſhould be laid before the Houſe.

Sir *W——m Y——ge*. I do not ſtand up, Sir, to ſay any thing againſt the Power this Houſe has for calling for whatever Papers they may think neceſſary to give them proper Lights into any Affair: That the Houſe has ſuch a Power is what I believe none will diſpute; but then every Gentleman muſt grant, that this Power ſhould be uſed with great Caution and Diſcretion; no Papers ought to be called for but ſuch as properly relate to the Affair in Hand, and without which it would be impoſſible to underſtand fully what we are to be about. It has been reſolved to addreſs his Majeſty for a Copy of the Treaty of *Vienna* to be laid before us; but I can't apprehend what Connection there is or can be between that Treaty and the Letters and Inſtructions ſent to our Miniſters in *France* and *Spain* relating to the Treaty of *Seville*. Can it be ſuppoſed, that thoſe Letters and Inſtructions have any Concern with a Treaty afterwards concluded with the Emperor, who was then in good Terms with either of the two Courts? As all ſuch Negotiations are carried on in the moſt ſecret Manner, it cannot be ſuppoſed, that our Miniſters either in *France* or *Spain* knew any Thing of the Negotiations at *Vienna*, which ſo happily ended in that Treaty; and therefore it is impoſſible to ſuppoſe, that we can, from the Letters and Inſtructions ſent to them, receive any Light or Information, with Reſpect to the Treaty of *Vienna* now called for.

But granting, Sir, that ſome poſſible Connection might be found out, between the Treaty of *Vienna*, and the Letters and Inſtructions moved for; yet there is another Rule to be obſerved in the uſing of that Power which this Houſe has of calling for Papers, which in the preſent Caſe will be an effectual

to the Motion: Tho' this Houſe has a
er of calling for Papers, yet we ought in
Caſe to call for thoſe which may contain
ets, the publiſhing whereof might be of
l Diſadvantage to the Common-wealth.
ecret communicated once to this Houſe is in
Danger of not remaining long a Secret:
s never known that a Secret was long kept
ny ſuch numerous Aſſembly, and there-
we ought to be extreamly cautious, and
call for any Papers which may contain
Secrets. I do not pretend to know the
re of thoſe Inſtructions or Letters; but
of them may contain ſomething not pro-
to be publiſhed to the World at this
ture; the Publiſhing of it might, per-
open old Sores, and give Offence to
of thoſe Powers with whom we have at
t a good Underſtanding; by which his
ſty's Negotiations for reſtoring the Tran-
y of *Europe* might be embarraſſed, per-
rendered entirely fruitleſs; and therefore
ot but think, that any ſuch general Call
pers is now, and always will be, of
rous Conſequence.

his Houſe ſhould at any Time reſolve to
he Treaty of *Seville* into their Conſidera-
when that Day comes, if any Gentle-
f this Houſe can then lay his Finger on
rticular Paper, which he thinks may
ſſary for our Information, he may then
for it; and the Houſe may, if they
proper, agree to ſuch a Motion; but to
ſuch a general Motion as the preſent,
for all the Letters and Inſtructions ſent
Miniſters at thoſe two Courts in gene-
think moſt improper and irregular, and
re I ſhall give my Negative to it.

W----m W--nd--m. Sir, Notwith-
g what the Hon. Gentleman, who
laſt, has ſaid, I cannot help thinking,
e Motion made by my Hon. Friend is
and that the Papers he has called for
as muſt neceſſarily tend to give a great
Information, not only with Relation
Treaty of *Seville*, but likewiſe the
we ſhall ſoon have, I hope, laid be-
in Purſuance of the Reſolution we
t now come to; and therefore I take
as proper now as it can be when the
nes which the Gentleman ſpeaks of.
any Secret which may be contained
Papers, and which it would not be
preſent to publiſh to the World,
be no Argument againſt the Motion;
f that ſhould be the Caſe, his Ma-
uld communicate to us none but ſuch
ined no ſuch Secrets, and in his An-
our Addreſs, would acquaint us, that
r Letters or Inſtructions contained
ets as were not proper to be reveal-
nt; this would be a proper Anſwer
Majeſty, and ſuch an Anſwer as
e would certainly reſt ſatisfied with,
unleſs ſome very ſtrong Reaſons appeared to
the contrary: But, Sir, this is an Anſwer
which ought not to be taken from any other
but his Majeſty: It is below the Dignity of
this Houſe to take it from any other; it is
what no Member ought ſo much as to in-
ſinuate; for any ſuch Inſinuation is offering
an Indignity to the Crown, becauſe it ſeems
to be a dictating to his Majeſty, what An-
ſwer he is to make to the Addreſs of this
Houſe. The Gentleman ſpoke of opening old
Sores, and that the publiſhing of thoſe Papers
might give Offence to ſome of thoſe Powers
we are now in Friendſhip with: This ſeems
to be a very extraordinary Reaſon againſt the
Motion; for I am ſure this Reaſon will hold
equally good againſt calling for any Treaty, or
any Paper relating to our foreign Negotiations;
and I can ſee no Difference between denying
that the Houſe has a Power to call for any
Papers, and making Uſe of an Argument,
which, if allowed, would render that Power
altogether ineffectual: But, Sir, I would
gladly know what Prince, what State there is
now in *Europe*, whom we have not diſobliged
and fallen out with, by Turns; and ſhall it
be ſaid, that the publiſhing of thoſe Negotia-
tions which we carried on while we were at
Enmity, or at leaſt not in a cordial Friendſhip
with them, will open thoſe Sores which were
healed up by a new Treaty afterwards con-
cluded with them? Does not every one ſee,
that this Argument ſtrikes againſt this Houſe's
ever deſiring to have any foreign Treaty or
Negotiation laid before them, except ſuch as
have been before publiſhed to the World?

As to the Connection between the Papers
now moved for, and the Treaty juſt before
called for, it is, in my Opinion, evident:
For what End have we called for a Copy of
the Treaty of *Vienna*? What are we to
conſider of, when we enter into the Conſide-
ration of that Treaty? Are not we to conſi-
der, whether it was for the Benefit of this
Nation, or not? And how ſhall we determine
this, without knowing the Circumſtances
which made it neceſſary for us to conclude
ſuch a burthenſome Treaty? By that Treaty,
we entered into very great Engagements, En-
gagements, which if punctually performed,
may coſt this Nation infinite Sums; and En-
gagements, which we ought not to have enter-
ed into, if the publick Tranquillity could
have been eſtabliſhed at any cheaper Rate. Is
it to be preſumed, that the Impoſſibility of
carrying the Treaty of *Seville* into Execution,
without involving ourſelves and all *Europe* in
a bloody War, was what made it neceſſary for
us to agree to thoſe Engagements contained in
the Treaty of *Vienna*; and how is it poſſible
to determine, whether or no there was an
Impoſſibility of carrying the Treaty of *Seville*
into Execution, without having all thoſe Pa-
pers laid before us, which relate to the Exe-
cution

cution of that Treaty? It was, I remember, when firſt concluded, a Treaty that was much bragged of by the Friends of the Gentleman who ſpoke laſt; and if it was ſo good a Thing, I can't find out why he or his Friends ſhould be ſo fond of keeping ſecret either the Means by which it was obtained, or the Methods that were uſed for carrying it into Execution: As to the Means by which that Treaty was obtained, they may not perhaps relate much to the Treaty of *Vienna*; but as to the Methods for carrying it into Execution, the laſt of which was the Treaty of *Vienna*, every Man muſt ſee the Connection; and therefore muſt be convinced, that it is neceſſary for us to have the Papers now moved for laid before us, before we can properly take the Treaty of *Vienna* into our Conſideration.

His Majeſty, Sir, in his Speech, recommends the preſent Situation of Affairs to the Conſideration of Parliament; he recommends it to us, thoroughly to weigh all Circumſtances before we come to a final Determination; but if ſuch Things as are neceſſary for our Information, are, when called for, refuſed by thoſe in Power, how is it poſſible to anſwer his Majeſty's Expectations? It muſt be owned, that we have, of late Years, been in very odd Circumſtances; and our preſent Situation may, perhaps, in the Opinion of many, be owing, in ſome Meaſure, to the Miſmanagement of thoſe in the Adminiſtration; I ſhall not ſay, it is ſo, but if this be not the Caſe, I can ſee no Reaſon for refuſing the Papers now called for, and if this be really the Caſe, it ought to be enquired into, and the Papers now called for, as well as a great many others, muſt be laid before us, to enable us to make a proper Enquiry, and to apply proper Remedies for thoſe Evils which the Nation now labours under. Upon the Whole, Sir, as I ſaid at firſt, I think the Motion now made moſt regular; I think it is abſolutely neceſſary for us to have thoſe Papers laid before us; for without them the Reſolution we have juſt come to, can be of no Effect; and therefore I hope the Houſe will agree to the Motion.

Mr. C——r of the E——r. I ſtand up, Sir, to agree, in ſome Part, with the Hon. Gentleman who ſpoke laſt: If we are at preſent in any unhappy Situation, and if it be but thought, by any Gentleman in this Houſe, that that Situation is in any Way owing to the Miſmanagement of thoſe in the Adminiſtration, in my Opinion, whoever thinks ſo, ought to move for this Houſe's going into ſuch an Enquiry; they ought to move for it to go into a Committee upon the State of the Nation; and on the Foot of ſuch an Enquiry I will willingly join Iſſue with the Hon. Gentleman, or any other in this Houſe: Whenever the Houſe ſhall reſolve on going into ſuch a Committee, I promiſe, that in ſo far as lies in my Power, nothing ſhall be refuſed that is thought proper or neceſſary for giving the Houſe all the Information that can be deſired; but as that Time is not yet come, I muſt think that the Motion now under our Conſideration is very irregular, and ſeems calculated rather for giving Gent'emen an Opportunity of declaiming againſt thoſe who have the Honour to ſerve the Crown, than for procuring any proper Information for the Houſe, or any Advantage for the Country.

It is uſual, Sir, for ſome People to make Motions rather to fix unpopular Things on others, than to have any Information for themſelves: They make Motions in order to make a Figure in the Votes, which are ſent to all Parts of the Nation, and to ſerve ſome particular Ends of their own: When a Negative is put on any ſuch Motion, they are then ready to cry out, we would have relieved you, we would have extricated you from the Difficulties you labour under, but we were by Power denied the Means of doing it. This, Sir, is a Piece of Management, it is a Sort of parliamentary Play, always practiſed by thoſe who oppoſe the Meaſures of the Adminiſtration; I remember it as long as I've been in Parliaments, and have by my own Experience been acquainted with it: I can remember Motions made with no other View, but to have a Negative put upon them; and particularly at the Beginning of a Seſſion, the Language among ſuch Gentlemen has always been, we muſt attack them, we muſt give them no Reſt, but make Motion after Motion; if they agree in any Motion we make, it will diſtreſs them; and if they put a Negative on every one, it will render them odious among the People.

This I ſay, Sir, has been always the Practice of thoſe who are reſolved at any Rate to oppoſe the Adminiſtration; but to ſay, that any Motion in Parliament is refuſed by Power, is, in my Opinion, a very unparliamentary Way of ſpeaking; when any Motion is made, every Gentleman is at Liberty to debate upon it, and to agree or diſagree as he thinks reaſonable; if it be rejected it muſt be by a Majority of the Houſe, and becomes an Act of this Houſe; and to ſay that what is the Act of the Houſe is an Act of Power, is, I think, ſpeaking in the Language of Party.

I ſhall likewiſe agree with the Hon. Gentleman, that when any Papers are moved for, the Houſe is not to be told by any Miniſter, or any but his Majeſty, that ſuch Papers contain Secrets which muſt not yet be diſcovered; but I hope the Gentleman will agree with me, that it is below the Dignity of this Houſe to preſent inſignificant Addreſſes to his Majeſty; we are not to deſire of his Majeſty what evidently, and at firſt Sight, appears to be ſuch as his Majeſty cannot

y with; and therefore when a Motion for
y ſuch Addreſs is made, any Gentleman
the Houſe may, nay, he ought, if he
inks ſo, to riſe up and ſhew to the Houſe,
at what is deſired by the Addreſs moved for,
of ſuch a Nature, that his Majeſty cannot
mply with it; and this I take to be the
ſe now before us. In moſt publick Nego-
tions ſome Things may happen which
ght never to be revealed; in every Negotia-
n, I believe, ſome Things happen which
ght not to be publiſhed to the World for
great many Years after; and therefore it
uſt be very irregular to deſire his Majeſty
lay before this Houſe, that is, to publiſh
the World, all the Letters and Inſtructions
ating to a Negotiation, which happened
a very few Years ago.

Gentlemen may aſſign what Cauſes they
ſe for the Treaty of *Vienna*, but when
t Treaty comes to be conſidered, I believe
ill appear, that we thereby entered into no
xtraordinary or burthenſome Engagements;
that we are not thereby obliged to do any
ing, but what we were by the Nature of
ings, and the Circumſtances of Affairs,
ged to do, if no ſuch Treaty had been
de. If this ſhould appear, it will then be
ain, that what the Hon. Gentleman men-
'd, was not the true Cauſe, or only Foun-
on of the Treaty of *Vienna*; ſo that till
Houſe has entered into the Conſideration
hat Treaty, and has found that the En-
ements thereby entered into were ſuch as
ought not to have taken upon us, if there
any other Way of carrying the Treaty
Seville into Execution, without entering
a War; till ſuch Time, I ſay, it cannot
retended, that there is any Connection be-
n the Letters and Inſtructions relating
he Execution of the Treaty of *Seville*,
the Treaty of *Vienna* now reſolved to be
d for; and therefore, till that Time, the
ion now before us cannot be a proper or a
lar Motion.

efore I conclude, Sir, I muſt take Notice,
the Way which ſome Gentlemen have
nto, of making Panegyricks, and praiſing
Miniſters for their profound Wiſdom by
of Irony at one Time, and at other
es calling Names, ſuch as a cowardly
iniſtration, a wheeling, ſhifting Miniſtry
by the by I never underſtood the pre-
to be a ſhifting Adminiſtration, for, as I
it, the great Quarrel is, that the Admi-
tion has not been ſhifted) ſuch a Way,
Sir, is a Method of Speaking, which
ill becomes any Member of this Houſe.
I cannot agree with Gentlemen who ſay
this Nation is at preſent in ſo unhappy a
tion, yet I muſt grant that the Affairs of
e are not at preſent in a very happy Si-
on; and if the Errors or Miſmanagement
y of the Adminiſtration here has con-
tributed in the leaſt to the preſent Poſture of
the Affairs of *Europe*, I muſt think they very
little deſerve to ſerve the Crown; but really
by ſome Gentlemen's Way of Talking, one
would imagine that the Miniſters of *England*
were the Miniſters of *Europe*, or that Mad-
neſs and Folly reigned at this Court, and the
moſt profound Wiſdom prevailed at all others:
If any unforeſeen Accidents Abroad, if the
Ambition of any foreign Prince, or the Miſ-
conduct of any foreign Court, produces any
untoward Effects, or occaſions any Troubles
in *Europe*, the Miniſters of *England* are im-
mediately loaded with the Whole; it is they
that have done the Miſchief, and they muſt
anſwer for it. This, Sir, is a Way of Treat-
ing thoſe who have the Honour to ſerve the
Crown, which to me ſeems neither candid
nor juſt: However, I ſhall trouble you no
further, but only to declare that I ſhall be
againſt the Motion which the Hon. Gentle-
man has made.

W——m S--pp--n, Eſq; Sir, As the
Hon. Gentleman who ſpoke laſt has made
grievous Complaints of the Treatment he and
his Friends receive from other Gentlemen, I
am ſurprized he ſhould, at the ſame Time,
fall into that very Error he ſo much complains
of in others; for to ſay, that Gentlemen
make Motions only for the Sake of having
an Opportunity to declaim againſt thoſe in
the Adminiſtration, or for the Sake of mak-
ing a Figure in the Votes, is Language, in
my Opinion, as unparliamentary, and treat-
ing Gentlemen with as little Candour, as
what he has blamed others for.

I muſt ſay, Sir, that it ſeems a very diffi-
cult Matter to know how to pleaſe thoſe
great Men in the Adminiſtration; for I find
that when any Encomiums are made upon
them, when any Thing is ſaid in praiſe of
their Meaſures, they immediately take it to
be meant by Way of Irony; and if any Gen-
tleman happens to give them any Names
which may ſeem to be a little harſh, that
they underſtand exactly as it is ſpoke, and
complain that Gentlemen do not treat them
in a parliamentary Way: But, Sir, what-
ever others may do, I am none of thoſe who
have beſtowed Panegyricks either upon the
preſent or upon any Adminiſtration; and I
hope I never was, nor ever ſhall be guilty of
calling Names. Perhaps the Hon. Gentle-
man may diſlike thoſe Names which he pre-
tends have been given to him in this Houſe;
whether it be parliamentary Language or no I
ſhall not determine, but I muſt tell him, it is
very ſoft and pleaſant Language when com-
pared with that of the People of *England*:
Were he to hear them ſpeak, he would hear
them ſpeak in a Stile very different from that
uſed at Court, or even in this Houſe; and I
believe it would be for his Advantage to give
a little more Attention to the plain Language

of thoſe he looks on to be none of his Friends, than to the ſoothing Flatteries of his Creatures and Paraſites about him.

Sir, Gentlemen may make themſelves merry, but what I have ſaid, may, perhaps, when it is too late, be found to be true; and whatever the Hon. Gentleman and his Friends may pretend to think of the preſent Motion, I muſt be of Opinion, that it is not only reaſonable, but a natural Conſequence of what was immediately before moved and agreed too; and therefore I hope this Houſe will act ſo conſiſtently with itſelf, as to agree to the preſent Motion likewiſe. What Information we may get from the Papers moved for, with Regard to the Treaty of *Vienna*, the Gentleman who has ſeen them can beſt tell; but as that Treaty was the immediate Conſequence of the Negotiations relating to the Execution of the Treaty of *Seville*, I muſt think that the Journal of thoſe Negotiations will afford us ſome Light, with Regard to that Treaty which immediately followed; and therefore I hope the Gentleman will excuſe me for not taking it upon his Word, that the Papers called for can have no Manner of Connection with the Treaty which we ſeem now reſolved to take into Conſideration.

W——m P——ney, Eſq; Sir, I ſtand up now, as I have been obliged to do on many other Occaſions, to aſſert the Rights and Privileges of this Houſe; we have not only a Right to call for what Papers we think neceſſary for our Information, but a Right to have the Papers ſo called for, laid before us. The Hon. Gentleman on the Floor ſeems highly offended at an Expreſſion which dropt from my Hon. Friend by me. I will agree with him, that this Houſe may or may not agree with the preſent, or any other Motion: This is a Privilege which I hope ſhall always be preſerved, not only in Show, but in Reality; I hope no Gentleman ſhall ever attain to ſuch a Power as to have a Majority in this Houſe always ready to approve of what he pleaſes to propoſe; and I will likewiſe agree with him in this, that when any Motion is rejected by a Majority, it then becomes an Act of the Houſe, in which every Gentleman muſt acquieſce; but I hope he will agree with me, that till the Queſtion is put on any Motion, and the Opinion of the Houſe taken upon it, it does not become an Act of the Houſe: Now, as no Queſtion has yet been put on the preſent Motion, and as it has yet been oppoſed, only by thoſe who are immediately concerned in the Adminiſtration, I think it may very properly be ſaid, that what has been aſked has been refuſed by Power, or at leaſt by thoſe in Power.

The Gentlemen who oppoſed this Motion are forced to acknowledge, that this Houſe has a Power of Calling for what Papers we pleaſe; but then, ſay they, you ought not to call for the Papers relating to any foreign Negotiation, becauſe all ſuch muſt contain Secrets which ought not to be publiſhed to the World. Is not this, Sir, ſaying and unſaying in the ſame Breath? You may call for what Papers you pleaſe, but you muſt not call for the Papers relating to any foreign Negotiation, becauſe the Addreſſing for ſuch, appears, at firſt Sight, to be ſuch an Addreſs as his Majeſty cannot comply with. Sir, I ſay, that when this Houſe finds it neceſſary, they may call for all the Papers relating to any Negotiation whatever, and may inſiſt upon having all of them laid before the Houſe. Do not we know that on ſuch Occaſions we name a ſecret and ſelect Committee, to inſpect ſuch Papers, and to report what they find in them; and I hope, Sir, we ſhall always have in this Houſe ten or a dozen of Gentlemen, as capable to diſtinguiſh what ought to be kept ſecret, and as capable to keep thoſe Secrets, as any Secretary or other Miniſter of State, that is or ever ſhall be in this Nation.

I am really, Sir, ſurpriſed to hear Gentlemen pretend there is no Connection between the Negotiations for carrying the Treaty of *Seville* into Execution, and the Treaty of *Vienna*; when by that very Treaty of *Vienna* the Treaty of *Seville* was actually carried into Execution. It was the laſt Negotiation on Foot for carrying it into Execution; and in order to judge of this laſt Negotiation, we only deſire to ſee the Papers relating to the preceding Negotiations, which were carried for that ſame Purpoſe. It may, for what I know, be true, that by the Treaty of *Vienna* we entered into no Engagements, but ſuch as we were obliged to by the Nature of Things and the Circumſtances of Affairs; but it muſt ſurely be granted that an expreſs Stipulation is more binding than a natural Obligation, and that no prudent Man will confirm a natural Obligation by an expreſs Stipulation, unleſs he has ſome very good Conſideration for doing: If we had entered into no expreſs Engagements, we would have left our Predeceſſors in the ſame Caſe we were in ourſelves; they might then have judged as well as we, by the Nature of Things, and the Circumſtances of the Affairs of *Europe*, as they ſhould have appeared to them; but now they are tied down, they muſt judge only by the Terms of the Treaty which we have made for them, and tho' the Nature of Things, and the Circumſtances of *Europe*, ſhould be entirely altered, it will, without doubt, be inſiſted that they ought to perform thoſe Engagements we have ſubjected them to.

The Hon. Gentleman ſaid, that if the Nation was in an unhappy Situation, and that was owing to any Miſmanagement at home, it ought to be enquired into, and that on Foot of ſuch an Enquiry he was ready to Iſſue with any Gentleman in this Houſe

t Foot, Sir, I am ready to join Issue with
m: To me there is nothing appears more
rtain, than that we are in a most lamenta-
e and calamitous Situation; and even from
e Lights I have already, I am convinced,
yond all Doubt, that our present Situation
owing to the Mismanagement of those at
ome: It may, I believe, be proved, to the
tisfaction of every unbiassed Person; but I
ust say, that if the Hon. Gentleman's Opi-
on prevails in the present Debate, he is tak-
g a very effectual Method to prevent its
ing in the Power of any to bring Proofs of
at I have now asserted: While he is pos-
sed of all or most of the Materials necessary
such a Proof, it is an easy Matter first to
ny Gentlemen any Access to them, and
en to throw out a Defiance; but this will
t, I hope, be in his Power; I hope the
ouse will, in the present Question, join with
e in Opinion, that it is absolutely necessary
us to have the Papers now called for laid
fore us.

I would gladly know how it is possible for
e Parliament to give the Nation any Relief
its present melancholy Circumstances, if
are deny'd Access to those Particulars
m which only we can know what our pre-
t Situation is. If the Question should
ne before us, whether or no we ought to
e any Part in the present War? can we
any Judgment upon such a Question,
thout first knowing how we stand engaged
the several Powers? And can we know any
ing of this, without examining the many
eaties and Negotiations carried on of late
ars? If we are to take no Part in the
r, we must provide for the Safety of the
tion; how can we do this properly, and as
ught to be done? How can we judge of
Estimates to be laid before us for that
d, without knowing what Danger the
tion is in? And how can we know our
nger, without knowing how we stand with
pect to our foreign Alliances and Engage-
nts? For those Ends, Sir, we must have
only the Papers now moved for, but, in
Opinion, a great many others, in order
ive us those Lights which we ought cer-
ly to have.

As I have said before, Sir, even as Things
appear to me, all that has happened is the
rk of our own Hands; the Weakness of
e whom many already look on as our
nds, and the Strength of their Enemies,
l of our own doing: Gentlemen were told
t when those Transactions were carrying
but they were too wise to listen to Advice.
en the whole Chain and Series of our
nagement for several Years past comes to
mpartially look'd into, what I now say will
ound to be true: Certain Causes will be found
ducing certain Effects, these Effects after-
ds becoming Causes, and producing other
ects, till at last we have arrived at the mi-
serable State we are now in; but these are Matters, which I hope will soon come to be more fully opened, and clearly stated to this House.

The Hon. Gentleman said that Motions were often made with no other View, but to have Negatives put on them; if that be the Case, as to the present Motion, the Gentleman and his Friends may easily disappoint us of the Negative we are supposed to expect; and I wish, with all my Heart, that the Gentleman would give himself the Pleasure of disappointing me and some other Gentlemen, the obliging of whom did never, I am persuaded, yield him any great Delight.

J——ph D——rs, Esq; Member for *B——r* in *Sussex*. Sir, I am entirely against your Question; I think it a most unreasonable Proposition: In my Opinion, it would be altogether as right and as dutiful to address his Majesty to bring his Cabinet, with all the Papers in it, and lay it upon the Table, or upon the Floor of this House, to be perused by the Members. An Hon. Gentleman talked of the Language of the People of *England*, and seemed to insinuate, as if they railed at the Ministry. As to that, Sir, I have been, since last Session, in several Counties, and have conversed with People of different Parties; and I never heard any Man reproach the Ministry; on the contrary, they seemed all to think, that the only Dispute among us here was, who should be Minister; and as this is a Dispute which the Generality of the People of *England* are no Way concerned in, Gentlemen are much mistaken, if they imagine that the People of *England* trouble their Heads about it.

The Question was then put upon the Motion, and upon a Division carried in the Negative 195 to 104.

DEBATE *on the Motion for calling for the* Instructions *to his Majesty's Minister in* Poland.

On *Jan.* 25. *S——l S——ys*, Esq; stood up, and spoke as follows, *viz.* Sir, as we have been told, not only upon the Occasion of our Address in Answer to his Majesty's Speech, but have likewise heard, from Gentlemen in a late Debate, that the principal Causes of the War now carrying on in *Europe*, proceeded from those Obstructions which were thrown in the Way at the late Election of a King of *Poland*; I shall therefore move, that an humble Address be presented to his Majesty, to give Direction, that the several Instructions to Mr. *Woodward*, his Majesty's Minister in *Poland*, in the Year 1729, be laid before the House.

It is well known, Sir, that the late King of *Poland* was then in a bad State of Health, so that even his Life was despaired of; and therefore we need not doubt, but there were some Measures then laid down for regulating, or at least influencing the Election of a new

King: As we had a Miniſter there at that Time, it is as little to be doubted, but that we were at leaſt conſulted, perhaps by all Parties concerned; we had a Right to intermeddle, becauſe there are, I believe, ſome Treaties ſubſiſting between us and *Poland*; and we were certainly intereſted in that great Event, becauſe of the Extenſive Trade carried on by our Subjects in that fruitful Kingdom: 'Tis true, the then King happened to live for a few Years after; but it is probable that the Meaſures then agreed on were much the ſame with thoſe which have been ſince purſued; or at leaſt that the Meaſures then concerted, very much influenced ſome of thoſe Meaſures which have been ſince carried into Execution: For this Reaſon I ſhould be glad to ſee, and I think it is abſolutely neceſſary for this Houſe to ſee the Inſtructions at leaſt, that were ſent to our Miniſters at that Time, before we can determine any Thing as to the State in which we ſtand at preſent, with Reſpect to the War now unhappily begun in *Europe*; and therefore I have taken the Liberty to make you this Motion. *This Motion was ſeconded by Mr.* Ch——d.

H——y P——m, Eſq; Sir, the Motion now made can, in my Opinion, bear but a very ſhort Debate, I really think it a moſt improper Motion, nor can I apprehend what the Gentleman means by going ſo far back as 1729. I do not indeed remember any Thing of the K. of *Poland*'s bad State of Health at that Time; but if he was then indiſpoſed, he recovered of that Indiſpoſition, and lived for a long Time after in a State of perfect Health; and even when he died, I believe it will be granted, that, but a very few Days before his Death, he was in as good a State of Health, and as likely to live as moſt Men of his Age in *Europe*.

I wiſh, Sir, as has been wiſhed in a former Debate, that Gentlemen would be ſo candid as to declare what they really intend by ſuch Motions as they have made of late: If they would once fairly tell what they mean, we might form ſome Judgment, whether what they aſked for was neceſſary for attaining the Ends they propoſe; and in that Caſe, if any Thing neceſſary or reaſonable ſhould be refuſed them, they would have ſome juſt Ground of Complaint; but thus to move, Day after Day, for all Letters, all Inſtructions, ſent to his Majeſty's Miniſters at the ſeveral Courts of *Europe* in general, is a Method of proceeding, altogether new in this Houſe; and if theſe Motions were complied with, I can ſee nothing they could poſſibly tend to, but to the increaſing of the Troubles already begun in *Europe*: This would, as I take it, be one of the certain Conſequences of the Motion now made; and therefore, as a Perſon no Way concerned in the Adminiſtration, but as a Member of this Houſe, I ſhall heartily give my Negative to the Queſtion.

H------o W-------le, Eſq; Sir, after what has been ſaid by my Hon. Friend, it may, perhaps, be thought, that I give both this Houſe and myſelf unneceſſary Trouble in urging any Thing farther againſt the Queſtion before us. If we ſhould agree to this Motion, it would, in my Opinion, be ſhewing a very great Diſreſpect to his Majeſty; for as his Majeſty has in his Speech aſſured us, that he had no Share in thoſe Meaſures which have occaſioned the preſent War, other than by his good Offices; and as this Motion, if it means any Thing, means to inſinuate, that his Majeſty has had a Share in the late Tranſactions relating to the Election of a King of *Poland*; our agreeing to it, would plainly be, to tell his Majeſty that we ſuſpect he has had a very great Share in thoſe Meaſures which give Occaſion to the preſent War; and therefore, Sir, I have a better Opinion of this Houſe, than to believe that they will ever agree to a Motion ſo inconſiſtent with that Duty and Reſpect, which we have expreſſed in our Addreſs of Thanks to his Majeſty.

There are ſome Gentlemen, Sir, who ſeem to have laid it down as a Principle, that every Thing that's wrong, happen in what Corner of *Europe* it will, muſt be owing to the Miſmanagement of the Miniſters of *Great Britain*; and they do all they can to perſuade other People to think in the ſame Manner; but to imagine, that if any wrong Steps have been made by any Power in *Europe*, with Regard to the Election of a King of *Poland*, they muſt be owing to the Miſconduct of our Miniſters, or to imagine, that any Inſtructions given to our Miniſter in *Poland* in 1729, can have any Relation to what has lately happened in that or any other Kingdom, has really ſomething ſo ridiculous in it, that I can hardly believe the Gentleman was in earneſt, when he made the Motion. From ſuch Motions it may be expected, that in a few Days ſome Gentleman will riſe up and move for the Inſtructions ſent to the Lord *Kinnoule*, at *Conſtantinople*, in order to prove from them, that the Defeat given to the *Baſhaw Topal Oſman*, by the *Perſian* General *Kouli Kan*, was owing to the Miniſtry here.

The ſame Gentlemen have of late pretended to be very dexterous, not only in diſcovering the hidden Cauſes of Things paſt, but in propheſying and foretelling future Events. I have lately ſeen a Pamphlet, which was, I ſuppoſe, wrote by one of thoſe prophetick Gentlemen; but I am afraid they, like all other falſe Prophets, will very ſoon come to loſe Credit even among thoſe who are now their moſt implicit Believers. When any Event has actually come to paſs, they cry, O! this we told you long ago; and thus they pretend to have foretold every great Event that has happened in *Europe*; but I would gladly ſee them, where or when any of them

prophesied, what Potentate, or in what Manner any Potentate, would interfere in the Election of a King of *Poland*? Have any of them prophesied, that the King of *Sardinia* would grant a Passage to the *French* Troops thro' his Territories, to *Italy*? or did they prophesy, that he would join with *France* in declaring War against the Emperor? Have any of them prophesied, that the two strong Forts of *Milan* and *Pizzighitone*, that might have been reasonably supposed to have held out a Siege of 5 or 6 Months, should have been taken in a few Weeks? In short, Sir, they have pretended to foretel every Thing, and have really foretold nothing; but this being a Digression, I shall say no more about it. As to the Motion itself, it appears to me in such an odd Light, that I dare say, the Gentleman who made it, when he considers better of it, will rather withdraw it, than have it stand in the Votes of this House; if he does not, I shall certainly give my Negative to it.

Sir *C——s W--g--r*. Sir, the Hon. Gentleman who spoke last having mentioned Pamphlets, brings to my Mind, that I have lately seen one, which I believe I should not have read, had I not been told that my Name was mentioned in it. 'Tis true, that, about the Time mentioned in that Pamphlet, we were obliged to fit out some Squadrons of Men of War; and though I thought myself then old enough to be laid aside, yet I had the Honour to be appointed, by his Majesty, Commander of some of them: With one of those Squadrons I sailed to the *Baltick*, for the Relief of *Sweden*, which was then in a very dangerous Situation, the *Muscovites* having then a large Squadron at Sea, with which they were plundering and ravaging their Coasts, at the same Time that they were at tacking them with a numerous Army by Land. The very News of our fitting out such a Squadron had so good an Effect, that before I had arrived at *Stockholm*, the *Muscovites* had agreed to conclude a Peace with *Sweden*, upon reasonable Terms; so that when I came to *Stockholm*, I was told by the Court, that they had no farther Occasion for our Fleet; but the Fright the poor People were in, upon all the Parts of that Coast, which I touched at, and the Joy they expressed on seeing our Fleet, was a plain Demonstration of the Danger they thought themselves in.

I went afterwards, Sir, to the Coasts of *Spain*, with another Squadron, where I cruized and looked out with all possible Care for the *Spanish* Flotilla, then expected home; they, indeed, had the good Fortune to escape me, but if the Gentleman who wrote that Pamphlet knew the Place I was obliged to cruize in, and the only Place I could properly cruize in, for the intercepting of the *Flotilla*, he would if he knew the great Seas that roll there in the Winter, he would not have had Occasion for long Nights, or foggy Weather, as a Reason for my having missed the *Flotilla*; he would have known, that at that Time of the Year they might have passed even within my View, without its being in my Power either to come up with them, or to fire a Gun at them: But Gentlemen often censure other People's Actions, because they know nothing of the Matter, and are quite ignorant of many Circumstances, necessary to be known, before they can form a right Judgment about what they take upon them to criticise.

I have, Sir, served as an Officer in the Navy ever since the Revolution, and, I hope, I have hitherto served without the least Reproach: I am sure I have always endeavoured to serve my Country to the utmost of my Power; and therefore I hope Gentlemen will take Care not to throw any Reflections upon my Conduct. But some People seem to think, that, with our Squadrons, we may do whatever we please, and that, if a Squadron is fitted out we must fight, whether there be any Occasion or no; I believe they think that, with the last Squadron we had at *Spithead*, we ought to have fought the *Dutch*, who came and joined us, rather than not to have fought at all; but surely this, as it is a very monstrous Opinion, cannot be a general one. We may perhaps this Year fit out a Squadron, and possibly they too may go no further than *Spithead*; they certainly will not, unless there be a Necessity for proceeding further; but when all our Neighbours are fitting out Squadrons, and making great military Preparations, it would surely be very imprudent in us, not to put ourselves at least in a Posture of Defence.

W——m P——ney, Esq; Sir, I am very apt to believe, my Hon. Friend over the Way, who made you this Motion, was very serious, as he always is in every Motion he makes in this House. The Reason he gave for his Motion was a very strong one, so strong that it has not as yet met with any Answer; for if it should appear, that we, at the Time he mentions, concerted Measures in Conjunction with other Powers, for regulating or influencing the next Election of a King of *Poland*, and that the Plan then laid down has been since pursued, these Instructions will certainly inform us; and from thence we may know a little more of our present Situation than we now do: But I find, Sir, if the Opinion of some Gentlemen prevail, we are to have no Information at all; and in that Case, how we can answer his Majesty's Expectations, who desires our Advice and Assistance, I leave to every one to judge.

The Hon. Gentleman who spoke last but one talk'd of Prophecies, and asked what those Prophets had prophesied; had they, said he, prophesied this? or had they prophesied that? What Prophets or Prophecies he means

I do not know; but I may ſay, that without any great Spirit of Prophecy, the Moment you ſeparated the Courts of *Vienna* and *Spain*, every Thing that has ſince happened might have been eaſily foretold. The Gentleman likewiſe talked of Pamphlets: I, Sir, have likewiſe ſeen a Pamphlet, lately publiſh'd, and whether from the Stile it is wrote in, or the Perplexity in the Way of Thinking, which is diſcovered in every Part of it, I think I can be almoſt certain as to the Author of it. *(Here he gave a Deſcription of the Perſon he ſuppoſed to be the Author of it.)* The Whole of this fine Performance reſults in this, that the Nation is in a very bad Situation; ſomething muſt be done; but what, the Author does not know: If we do one Thing, we are ſtill in the ſame Situation as before, perhaps worſe; if we do another Thing, our Caſe will ſtill be the ſame: In ſhort, he at laſt leaves us in the ſame wretched Condition he found us; upon which, Sir, I muſt ſuppoſe this Caſe: Suppoſe a Phyſician to have a Patient for ſome Time under his Hands; the Patient lingers and decays, and at laſt finds himſelf in ſo weak a Condition, that he begins to deſpair; the Phyſician's ſent for, the Patient complains, and aſks what muſt be done? The Doctor anſwers gravely, Sir, you are indeed in a very bad State: There are but two or three Ways of treating your Diſtemper, and I am afraid neither of them will do; a Vomit may throw you into Convulſions, and kill you at once; a Purge may give you a Diarrhea, which would certainly carry you off in a ſhort Time; and to bleed you, Sir, I have already bled you ſo much and ſo often, that you can bear it no longer: In ſuch a Situation would not the Patient probably exclaim againſt his Doctor, and ſay, Sir, you have always pretended to be a regular Phyſician, but I have found you to be an arrant Quack; I had an excellent Conſtitution when I came firſt into your Hands, but you have quite deſtroyed it; and now I have no other Chance for ſaving my Life, but by calling for the Help of ſome regular Phyſicians.

But, Sir, to be altogether ſerious, for the Subject is really of a very ſerious Nature; if Gentlemen have a Mind to do ſomething for the Safety of the Nation in our preſent melancholy Circumſtances, and ſeriouſly to aſk the Advice and Aſſiſtance of Parliament, thoſe Things that are neceſſary for our Information, muſt not be denied: Their being refuſed by a Majority, which ſeems to be almoſt the only Argument urged by thoſe who oppoſe theſe Motions, will not have any Weight with the Nation; Gentlemen, 'tis true, muſt acquieſce in what is done by the Majority, but it will not have all that Force without Doors, as ſome may imagine. I know, Sir, it is not allowable to ſay any Thing againſt what is done by a Majority of this Houſe; but there are certain Methods of Speaking, which are not againſt Order, and which might, notwithſtanding, make Gentlemen feel, that an Anſwer could be given, even to that unanſwerable Argument, of its having been done by a Majority.

I have known, Sir, in former Parliaments, moſt ſcandalous Things done by a corrupt Majority; any Thing's being done or reſolved on by a Majority even of this Houſe, will not make it right, nor convince the Nation that it is ſo: We know, Sir, what Opinion the whole Nation had of that wicked Scheme, which was before us laſt Seſſion; we know what Abhorrence they ſtill have of it, and of many of thoſe who voted for it; and yet that Scheme, to uſe an honourable Perſon's own Words, was attended with a Majority in every Diviſion; but this is foreign to the Queſtion, I only mention it to ſhew how unfairly that Argument of a Majority is urged by thoſe of the other Side.

In a late Debate, Sir, Gentlemen found Fault with the Queſtion then moved, becauſe of its being too general: They deſired we would be a little more particular, and lay our Finger on ſome Paper or Papers relating to ſome particular Tranſaction, which might give us the Information we deſired: The Election of a King of *Poland*, and the Meaſures taken by certain Powers for influencing, or rather directing that Election, has been owned on all Hands to have been what has given Riſe to the preſent Troubles in *Europe*; and now when the particular Inſtructions, relating to that particular Affair, which were ſent to our Miniſter at that Court, only for one Year, and that too ſeveral Years ago, are moved for, ſtill we are told by the ſame Gentlemen, you are not particular enough, your Demands are unreaſonable; aſk but what is reaſonable, and we will give it you, provided the Majority agree to it: At this Rate it is impoſſible for Gentlemen who are entirely ignorant of our late foreign Tranſactions to aſk for any Thing; for it is not to be preſumed, that any Man can aſk for any particular Paper, from which this Houſe could get a proper Information, even as to any particular Tranſaction, unleſs he knew very exactly the whole Series of that Tranſaction, and all other Tranſactions relating to it.

The Hon. Gentleman by me has been pleaſed to declare his Willingneſs to enter into the moſt ſtrict Enquiry; and for that Purpoſe has promiſed a great deal of Condeſcenſion, as to the laying before the Houſe whatever Papers might be thought neceſſary for their Information; but what has all this come to? Why, he and the Majority have condeſcended to give us a Treaty, which has long ago been in Print, and publiſhed in, I believe,

believe, moſt of the Countries of *Europe*. I muſt ſay, Sir, that ſuch Treatment is intolerable; I do not know what Name to give it; but I ſhall avoid giving Names: I would not willingly fling the firſt Stone, but if any Stone be flung at me, I ſhall always be ready to fling it back again.

H----o W----le, Eſq; Sir, the Hon. Gentleman who ſpoke laſt, ended his Speech with ſaying, that he would not willingly fling the firſt Stone; but it ſeems he had then forgot what he had ſaid but a very little before, by which, if he did not fling a Stone, he, at leaſt, in my Opinion, threw a very great Pebble at the whole Houſe: After having told us, that it was not allowable to ſay any Thing againſt what was done by the Majority, he ſaid, that there were, notwithſtanding, ſome Methods of Speaking, which were not againſt Order, and by which Gentlemen might be made to feel, that an Anſwer might be given to what the Majority had thought unanſwerable; then he talked of ſcandalous Things having been done in former Parliaments by a corrupt Majority: Now, Sir, I would be glad to know how this Houſe can feel any Thing that is ſaid of former Parliaments, unleſs it be meant, that the preſent Parliament is of the ſame Nature with the former Parliaments talked of: This, Sir, as I have ſaid, ſeems to be a very great Pebble thrown at the whole Houſe; beſides the Dirt he had before flung at the ſuppoſed Author of a Pamphlet lately publiſh'd, whom he took Care to deſcribe ſo particularly, that, I believe, every Gentleman thinks, the Author, or at leaſt the ſuppoſed Author, is now ſpeaking to you; but I can freely declare, that I am not the Author of it; I have indeed read it, and I believe the greateſt Quarrel that Gentleman and his Friends have with it, is, that they do not know how to anſwer it.

The Hon. Gentleman likewiſe mentioned the Caſe of a Patient and his Phyſician; but I leave the World to judge, who moſt deſerve the Appellation of Quacks, they who have the proper Degrees, and practiſe in a regular Manner, or that Gentleman's Friends, who have been for ſome Years paſt diſperſing their Quack Bills round the Country, exclaiming againſt all thoſe in the regular Practice, and endeavouring to perſuade People in good Health that they are in a dangerous Condition; and that if they do not immediately diſcharge all their regular Phyſicians, and ſwallow their Quack Powders, they muſt inevitably periſh.

But, Sir, to be ſerious, as the Gentleman ſaid, upon this Subject, tho' I cannot think that the Subject is ſo ſerious as he would repreſent; if thoſe Gentlemen would fairly enter into the Conſideration of the State of the Nation, I will defy that Gentleman or any other, to ſhew that thoſe in the Adminiſtration have acted any Part, or entered into any Meaſures, but what were, at the Time they were tranſacted, the moſt conſiſtent with the Intereſt of *Great Britain*, of any that could then be thought of. Gentlemen may call the preſent Adminiſtration a ſhifting Adminiſtration; they may ſay they have wheeled about from Court to Court; but on Enquiry it will appear, that they have never ſhifted or wheeled, but when the Intereſt of their Country required it; and that if there has been any ſhifting or wheeling, it was always owing to a Change of the Meaſures at other Courts: As long as any Power in Alliance with us, continued to act agreeably to the Intereſt of *Great Britain*, ſo long we continued firm to them; but when any of them began to enter into Meaſures directly oppoſite to our Intereſt, we then likewiſe changed our Meaſures, and had Recourſe to other Powers, who, from that Moment, became our more natural Allies: This, Sir, has been the Method always obſerv'd by thoſe in the Adminiſtration; but I know who have ſhifted and wheeled with quite another View than that of the Intereſt of *Great Britain*; when we were in Friendſhip with *France*, they were caballing with the Miniſters and Agents of the Emperor; when the Face of Affairs changed, and our Friendſhip with the Emperor was reſtored, they then caballed with the Miniſters and Agents of *France*; and thus they have been always in the greateſt Friendſhip with thoſe who have been moſt at Enmity with their native Country.

In ſhort, Sir, thoſe Gentlemen who call themſelves Patriots, have laid this down as a fixt Principle, that they muſt always oppoſe the Meaſures reſolved on by the King's Miniſters, and conſequently muſt always endeavour to ſhew that thoſe Meaſures are wrong; and this, Sir, I take to be the only Reaſon why they have been as yet ſo ſilent as to a certain Subject, in which the Intereſt of their Country is very much concerned: Their Language at preſent is, as I ſuppoſe, do not let us declare our Opinion; let us wait till we know what Part the Miniſtry takes, and then let us endeavour to ſhew that they ought to have acted quite otherwiſe: If I may be allowed to uſe a low Simile, they treat the Miniſtry as I am treated by ſome Gentlemen of my Acquaintance, with Reſpect to my Dreſs; if I am in plain Cloaths, they then ſay I am a ſlovenly dirty Fellow; and if by Chance I have on a Suit of lac'd Cloaths, they cry, what, ſhall ſuch an aukward Fellow wear fine Cloaths? So that no Dreſs I can appear in can poſſibly pleaſe them. But to conclude, Sir, the Caſe of the Nation under the preſent Adminiſtration has been the ſame with what it always has been, and muſt be; for to uſe another Simile, which my worthy Friend over the Way, whom I have in my Eye, will underſtand:

As

As long as the Wind was fair, and proper for carrying us to our deſigned Port, the Word was, ſteddy ——— ſteddy; but when the Wind began to ſhift, the Word came then neceſſarily to be, thus----thus, and no nearer.

Sir *W*———*m W*--*nd*--*m* ſtood up next; whereupon Mr. S———r got up, and ſaid, that Gentlemen had ſo much run away from the Queſtion in Debate, that, before he began he would beg Leave to read the Queſtion. Then Sir *W*———*m* went on as follows, *viz.* I ſhall take Care, Sir, to confine myſelf as ſtrictly to the Queſtion as poſſible, tho' thoſe Gentlemen who have ſpoke againſt it, have made ſuch long Digreſſions, and traverſed ſo many Parts of *Europe*, that it is difficult to ſay any Thing in Anſwer to what they have advanced, and at the ſame Time to keep cloſe to the Queſtion. As to the Digreſſions the Gentlemen have run into, I ſhall not give the Houſe much Trouble about them; and as to Arguments, the only two that I have heard made uſe of, or ſo much as hinted at, againſt the Queſtion, are, that the agreeing to the Motion would be ſhewing a Diſreſpect to his Majeſty; and, that if it ſhould be agreed to, it could be of no Service, as to the giving us any Information about our preſent Circumſtances.

It is ſaid, Sir, that the agreeing to this Motion would be ſhewing a Diſreſpect to his Majeſty, becauſe it would be ſhewing a Sort of Suſpicion, that his Majeſty has had a Share in thoſe Tranſactions which have given Occaſion to the preſent War, tho' he has, in his Speech, declared, he has had no Share in them. The Anſwer to this Objection is plain; we all know, it has always been allowed in this Houſe, that Speeches from the Throne are the Speeches of the Miniſter, and on that Suppoſition it has always been thought, that neither this Houſe, nor any Member of it is guilty of any Diſreſpect to his Majeſty, by examining and canvaſſing with all Freedom every Sentence of the Speech from the Throne; even the Facts there aſſerted may be denied, and if on Examination it ſhould be found, that they are falſe, the Miniſter ought and certainly would anſwer ſeverely for it. This is the very Caſe now before us: It is allowed of all Hands, that the Election of a King of *Poland* is the principal Cauſe of the preſent War; and to tell us, that his Majeſty has ſaid, he has had no Share in that Tranſaction, and that therefore we muſt not enquire into it, is a direct begging of the Queſtion: The Miniſters are the only Perſons we can ſuppoſe to have ſaid ſo, and there are other Gentlemen who affirm, or, at leaſt, ſuſpect the contrary: This is a Fact then that is controverted; this is the Fact we are to enquire into; and when a Motion is made for having thoſe Papers laid before us, which are neceſſary for giving us ſome Lights into this Affair, ſhall Gentlemen be told, ſuch a Motion is improper, becauſe inconſiſtent with that Reſpect we have profeſſed for his Majeſty, in our Addreſs of Thanks? If this Houſe can be perſuaded to accept of ſuch an Excuſe, if a Majority can be prevailed on to join in ſuch a Method, thoſe Gentlemen who can ſo prevail upon them, may throw out as many Defiances as they pleaſe: They are the ſole Maſters of all the Proofs that are neceſſary for, or can be made uſe of on any Enquiry; and they are, it ſeems, reſolved to continue ſo.

Whether this Houſe, Sir, can have any proper Information from the Inſtructions now called for, as to the Fact in Diſpute at preſent, is what I ſhall not take on me to determine, nor can it be, in my Opinion, determined, by any one in this Houſe; but to me it ſeems very probable, that we may from theſe Inſtructions receive ſome Lights which may enable us to determine how this Nation ſtands engaged, with Reſpect to the War now carrying on in *Europe*, ſince the principal Reaſon of that War is allowed to be founded on the late Election of a King of *Poland*. Gentlemen may, if they pleaſe, pretend Ignorance, but it is very certain, the late K. of *Poland* was in 1729 in a very bad Condition, as to his Health, and therefore it ſeems certain, that ſome Meaſures muſt have been concerted, relating to the then future Election of a King of *Poland*; whether we had any, and what Share in thoſe Meaſures, is what this Houſe now wants to enquire into, and to me it ſeems moſt evident, that the ſeeing of thoſe Inſtructions is abſolutely neceſſary for this End. 'Tis true, the King of *Poland* did recover a little, and did live for a few Years after, but he never was after that in a State of perfect Health, and, conſequently, it is moſt reaſonable to believe, that the Meaſures then concerted were the ſame with, or, at leaſt, did very much influence the Meaſures purſued on the Demiſe of that King: If we had no Share in the Tranſactions at that Time carried on in *Poland*, no Secret can be diſcovered by the laying of thoſe Inſtructions before this Houſe; and if we had any Share in thoſe Tranſactions, it cannot be ſaid, I think, that we have had no Manner of Share in thoſe Tranſactions which have occaſioned the preſent War in *Europe*.

What Share we had in thoſe Tranſactions, till I ſee thoſe Inſtructions, it is impoſſible for me to ſay; but from the Lights I already have, it appears evident to me, that we have had a very large Share in all the other Negotiations lately carried on in *Europe*. Did not we procure the Introduction of the firſt Spaniſh Forces in *Italy*? Are not we Guarantees for all Don *Carlos*'s Rights and Poſſeſſions in *Italy*? Are not we Guarantees for all the Emperor's Rights and Poſſeſſions in *Italy*?

Are not we Guarantees even for the Pragmatick Sanction in its full Extent? I believe we are under Engagements to every one of the Northern Powers; and I have heard, we are under some Engagements to *France*; so that let a War have broke out between any two Powers in *Europe*, it will be difficult to shew, that we had no Hand in the Transactions which gave Occasion to it; on the contrary, I believe it will appear, that each of them might have justly made Demands upon us; and this, Sir, is our present unhappy Situation: If this shews great Wisdom, or regular Practice (as the Gentleman was pleased to call it) in those at the Helm, I leave to the World to judge: We have been running all over *Europe*, and entering into Engagements with every Prince and State in *Europe*, and all this without any national Benefit in View, but generally to the great Detriment of our domestick Affairs, and often to the great Interruption of our Trade in all Parts of the World; and how probable it may be, that the same Wisdom, which has brought us into this Situation, will be able to extricate us out of it, is a Question which may be easily resolved.

We were told, Sir, the first Day of the Session, that we were to concert Measures, and to act in Conjunction with Powers who are under the same Engagements with us, and who we not taken Part in the present War, more particularly the States General: But I should gladly know, if we have hitherto taken any one Step in Conjunction with them? Is it not well known, that in most Cases we have lately made the first Step by ourselves, and then have, with great Difficulty and Expence, prevailed on them to follow us, which they never did, but on their own Terms, and under great Restrictions and Reservations: They have now indeed done something for their own Security, but I believe, without any Thing of our Participation; they did not much, I believe, as consult with us upon the Head, which looks as if they had some Distrust of our Power, or as if they thought they could not put any Confidence in the Counsels of this Nation; and if our most natural Allies should once begin to harbour such an Opinion of us, we may then conclude, there is no Dependence on their Friendship or Alliance.

In short, Sir, if his Majesty expects our Advice upon the present State of Affairs; if his Majesty expects the Assistance of Parliament in the present Exigency, we must be informed how our Affairs stand, before we can in a proper parliamentary Way give either our Advice or Assistance: It was with this View, and this only, that some Papers have been already called for, which have indeed been refused by a Majority; it is with this View also, that the Papers mentioned in the Motion before us are asked for; and if they likewise be refused by a Majority, we may, perhaps, give his Majesty such Assistance as his Ministers shall please to ask; but I am sure we can give him no Advice, nor can we give a Reason for what we do.

Mr. C——r of the E——r. I will agree with the Hon. Gentleman who spoke last, that the present Posture of Affairs does require, and his Majesty expects the Assistance of Parliament; but I will say, that the present Motion, and some such lately made, had the House agreed to them, would have tended to increase the present Confusions abroad, rather than to have given any real Assistance to ourselves or others. I believe, Sir, there is not a Court in *Europe*, whether engaged in the present War, or otherwise, but expected to have known by the 17th of this Month, what Part *Great Britain* was to have taken in the present War; as yet it remains unresolved, or, at least, a Secret, and it is the Interest of *Britain* it should continue so; but some Gentlemen seem inclined not only to precipitate their Country into a Resolution, but to publish that Resolution, as soon as taken, to the whole World; and which Side deserves most the Thanks of their Country, those who are for our coming to no Resolution till we have fully examined the Circumstances of Affairs, and even then concealing our Resolutions, till we are just ready to carry them into Execution; or those who are for our coming to a hasty Resolution, and immediately publishing it to the World, that our Enemies may have Time to provide against it, I leave to the World to judge.

Whatever other Gentlemen may think, Sir, it is my Opinion, that our Situation is much better than can well be expected; and when ever that Matter shall be examined into, I believe it will appear, that our present Situation is the very best that the Nation could possibly be in, with Relation to the present Posture of the Affairs of *Europe*. The Gentleman who spoke last mention'd the States of *Holland*, and that they had done something for their own Security; 'tis true, they have done something, they have entered into a Treaty of Neutrality; whereas we have remained entirely in a State of Inaction; but on this very Account, I think, we are in a much better Condition than they; by that Neutrality they have engaged not to act at all, nor to concern themselves in the present War; we are still at Liberty, and may, on any Event, take that Part which shall then appear most for the Interest of *Great Britain*.

I do not believe, Sir, that the States-General, or any other Power has less Trust in the Strength, or less Confidence in the Counsels of this Nation than formerly; but if it were so, I should not wonder at it, when every Post tells them, that we are a divided

Nation, and that there is no Dependence to be had upon our preſent Counſels, becauſe great Alterations are ſoon to happen, which muſt neceſſarily produce a thorough Change in all our publick Meaſures; and upon this Conſideration I leave it to every impartial Man to judge, if we are in any unhappy Situation, who have contributed moſt to it, thoſe who have honeſtly and faithfully ſerved the Crown, or thoſe who have made it their Buſineſs, for ſome Years, to do all in their Power to diſtreſs every Meaſure of his Majeſty's Government; and that too in Conjunction with a Perſon who I believe will never be truſted by any Court in *Europe*.

His Majeſty, in his Speech, has told us, that he is not any Way engaged in the preſent War, and that he will take Time to examine the Facts alledged on both Sides, before he comes to any Determination; when he has done ſo, it is not to be doubted but that he will lay all the Informations he can get before his Parliament, and will take their Advice, what Part the Nation ought to take in the then Conjuncture; why then ſhould we endeavour to anticipate his Majeſty's wiſe Deſigns? Why ſhould we run headlong and plunge the Nation into a War, by joining either one Side or the other, before his Majeſty has had any Time to examine into the Poſture of Affairs abroad? This ſeems indeed to be the View of ſome Gentlemen, but ſurely ſuch a raſh Proceeding would rather increaſe, than diminiſh the Unhappineſs of our preſent Situation; and is far from that Coolneſs and Temper which ought to be ſhewn, when the very Salvation of our Country depends on the Prudence and Unanimity of our Reſolves.

An Hon. Gentleman, Sir, who ſpoke ſome Time ago, took indeed a great deal of Liberty in talking of Majorities; but I would have Gentlemen to know, that when they talk of ſuch Majorities at preſent, they ſpeak of their Equals as Members of this Houſe, of their Equals on any Ground in *England*; let Gentlemen but caſt their Eyes round the Houſe, and they will find a Number of Gentlemen ſuperior to the higheſt Number of their Minority, who can as little be ſuſpected of Corruption, as any of thoſe who generally appear on the Minority Side of the Queſtion.

It is eaſy for Gentlemen to repreſent the Meaſures lately taken by the Government as unwiſe, inconſiſtent, and the like; but when the Day comes for enquiring into them, which I as heartily wiſh for as any in this Houſe, I believe thoſe Meaſures will appear in a quite different Light; and thoſe Gentlemen who may, perhaps, have hearkened to every little Whiſper of ſome of the Foreign Miniſters, at this Court, which is, I believe, the only Foundation for what they have aſſerted, will find themſelves at laſt ſorely diſappointed. Whenever ſuch an Enquiry ſhall be reſolved on, I doubt not but the Majority of this Houſe will agree to call for every Paper that can be thought neceſſary for giving a full Information of the preſent State of the Nation: But this is not the Queſtion at preſent, nor are we now to enquire whether his Majeſty has had any Share in thoſe Tranſactions which have given Occaſion to the preſent War; and therefore I cannot think we have, at preſent, any thing to do with any Inſtructions to his Majeſty's Miniſters in *Poland*, or elſewhere.

His Majeſty, 'tis true, expects the Aſſiſtance of his Parliament; but for what? He does not immediately expect ſuch an Aſſiſtance as to enable him to take any Part in the preſent War; he wants only ſuch as may enable him to put the Nation in a proper Poſture of Defence; and ſurely we may determine what will be neceſſary for that End, without enquiring into any of our foreign Negotiations. It is for this Reaſon, Sir, that I think the Houſe has done right in rejecting all the Motions hitherto made for Letters and Inſtructions relating to our foreign Affairs; and, for the ſame Reaſon, I make no doubt, but they will likewiſe reject the preſent Motion.

The Queſtion was then put upon the Motion, and upon a Diviſion was carried in the Negative 202 againſt 114.

Motion about good Offices.

Immediately after this, *E——d W——d*, Eſq; Member for *Great M——w* in *Buckinghamſhire*, roſe up, and after a ſhort Speech moved, That an humble Addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, to communicate to that Houſe how far he had been engaged, by his good Offices, in thoſe Tranſactions, which had been declared to be the principal Cauſes and Motives of the War, which was then begun and carried on againſt the Emperor, with ſo much Vigour, by the united Powers of *France*, *Spain*, and *Sardinia*. [See the King's Speech, p. 43.]

Which Motion was ſeconded; and, after a ſhort Debate, the Queſtion was put upon it, and carried in the Negative, without a Diviſion.

DEBATE *on the Motion for addreſſing to know what Applications have been made to his Majeſty*, &c.

Then *S——l S——ys*, Eſq; ſtood up, and ſaid, that tho' the Motion he had juſt before made had been rejected, yet, as he never propoſed any thing, but what he thought juſt and reaſonable, he was not therefore apt to be diſcouraged; and for that Reaſon he would aſk Leave to make another Motion, which he hoped would meet with better Succeſs: His Motion was, That an humble Addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, to communicate to that Houſe, what Application had been made to him by the ſeveral Parties then engaged in the War, founded upon Treaties or other

gag-

gements. This Motion was ſeconded by Sir *J——n R——t.*

H——y P——lh——m, Eſq; It is very true, Sir, that the Hon. Gentleman who made you this Motion is not very apt to be diſcouraged; but however he may flatter himſelf with Succeſs in his preſent Motion, it is, in my Opinion, ſo much of a Kin to his former, that I can ſee no Reaſon he has to expect, that it ſhould have a different Fate. His Majeſty has already told us, that he was no way engaged in the preſent War, nor had had any Share in thoſe Tranſactions which gave Riſe to it; and therefore 'tis not to be preſumed, that any Power engaged has made any Application to him, founded upon Treaties or other Engagements. Some of them might perhaps have made an Application to his Majeſty for his Aſſiſtance; but even ſuch an Application was not to be preſumed, becauſe, had any ſuch been made, it was not to be doubted, but that his Majeſty, in his Speech, would have taken ſome Notice of it. As this Queſtion, Sir, is of the ſame Nature with the former moved by that Gentleman, and founded upon the ſame Jealouſy of his Majeſty's Conduct, it is impoſſible for me to have any thing new to urge againſt it; but I believe it is as impoſſible for any Gentleman in this Houſe to ſay any thing new in favour of it, and therefore I ſhall give the Houſe no further Trouble, only declare, that I ſhall give my Negative to it, as well as I did to the former.

W——m P——ney, Eſq; Sir, Whatever Light the Hon. Gentleman who ſpoke laſt may take the preſent Motion in, I think it muſt bear a very different Conſideration from that formerly made by my worthy Friend. I believe it will not be denied, but we are under ſome Engagements to every one, or, at leaſt, moſt of the Powers engaged in the preſent War; and whatever we may at preſent pretend to think of thoſe Engagements, it is very probable, that thoſe to whom we are engaged think otherwiſe: It is not to be doubted, but that ſome of them think we are, by the Engagements we have entered into, obliged to aſſiſt them, on the preſent Emergency; and it is pretty well known, that they have made Application for an immediate Performance of thoſe Engagements. I have heard, that 10000 Land Forces, or ſome ſuch Number, has been actually demanded of one of the Powers engaged in the War; I will not, indeed, affirm the Truth of it, tho' I have ſomething more than the Whiſper of a foreign Miniſter to confirm what I ſay.

It is well known, Sir, that in moſt of the Engagements we have entered into, it is left proportional to the Power we are engaged with, to demand our Quota in a Squadron of Ships, a certain Sum of Money, or a certain Number of Troops; and as we are to go into a Committee on the Supply on *Monday* next, there is nothing more reaſonable, than that the Houſe ſhould be informed of what Demands have been made upon us, and whether thoſe Demands have been for Ships, Money, or Men, before we go into that Committee; for without ſuch Information it will be impoſſible for us to know how to come to ſuch Reſolutions as may be moſt for the Safety and Honour of the Nation. The Motion is therefore ſo far from being unreaſonable, that it is neceſſary it ſhould be complied with; and if it is not, I cannot ſee how we can properly go into the Committee upon the Supply.

Sir *W——m Y——ge*. Sir, I can ſee no Reaſon why the Houſe may not be fully prepared for going into the Committee of Supply, tho' this Motion ſhould be rejected as the others have been; and therefore I do not think it neceſſary to enter into the Debate at preſent, whether the Motion be reaſonable or no; there may be another Time for that Queſtion, and for that Reaſon I ſhall now only move for the previous Queſtion.

W——m P——ney, Eſq; Sir, I find the Gentleman who ſpoke laſt has avoided entering upon the Merits of the Queſtion, and, by a ſort of Parliamentary Trick, by moving for the previous Queſtion, he intends, it ſeems, to put off the Queſtion for this Day, at leaſt; this, in my Opinion, is treating the Queſtion with much greater Indecency than if it were to be fairly argued, and afterwards rejected; for if the Queſtion be delayed till after *Monday* next, it will then be too late to enter upon the Conſideration of it; it will really be in effect firſt to reſolve, and then to enter into the Conſideration of what ought to be reſolved; and therefore, Sir, I muſt deſire, that the Queſtion may be fairly debated, that Gentlemen would, at leaſt, give us a Reaſon for what they are to do, and then let the Motion ſtand or fall upon its own Merits.

Sir *W——m Y——ge*. I did not, Sir, intend any Trick when I moved for the previous Queſtion; it is what has been always practiſed in this Houſe, when any Queſtion has been moved which Gentlemen have a Mind to favour ſo much as not to put a Negative upon it: But even as to the Merits of the Queſtion, it cannot, certainly, have any Relation to any Reſolutions we can poſſibly come to on *Monday* next; for all the Reſolves we come to in that Committee are founded upon Eſtimates given in, or Demands made, by the Crown; and if any Demand were to be made upon this Houſe, to enable his Majeſty to ſend a Quota either of Ships of War, Money, or Troops, to any Power in *Europe*, ſuch Demand would certainly be laid before this Houſe by his Majeſty's Orders, without putting us to the Trouble of preſenting any ſuch Addreſs as is now moved for; there is therefore no Neceſſity for entering this Day upon the Merits of this

Queſtion; the Gentleman may renew his Motion when he thinks proper, and then I do not doubt but other Gentlemen will debate the Reaſonableneſs of it, and as it appears to the Houſe, it will certainly be agreed to or rejected; but as I do not think this a proper Time for debating it, I muſt inſiſt upon my Motion.

W—r P--m--r, Eſq; Sir, as we ſhall probably come on *Monday* next to ſome Reſolutions, with Reſpect to our Seamen, I ſhould think it neceſſary for this Houſe to know what Demands have been made upon us by our Allies, before we come to any Reſolution on that Head; otherwiſe we may leave Room for thoſe extraordinary Meſſages and Demands towards the End of a Seſſion, which this Nation has of late been too much accuſtomed to. The Gentleman who moved the previous Queſtion ſays, that this is not a proper Time for entering upon the Merits of the Motion, becauſe if any ſuch Application had been made, and his Majeſty had reſolved to grant what was aſked, he would have ordered this to be laid before us, together with the other Eſtimates and Demands of the current Service of the Year. Is not this, Sir, directly to tell us, that after his Majeſty has come to a Determination what Part to act, he will be graciouſly pleaſed to take the Advice of Parliament. It is true, Sir, his Majeſty has by his Prerogative the Power of making Peace or War: But, Sir, in a Matter of ſo great Conſequence, it has always appeared to be the Intereſt, nay, I may ſay, it has always been thought to be the Duty of the Kings of *England*, to take the Advice of their People in Parliament aſſembled, and not to truſt entirely to the Advice of their Miniſters; and if any ſuch Demand, as is mentioned in the Motion, has been made by any of his Majeſty's Allies, I cannot think it would be any way derogatory to the Prerogative of the Crown, or to the Wiſdom of the Miniſters, to lay it before the Parliament, whether it ought to be complied with or not.

J——n C---ck---rn, Knight of the Shire for *H——n* in *Scotland*. Sir, I was againſt the firſt Motion, becauſe ſome Gentlemen had aſſured the Houſe, and I was myſelf a little afraid, that at preſent it might tend to increaſe the Troubles that are now in *Europe*; but the preſent Motion I take to be of a very different Nature; I am ſure that, ſhould it be complied with, no Secrets can thereby be diſcovered, nor can it poſſibly tend to increaſe the preſent Troubles.

I am old enough, Sir, to remember the Beginning of the firſt great War againſt *France*, and I remember, that as ſoon as the *Dutch* applied to us for our Aſſiſtance, King *William* immediately laid the Caſe before the Parliament, and took their Advice, as to what was proper to be done upon that Emergency, before he came to any Reſolution: Upon the breaking out of the ſecond War, the late Queen did the ſame, and I muſt ſay, that I think every King of this Nation ought to follow that Example; if they expect the Aſſiſtance of Parliament, they ought to take the Advice of Parliament; and our Hiſtories will inform us, that where they have done ſo, they have generally done well, and where they have done otherwiſe, they have had but little Succeſs; for which Reaſon I am for agreeing with the Motion now made to us.

The Queſtion was then put upon the previous Queſtion, *viz.* Whether the Queſtion upon the Motion ſhould be then put; which was carried in the Negative, without a Diviſion.

Number of Seamen agreed to.

On *Monday*, *Jan.* 28. the Houſe (according to Order) reſolved itſelf into a Committee of the whole Houſe on the Supply granted to his Majeſty; and came to the following Reſolutions, *viz.* That 20,000 Men ſhould be employed for the Sea-Service for the Year 1734, beginning the firſt Day of *January* 1733. And that 4 l. *per* Man *per* Month ſhould be allowed for maintaining the ſaid 20,000 Men for 13 Months, including the Ordnance for Sea.

Theſe Reſolutions were reported next Day to the Houſe, and were agreed to, as they had been in the Committee, without any Debate or Diviſion; only ſome Gentlemen ſaid, That the Number was certainly either too large or too ſmall; for if we were not to engage in the War, they ſaid, there was no Occaſion for keeping ſuch a Number of Seamen in Pay; and if we were to engage in the War, they thought double the Number would ſcarcely be ſufficient: To which it was anſwered, That tho' we were not to engage in the War, yet, as ſome of our Neighbours were fitting out large Squadrons, and making great military Preparations, almoſt at our very Door, it was abſolutely neceſſary to put the Nation in a better State of Defence, than during the Time of a profound Peace; and as our Fleet was our chief Bulwark, it was moſt proper to apply the greateſt Part of our Expence that Way, and to have a ſtrong Squadron ready to put to Sea on any Occaſion.

Druggiſts PETITION, *and* DEBATE *thereon.*

On *Feb.* 4. a Petition of the Druggiſts, Grocers, China-Men, and others dealing in Tea, was preſented to the Houſe and read; alledging, *That by an Act paſſed in the* 10th *of King* George I. *the Petitioners were induced to hope, that the Duty ariſing from Tea would be better ſecured to his Majeſty, and the Intereſt of the fair Trader be better ſupported, but have fatally experienced the contrary Effects; the clandeſtine Importation of Tea being greatly encreaſed,*

creaſed, to the Damage of the publick Reve-
e, and Ruin of the fair Trader, occaſioned
the great Difference of the Value of that
mmodity at this and foreign Markets, where-
the Smugglers are enabled to purchaſe it
road for leſs than half the Duty paid here:
hat the Regulations which the Petitioners are
id under, are moſt burthenſome and grievous,
eir Houſes being liable to be entered by Perſons
known to them, and their Properties ſubjected
the judicial Determination of Commiſſioners:
hat the Petitioners are liable to ſevere Penal-
s for Errors and Omiſſions abſolutely una-
idable, and reſtrained from diſpoſing of their
oods, after having paid Duty for the ſame,
ithout Permits from the Officers of the Inland
uties, expreſſing the Names and Places of
bode of the reſpective Buyers and Sellers, ex-
ſing thereby the Extent and Circumſtances of
ir Trade; whereby the Petitioners conceived
y were in a worſe Condition than any other
his Majeſty's Subjects; and therefore pray-
the Houſe to give them ſuch Relief as to
Houſe ſhould ſeem meet.

This Petition was preſented by Sir *J—n*
—rn—d, who, after he had brought it up,
d the ſame was read at the Table, ſtood up,
ſpoke to the following Effect. Sir, as
Petition is the ſame with that which was
ſented laſt Seſſion, (See Vol. II. p. 606.)
eed not take up much of your Time in
ning it to the Houſe. The Petitioners ap-
hend they labour under very great Griev-
es by their being ſubject to the Laws of
tiſe; and as this Houſe in the very laſt
ion thought it unreaſonable to ſubject ſome
er Traders and Dealers to thoſe oppreſſive
s, the Petitioners think they have Rea-
from thence to conclude, that this Houſe
be ready to relieve them from thoſe
dens.

When this Petition was preſented laſt Year,
chief Objection to it was, that it was ſign-
nly by a few, and thoſe not the moſt
iderable Dealers in that Commodity; but
Objection is now entirely removed, for I
ve, there is not one Dealer in that Com-
ity, I am ſure not a conſiderable Dealer
ondon, who has not joined in, and ſigned
Petition.

he great Frauds committed in the running
ea, which are daily encreaſing, are now
me a very great and general Grievance,
nly with Reſpect to the Publick, but to
fair Trader: It is impoſſible for a Man
honeſtly pays the heavy Duties on the
modity he deals in to ſell ſo cheap as the
ggler; and therefore if ſome Stop is not
ly put to the infamous Practice of
gling, we may expect that in a few
the whole Trade of the Kingdom, in
as relates to our home Conſumpt of
Commodity, will be got into the Hands
ſmugglers only, and the Retailers who
buy from them. It was expected, that the Alteration made ſome Years ago in the Method of collecting thoſe Duties, would have prevented this infamous Practice: When that Project was firſt ſet on Foot, I remember, ſome People were mighty fond of it; they aſſured us, it would entirely put an End to Smuggling; but Experience has taught us the contrary, for ſince that Alteration the Trade of Smuggling has been much more general than ever it was before; ſo that we have ſubjected a great Number of our Fellow-Subjects to infinite Hardſhips, without gaining thereby any Advantage to the Publick.

As this Practice of Smuggling, which has of late ſo much encreaſed, muſt be likewiſe a conſiderable Detriment to the publick Revenue, the Petitioners have this other View, that they hope we ſhall take the Affair again into our Conſideration, and endeavour to contrive ſome Methods to prevent this infamous Practice: If then the Relief of a great Number of our Fellow-Subjects from Grievances they juſtly complain of; if the Encouragement of the fair Trader; if the encreaſing of the publick Revenue, are Conſiderations which ought to weigh with a *Britiſh* Parliament, I am ſure the Caſe now before us, deſerves the utmoſt Regard of this Houſe; and therefore I cannot doubt of the Petition's being referr'd to a Committee, and when we go into that Committee, I do not doubt, but ſeveral Gentlemen will offer their Opinions, and propoſe Expedients for the Relief of the Petitioners, as well as for the Advantage of the Revenue; but as theſe Things cannot properly come now under our Conſideration, I ſhall not give the Houſe any farther Trouble at preſent, but only to move, that the Petition may be referred to the Conſideration of a Committee of the whole Houſe.

A——n *P-rr-y*. As my Hon. Friend, Sir, has fully open'd the Petition, and as it is a Matter of ſuch Conſequence, that I make no Doubt of his Motion's being complied with; I think there is nothing incumbent on me at preſent more than to ſecond the Motion he has made.

T——s W——n, Eſq; I can by no Means, Sir, agree with the two Hon. Gentlemen, in the Motion they have now made you. I will, indeed, agree with them, that the relieving of any Number of our Fellow-Subjects from Grievances they juſtly complain of, the encouraging of the fair Trader, and the encreaſing the publick Revenue, are Matters of a very great Concern, and always deſerve the utmoſt Attention of this Houſe, when they are regularly and properly brought before us; but I cannot think that this Petition can properly bring either of them before us, nor can I think that it is now a proper Time to go into a Committee upon this or

any

any ſuch Petition. Nothing can be propoſed in Conſequence of this Petition, but what may diminiſh the Revenue; and as we are in a Manner now juſt upon the Brink of a War, I think it would be very unwiſe to do any Thing that may poſſibly diminiſh that Revenue, for which we may ſoon have ſo great an Occaſion.

As to the infamous Practice of Smuggling, and the Frauds committed in that Branch of the Revenue, which the Petition relates to, I believe every Gentleman would be willing to do ſomething to prevent it if poſſible; but the Method, which ſeems to be propoſed by this Petition, appears to me in a very ſtrange Light: It has been found, they ſay, that the Laws of Exciſe joined with thoſe of the Cuſtoms, have not been effectual for preventing all thoſe Frauds; and therefore Gentlemen propoſe, that we ſhould take off one of theſe Checks, and indeed that which muſt be acknowledged the moſt effectual of the two, in order to prevent Running for the future. I am ſure, Sir, I need not ſay any Thing to convince Gentlemen, that this Propoſition cannot be ſuppoſed to tend to the Encouragement of the fair Trader, or to the Encreaſe of the Revenue; and as to the Petitioners, if they are all fair Traders, they muſt acknowledge, that it would be ſo far from giving them any Relief, that it would entirely ruin them.

I ſhould be glad, Sir, to hear any Thing propoſed for the Benefit of the fair Trader, or the Security of the Revenue; but for us to go into a Committee upon that Subject, when no Gentleman can ſay, there is any particular Method or Scheme to be propoſed, would be taking up the Time of the Houſe to no Purpoſe. Beſides, Sir, if there were any Methods or Schemes to be propoſed to us, for putting an End to Fraud and Smuggling, it is not now a proper Time for us to enter into the Conſideration of them: As it is now the laſt Seſſion of a Parliament, and conſidering the preſent Poſture of the Affairs of *Europe*, it muſt be preſumed that the ſhort Time we have to ſit will be taken up in Matters of very great Weight, and which require a more immediate Conſideration. There cannot be any great Inconvenience in putting off this Affair to another Seſſion, and therefore I muſt be againſt the Motion now made, and ſhall move that the Petition may be ordered to lie upon the Table.

A——n *P-rr-y*. When this Motion was made, Sir, by my Hon. and worthy Friend, I did not apprehend it would have met with any Oppoſition, and therefore I gave the Houſe no other Trouble than juſt to ſecond the Motion; but now that I find the Hon. Gentleman, who ſpoke laſt, oppoſes the Motion, I hope I ſhall be indulged a few Words in Support of it. It has always been my Opinion, Sir, that while we ſit here, no Time can be improper for taking into our Conſideration a Petition ſigned by ſuch a Number of conſiderable Traders, complaining of Grievances they apprehend themſelves under: The hearing of Complaints from the Subjects, and the redreſſing of Grievances, I have always underſtood to be a chief Part of the Buſineſs of Parliament; and am ſorry to hear it ſaid, that any Time is improper for ſuch a Conſideration, eſpecially when it is not ſo much as pretended, that the Complaints are frivolous, or the Petitioners inconſiderable.

The Hon. Gentleman ſpoke of our being on the Brink of a War, and therefore thought it unwiſe for us to attempt any Thing at ſuch a Juncture, that might poſſibly leſſen the publick Revenue: I believe there is no Gentleman in this Houſe means to leſſen the Revenue; the very End of the Motion is, to endeavour to do ſomething that may encreaſe it, by preventing thoſe Frauds by which it is greatly diminiſhed. The Gentleman allows that the Laws of Exciſe, and of the Cuſtoms, when joined together, are ineffectual for preventing the running of Tea, but thinks it ſtrange, that the taking off one of thoſe Checks ſhould be propoſed as a Method for the preventing of Running for the future; and it would be ſo, if this were the only Method to be propoſed; but there may be ſome Method propoſed, if we go into a Committee, which will render the Laws of the Cuſtoms ſingly more effectual againſt Smuggling, than both the Laws of Exciſe and Cuſtoms have been found to be; and, in ſuch Caſe, it will not appear ſtrange, to give a Relief to many of our diſtreſſed Countrymen, by freeing them from the oppreſſive Laws of Exciſe.

If Gentlemen will but examine this Affair a little, they will find, that by adding the Laws of Exciſe to the Laws of the Cuſtoms, they have neither given a Check to Smuggling, nor have they encreaſed the Revenue, in the ſame Proportion as the Conſumpt of that Commodity has encreaſed of late Years. In the Year 1716 the Duty on Coffee and Tea amounted to but ſixty odd thouſand Pounds; from 1716 to 1724 that Duty continued ſubject only to the Laws of the Cuſtoms, and yet ſo greatly did our Conſumption encreaſe within that Time, that in 1724 the Duty amounted to 112,000l. which is near double the Sum in that 7 Years which preceded the Alteration; which can be attributed only to the Encreaſe of the Conſumption, for it cannot be ſaid, that the Cuſtom-Houſe Officers were more exact and diligent, or the Smugglers leſs ſkill'd in the Arts of Deceit in that Year, than they had been in any of the former.

In the Year 1724 the famous Alteration now complained of was made; we cannot ſuppoſe that the Conſumption has ſince decreaſed

creaſed; on the contrary, as Tea has been ſold cheaper ſince that Time than ever it was before, we muſt ſuppoſe, that the Conſumption has greatly increaſed; and as by this Alteration the unfair Dealers and Traders were entirely put out of all their old Arts of Smuggling, or at leaſt, of diſpoſing of their run Goods, we muſt ſuppoſe the Duty encreaſed, and accordingly it did ſo, always till the Year 1729; when it amounted to about 162,000*l.* But by that Time the Smugglers began to learn new Arts, and to contrive new Ways of defrauding the Publick, ſo that ſince 1729, the Duty has been daily decreaſing, and is now reduced to leſs than 120,000*l. per Ann.* From hence it muſt appear, that the Publick has not gained much by the Alteration of the Method of Collection, which lies ſo heavy upon all the Dealers in that Commodity.

It is certain, Sir, that this Decreaſe in the Revenue, which has happen'd ſince 1729, cannot be owing to any Decreaſe in the Conſumption of that Commodity; for it is of late Years ſold ſo cheap, that the very meaneſt of the People make Uſe of it, which I know by my own Experience to be true; becauſe but lately a poor Woman of that Part of the City where I live, for whom I had, ſome Time before, procured Twelve-Pence *per* Week Charity, acknowledged to me, that ſhe had Tea every Morning for her Breakfaſt, and ſaid, that except Water, it was the cheapeſt Drink ſhe could get; and therefore as the Conſumption muſt be much larger, and the Produce of the Duty very little ſuperior now to what it was in 1723, we muſt conclude, that the Alteration now complained of, has rather increaſed than diminiſhed Smuggling.

The Hon. Gentleman ſhould not have ſaid, Sir, that it was propoſed to leſſen the publick Revenue, or to take off any of thoſe Checks which have been laid upon Smuggling; there has not been any Thing propoſed, nor is it proper there ſhould, until we go into the Committee moved for, which I have Reaſon to believe the Houſe will agree to, becauſe I have not yet heard by one Argument offered againſt it, but only that of its not being now a proper Time, which indeed has been always the only Argument made uſe of againſt moſt Things that have been propoſed this Seſſion, and I really believe we are to hear no other from that Quarter; but I muſt think that it is a very unfair Way of treating any Propoſition or Motion made by any Gentleman of this Houſe, and however far ſuch Arguments may prevail in this Houſe, I am ſure they will give but very little Satisfaction to thoſe without Doors.

Sir *W——m Y——ge*. Sir, notwithſtanding what the Hon. Gentleman who made the Motion, and the Hon. Gentleman who ſpoke laſt, have urged, in Support of it, I muſt agree with my Hon. Friend on the Floor, that the preſent is not at all a proper Time, nor, indeed, are we any Way prepared for going into a Committee upon the Petition now before us. I am ſurprized, Sir, to hear it pretended, that no Argument has been offered againſt the Motion, but that of its not being a proper Time: Have they not been told, is it not well known, that this is the laſt Seſſion of a Parliament, which muſt always be pretty much hurried, and therefore it is not proper to bring before us an Affair of ſuch a complicated Nature, and which will require ſo much Time to ſearch thoroughly to the Bottom of the Wound, before we can ſo much as pretend to apply, or even to find out a proper Remedy?

Beſides, Sir, have they not been told, and does not every Man know, that the preſent Poſture of Affairs in *Europe* may probably bring Matters of much greater Importance before us, Matters of the higheſt Conſequence to the whole Nation, and which will require the immediate Conſideration of Parliament? Shall we then take up the ſhort Time we have to ſit, in the Examination of Affairs relating to one ſmall Branch of the Revenue, the delaying of which until another Seſſion, can be of no ſignal Diſadvantage to the Nation, or even to any private Man? And I ſhall add, that we ought to be the more cautious of entering into the Examination of this Petition, becauſe it may bring before us a great many ſuch; ſeveral other Commodities are ſubject to the Laws of Exciſe, and if we once enter upon giving Relief to the Petitioners, we may expect Petitions from the Dealers in all thoſe other Commodities.

The Gentleman who ſpoke laſt has, I find, been at the Pains to conſider the Amount of the Duty upon Tea for 7 Years before, and 7 Years after the Alteration; and I will agree with him, that in this laſt Year the Produce of that Duty amounted to no more than 120,000*l.* But his Method of comparing the one with the other is neither fair nor juſt: He has, out of the Time before that Alteration, picked out the Year when the Produce of that Duty amounted to the higheſt Sum that it ever did before the Alteration was made; and out of the Time, ſince the Alteration was made, he has picked out that Year when the Produce of that Duty was the loweſt it has been in any Year ſince, in order to make a Compariſon, and from thence to draw his Concluſion, that the Revenue has not been much increaſed by the Alteration made in the Year 1724, as to the Method of collecting that Duty.

Now, Sir, I appeal to every Gentleman that hears me, if the fair Way of ſtating this Matter is not, to compute the Amount of the Duty for 7 Years before, in order to fix a Medium for that 7 Years; and next to compute the Amount for 7 Years after, in order to fix a Medium for that Time, and then

to

to compare the two Mediums together. According to this Method it will be found, that the Revenue has been increaſed above 34,000*l.* *per Ann.* Beſides this, the Gentleman forgot to mention Seizures, by which there is an Addition of 20,000*l.* a Year more to the Revenue; which in the whole amounts to 54,000*l.* a Year; an Increaſe which I believe no Gentleman in this Houſe will think inconſiderable, nor ought they, I think, to go raſhly into the changing of that Method of Collection by which this Increaſe has been made, eſpecially when we are at leaſt in Danger of being upon the Brink of a War.

I will allow, Sir, that the Practice of running of Tea is a very great Fraud upon the Publick, and an Injury to the fair Trader; and that it has come to a very great Height of late; but the Manner of carrying it on now is very different from what it was formerly. The Smugglers now travel in Bodies of 30 or 40 Men together, all well armed and provided for a deſperate Defence; they carry their Goods from Houſe to Houſe, and actually murder and deſtroy the King's Officers, wherever they can meet with them unſupported by regular Troops: This muſt be much more dangerous and expenſive to them, than the clandeſtine Way they were in formerly; this Method they have been reduced to by the Laws of Exciſe, and yet Gentlemen deſire to have that Check removed, which has laid them under ſo great Difficulties.

Gentlemen complain, that Arguments are not offered againſt what they propoſe, or at leaſt none but ſuch as are general; but, I think, it has always been the Cuſtom, when any Thing new is offered, for thoſe who are for it, to give their Reaſons, and if thoſe Reaſons cannot be ſufficiently anſwered, or ſtronger ones brought againſt it, the Houſe then agrees with the Motion. Now I wiſh thoſe Gentlemen would give us ſome particular Argument in Support of what they propoſe, I wiſh they would agree upon ſome particular Facts, and argue from them; and then the Gentlemen who ſeem to be of a contrary Opinion would be able to debate the Queſtion fairly with them; but ſince they have not been able to agree upon any Facts, or to give us any particular Reaſons for referring this Petition to a Committee, I muſt conclude, that even they themſelves are not prepared for taking it into Conſideration, and therefore I hope it will be ordered to lie upon the Table.

S——l S——y, Eſq; Sir, the Hon. Gentleman who ſpoke laſt deſired we might agree on particular Facts, and argue from thoſe Facts. This, Sir, would be a proper and reaſonable Demand, if we were now in a Committee upon the Petition; but as the only Queſtion now before us is, whether or no we ſhall go into a Committee, I cannot think, that it is either proper or reaſonable: It is, I think, acknowledged, that the Practice of Smuggling is come to a very great Height; and I believe it will not be denied, but that all thoſe who are ſubject to the Laws of Exciſe are under a great many Inconveniences which their Fellow-Subjects are free from: This alone, in my Opinion, ought to be a ſufficient Inducement for us to go on into a Committee; for, in moſt Caſes, Petitioners, who complain of Grievances, are to prove the Facts they alledge, before the Committee, and Petitions are generally referred to Committees upon Suggeſtions only of Grievances, which ought to be redreſſed; but the Caſe now before us is much ſtronger, the Facts alledged by the Petitioners are allowed to be true, and the Grievances complained of to be ſuch as ought to be redreſſed; and yet ſome Gentlemen are, I find, againſt ſo much as taking their Petition into Conſideration: If this be treating our Fellow-Subjects as they ought to be, as I hope they always will be treated by this Houſe, I leave to the whole World to judge.

But, Sir, upon the preſenting of a Petition and upon the Debate, whether that Petition ought to be referred to a Committee, to deſire Gentlemen to agree upon particular Facts, eſpecially when the Facts muſt all be ſuch as cannot be known to any but thoſe in the Adminiſtration, or thoſe who are immediately concerned in the Management of the publick Revenue, is really moſt unreaſonable: It is deſiring Gentlemen to agree upon Facts which it is impoſſible for them to know, till they can, in a proper Way, have an Opportunity to enquire into them. If the Houſe ſhall agree, which I hope it will, to go into a Committee upon this Petition, I do not doubt but ſuch Papers will be called for as will put us upon an equal Footing with thoſe Gentlemen who have the Advantage of being concerned in the Adminiſtration, and in the Management of the Revenue; and then I make no Doubt of being able to comply with the Gentleman's Deſire; I am perſuaded, we ſhall then be able to fix upon ſuch Facts as will make it appear, that not only the Petitioners ought to be relieved, but that ſome new Method muſt be contrived, for putting an End to the infamous Practice of Smuggling; ſo that our not being able at preſent to fix upon any particular Facts, is ſo far from being a Reaſon againſt, that it is a ſtrong Reaſon for our referring this Petition to a Committee.

The Petitioners, Sir, have very juſt Grounds to hope, that this Houſe will take off of them thoſe Shackles which we moſt juſtly refuſed to put upon the Dealers in Wine and Tobacco: They have as good a Title to all the Liberties and Privileges of *Engliſhmen* as any other Subjects, and I can ſee no Reaſon for diſtinguiſhing them from the reſt of their Countrymen. In the preſent Caſe Gentlemen need not be afraid of making a Precedent, and laying

laying a Foundation for a great many Petitions; there are no Dealers in *England* followed by the Laws of Exciſe as the Dealers in Tea are, except only the Dealers in Brandy; and therefore, the giving Ear to the heavy and juſt Complaints of the Petitioners, can lay no Foundation for a Multitude of Petitions being brought in upon us from the Dealers in other Commodities ſubjected to the Laws of Exciſe; for tho' there are other Commodities ſubject to the Laws of Exciſe, yet thoſe Laws go no further than the firſt Manufacturer, they do not follow the Commodity thro' all the Corners of the Kingdom, and into the little Shops and Cellars of every petty Retailer.

Gentlemen tell us, we are to have Matters of much greater Weight before us, which require a more immediate Conſideration, and will take up the Whole of that ſhort Time we have to be together. Sir, I know nothing of greater Weight than that of effectually ſecuring the publick Revenue, encouraging the fair Trader, and relieving our Fellow-Subjects from the Grievances they labour under; and I wiſh the Gentlemen would riſe up and inform the Houſe what it is, that they think a Matter of much greater Weight. I am ſure, if we are upon the Brink of a War, or in any Danger of it, it renders it much the more neceſſary for us to take the Petition into our Conſideration: As the War can be ſupported only by the publick Revenue, if we are in any ſuch Danger, it is the more incumbent on us, to take all poſſible Methods to ſecure and increaſe that Revenue; and as in Time of War the fair Trader labours under many Diſcouragements abroad, it will become the more neceſſary to take Care that he ſhall labour under as few as poſſible at home; and I am ſure, if we are threatned with a War, it is the Buſineſs of this Houſe, and of every Man who wiſhes well to the preſent Eſtabliſhment, to be more diligent than uſual in conciliating the Minds of the People to his Majeſty's Government, which can only be done by removing their Grievances as ſoon as we hear them: Thus, Sir, every Argument that has been offered againſt going into a Committee, appears to be a ſtrong Argument in Favour of the Motion; and therefore, unleſs ſome more weighty Arguments be offered, I am perſuaded the Houſe will not reject it.

P——p G——n, Eſq; I ſtand up, Sir, to agree with my worthy Friend in the Motion he has made, and as I have not yet heard any one Argument againſt it, I ſhall not take up much of your Time. I have indeed heard Gentlemen argue againſt what they imagine may be propoſed when we go into a Committee, which to me ſeems to be a very prepoſterous Way of arguing; they firſt form to themſelves hideous Notions of what is to be propoſed in that Committee, and from thence they reſolve to be againſt going into any ſuch Committee. I would be as unwilling, Sir, as any Gentleman in this Houſe to do any thing at the preſent Juncture for leſſening the publick Revenue, and I am far from believing, that any ſuch Thing is intended to be propoſed; but if I really thought, that ſome ſuch Thing was to be propoſed, tho', according to my preſent Sentiments, I ſhould be very much againſt any ſuch Propoſition, yet I ſhould be willing to hear what Gentlemen had to ſay on that Head, and therefore would not be againſt giving them an Opportunity, eſpecially in a Caſe which every Man allowed to be ſuch as ſtood very much in need of Redreſs.

I am of Opinion, Sir, that thoſe Gentlemen who ſeem to ſhew ſo great a Concern for the Revenue, need not be ſo much afraid that the giving a proper Relief to the Petitioners would diminiſh it; for I believe when proper Papers and Accounts are called for, and the Matter fully examined, it will appear, that the Revenue has been no great Gainer by the Alteration in the Method of collecting the Duty upon Tea; I believe it will then appear, that the Increaſe of the Revenue has not near kept Pace with the Increaſe of the Conſumption; ſo that if thoſe Gentlemen have really nothing elſe to fear, but a Decreaſe of the Revenue, they need make no Difficulty in reſtoring the Petitioners to thoſe Privileges which no *Engliſhman* ought to be diveſted of, without ſome very abſolute and apparent Neceſſity for ſo doing.

Gentlemen ſay, the Seſſion is to be but ſhort, and therefore we have not Time to enter into this Affair; thoſe who talk ſo ſeem to have forgot one of the chief Ends of our meeting in this Place: It is, or it ought to be known to every one in this Houſe, that two of the chief Ends of our meeting here are, to redreſs Grievances, and to grant ſuch Supplies to his Majeſty as appear to us to be neceſſary for the Support of his Government; and the Uſage of Parliament anciently was, to grant no Supplies, till all Grievances were firſt redreſſed; but the Method ſeems now to be entirely altered; Gentlemen find Time enough to load the Nation with many and heavy Taxes, but can ſpare no Time, it ſeems, to relieve the People from any Grievance they juſtly complain of. They who talk ſo muſt have much more Aſſurance than I am Maſter of: I wonder how, after ſuch a Declaration, they can, with Confidence, look their Conſtituents in the Face, far leſs expect, that they ſhould again do them the Honour to ſend them hither. Thoſe Gentlemen really talk of this Houſe, as if they looked on it only as a Regiſter for Taxes, and as if we had nothing to do here but to grant to the Crown what Sums the Miniſters ſhall pleaſe to call for; I hope, Sir, we are not yet come to ſo low a Paſs; I have ſtill a better Opinion of this

Houſe than to believe, that you will reject a Motion ſo reaſonable and ſo neceſſary.

W——r P—m—r, Eſq; Sir, I am ſo ſenſible of the Grievances the Petitioners labour under, and of the Neceſſity of doing ſomething to put a Stop to that growing Evil of Smuggling, that I have been in Expectation of this Petition ever ſince the Seſſion began. The Time I ſpent in the Country, during the laſt Receſs of Parliament, happened to be in a County where I had Occaſion to ſee a great deal of that infamous Practice; ſo that if there were no other Motive for going into the Committee propoſed, than that of endeavouring to do ſomething to prevent Smuggling, that alone with me would be a prevailing Motive; and for that Reaſon I am ſurprized to ſee the Motion oppoſed by any Gentleman, but much more to ſee it oppoſed by thoſe who muſt know much more than I do of the great Increaſe and the fatal Effects of this infamous Practice.

Sir, in that County where I was, the Smugglers went about in ſuch formidable Bodies, that if ſomething is not done to put a Stop to it, they may ſoon threaten Danger even to our civil Government: I have often met them in Gangs of 40 or 50 together, and all ſo well mounted, that even the Dragoons could not come up with them; and they give ſuch exceſſive Wages to the Men that will engage with them, that the landed Intereſt in that Part of the Country ſuffers conſiderably by it: The common Price of a Day's Labour, in that County where I was, is already got up to 18 *d.* and, even at that Price, it is with great Difficulty that the Farmers can find Labourers; and how can it be otherwiſe? For all the young, clever Fellows of the County are engaged and employed by the Smugglers; from them they have half a Crown a Day, while they wait upon the Sea-Coaſt, for the Landing of the Goods; and as ſoon as the Goods are landed, and they mount on Horſe-back, to go about the Country to diſpoſe of them, they have a Guinea a Day, and are well entertained during the whole Time of their Attendance: Thus they find a much eaſier, and more profitable Employment than any they can have from the Farmer, and while they are thus employed all Improvements of Land muſt remain in Suſpence.

Gentlemen may talk of the great Check that has been put upon Smuggling, by the joining of the Laws of Exciſe to the Laws of the Cuſtoms, but they muſt allow, that Project from which ſo much Benefit was expected, has proved altogether ineffectual, and I am afraid, all other Methods will prove ſo, as long as the Duty is ſo high, and ſo much Advantage to be got by Running. In that Part of the Country where I was, Tea is generally ſold by Retailers, in their Shops, at 5 *s.* a Pound, and as we muſt ſuppoſe the Importer to have a Profit upon Importation, and as the Duty amounts to about 4 *s.* and 9 *d.* a Pound, I leave to Gentlemen to judge, whether it is poſſible to ſell by Retail at 5 *s.* a Pound any Tea upon which the Duty has been honeſtly paid: It is eaſy to gueſs from whence all this Tea comes; the Smugglers buy it in *Holland*, at 2 *s.* a Pound, and from thence run it into this Country; the *Dutch* buy it in the *Eaſt Indies*, at 6 *d.* a Pound; ſo that this Nation pays the *Dutch* 18 *d.* a Pound for the Carriage: This muſt be a vaſt Loſs to this Nation, and ſo great an Advantage to *Holland*, that, I am ſure, if there were now a *Dutch* Miniſter in our Gallery, he would be extreamly pleaſed to ſee this Motion rejected, and would not fail to acquaint the States General by the very firſt Poſt, how much the Intereſt of *Holland* had, by ſome Gentlemen in a *Britiſh* Houſe of Commons, been preferred to that of *Great Britain*.

I am amaz'd, Sir, to find that ſome Gentlemen do not ſee how much the Revenue ſuffers by Smuggling, and tho' I do not expect that they ſhould take any great Care of the Subject, yet I hope they will take ſome Care of the publick Revenue, ſince they have the Fingering and the Managing of it. Upon the Whole, I muſt ſay, that if we have any Regard for the Subjects in general, any Regard for the Trade of this Nation, any Regard for the publick Revenue, any Regard for the landed Intereſt, particularly the Tillage, we muſt certainly agree to go into this Committee; I am ſure nothing more worthy of our Conſideration can poſſibly come before us, and therefore I ſhall be moſt heartily for the Queſtion.

[*The reſt of this Debate, and the other Proceedings in Parliament to be continued, in our next.*]

A View of the Weekly ESSAYS *and* DISPUTES *in this Month.*

Univerſal Spectator, June 1. N° 295.

Of Converſation.

CONVERSATION is either the moſt *pleaſing* or moſt *diſpleaſing* Thing in the World: It gives us Opportunities to be improved by Men of *Senſe*, and lays us open to the Impertinence of *Fools*.

To converſe with our Inferiors, tho' it is not always the moſt eligible, yet it is the moſt eaſy; becauſe then by the Deference that

thst is paid us, we command the Subject, and change it whenever we pleaſe; ſo that we lead the Company from one Topic to another, till we arrive at one we are the beſt vers'd in.

The Converſation with our Equals is not ſo eaſy; they will claim an equal Liberty, and there muſt be a proper *Reſpect* ſhewn them; for it would be downright ill Manners to continually engage them in thoſe Subjects only which we reliſh beſt; we muſt in their Turns give them their Choice, and follow them in a Diſcourſe which may neither be ſo agreeable, nor ſo well underſtood by us. But to maintain a Converſation with our *Superiors*, is ſtill more difficult; for we muſt hold our Peace, or underſtand *well* what it is we are to ſpeak of: We cannot change the Subject; and whenever they change it, we muſt follow them, and have a good Stock of Knowledge upon all the Subjects they offer, which is ſeldom to be met with. To come off with Credit in the Converſation of *People of Quality*, there requires a great Deal of *Caution* to ſpeak to the *Purpoſe*, and not with too much *Learning*, leſt we make our Parts appear to be greater than the reſt of the Company have. This offends their *Self-Love*, and ſoon grows troubleſom; and our too great Knowledge may be hurtful to us, as our too little would be a Reproach. A young Nobleman of *Italy* loſt himſelf by ſpeaking too well before an old Cardinal, concerning the Government of the Church: For this Cardinal being made Pope, wou'd never give him the Hat, *Becauſe*, (ſaid he) *I am reſolved never to admit into the ſacred College a Man who is more able, and knows more than myſelf.*

As for our *common Converſation* with our *Equals* or *Inferiors*, it requires a great *Mildneſs*, *Decency*, and *obliging Behaviour*; for to pleaſe our Company, we muſt make them believe that we ourſelves are pleaſed at what we hear, and that we value what they ſay: Our Diſcourſe muſt not be too *poſitive*, or with too much *Paſſion*; it may be ſet off with genteel *Raillery*; but *Scurrility* and *Buffoonry* will gain us more *Enemies* than *Admirers*. There is nothing more troubleſome in *Converſation* than to meet with thoſe who are continually offending others with a ridiculous *Jargon*, with *Novelty* of *Expreſſions* and *Cant Phraſes*, which comes from no one's Mouth but their own, and which by a continual Uſe become their natural Dialect. *Belinda* in all Companies ſpeaks much, but her Meaning can only be gueſs'd at; the moſt common Incidents ſhe dreſſes up in the moſt pompous Phraſes;

To glaze the lakes and cryſtallize the floods,
And perewig with ſnow the bald pate woods,

would be a proper Phraſe with her for *Winter*.

It is equally ridiculous in Diſcourſe for People to ſpeak without Thinking, and to think for every Word they ſay: We are troubled with the incoherent Follies of the firſt, and muſt wait till the latter have determined on the Propriety of a Monoſyllable. Their Formality is impertinent, nothing comes from them *eaſy*, all is *Affectation*, they may perhaps talk *properly*, but are very *heavy* and *tireſome*.

A Mildneſs and Decency in arguing among Company, is the Characteriſtick of a Man of *Senſe* and *Good Manners*; and it is a ſurer Mark of *Wiſdom*, to ſpeak modeſtly, with Reaſon to prove a Thing is *bad*, than with a poſitive Tone ſay, this is *dull*, *execrable Nonſenſe*: Nothing can offend more in Converſation than ſuch dogmatick Arguing, except confirming the Force of the Argument with horrid *Oaths* and *Imprecations*.

In fine, to be *agreeable* in *Converſation* a Man muſt have *Vivacity*, *Wit*, and above all, *Diſcretion*; muſt obſerve the Propriety of *Time*, *Place*, and the *Quality* of the Perſons to whom he ſpeaks, without which he will be either cenſur'd for his *Formality* or his *Impertinence*.

Fog's Journal, June 1. N° 291.

The Norfolk *Congreſs*.

OUR Advices from ſome Parts of the Kingdom take Notice of the Grandeur and magnificent Living of ſome particular Perſons; but in *Norfolk*, particularly, they tell us, there has of late an Expence been made, as if a certain Gentleman had found out a Mine of Gold; this (ſays *Fog*) puts me in Mind of a merry Paper publiſhed ſome Years ſince, called the *Norfolk Congreſs*; which is as follows.

HUNTING and Feaſting are both celebrated in Holy Writ. *Nimrod* was a mighty Hunter before the Lord; and the hairy *Eſau* is ſaid to be a cunning Hunter. Kings and Princes have delighted in this Sport in all Ages; and the two eminenteſt Perſons of this our Day are now Hunting, one of them at *Fontainbleau* and the other in *Norfolk*. Feaſting is likewiſe ſo far from being contrary to our Religion, that we find the *Iſraelites* often commanded to make ſolemn Feaſts or Feſtivals.

Foraſmuch, therefore, as it hath been always cuſtomary in this Kingdom, for Great Men in Time of publick Proſperity to give Feaſts unto the People, and make publick Rejoicings, ſo doth it behove alſo ſuch as are ſufficient for the Purpoſe aptly to deſcribe, and with proper Phraſe and gorgeous Shew of Words to ſet forth ſuch Magnificence, that the Memory thereof may not be loſt to After-ages.

Many plentiful Entertainments hath our Friend *Hollingſhead* ſerved up in his delightful Hiſtory, particularly one of the Archbiſhop of *York*, and alſo many of the famous Cardinal *Woolſey*, who when he went to his Country Seat, took ſo many of the Nobility and Gentry with him (who were indeed a Kind of menial Attendants) that he left the *Court* almoſt like a *Deſart*, and the *King* his Maſter ſeemed quite neglected.

But how ſumptuous ſoever the Entertainments were of this *proud* and *haughty Cardinal*, we ſhall not find them in any Degree of *Compariſon* with that, which we are now attempting (tho' I fear with barren and ſapleſs Stile) to deſcribe.

Reaſonable indeed is it that great and able Men, who by their Induſtry and Application have procured many Bleſſings to their *Country*, ſhould ſometimes relax their Minds, and ſhare thoſe Bleſſings which they have been the Means of procuring.

Who therefore, if his Heart doth not burn with *Envy* and *Malice*, can enter the Houſe of this *great* and *good Man*, now ſojourning and merry-making in *Norfolk*, without ſaying, *Peace be within theſe Walls!* for he hath procured *Peace* unto the Kingdom. Who is there that doth not rejoice at the *Plenty* that is within his Palace? for he hath ſtrewed Plenty over the Face of the Land. To him our *preſent Tranquillity* is owing, and the ſteddy Happineſs of our *preſent Circumſtances*. Thro' his Care the *Huſbandman* ſoweth with Profit, and the *Merchant* ſaileth with Safety. How comfortable likewiſe is it unto the People to ſee their *Governors* indulge themſelves in *Eaſe*, *Diverſions* and *Pleaſures*, which, like the playing and ſinging of Mariners, is a ſure Sign that the Ship is ſafe, and in a *Calm!*

This great Feaſt or Feſtival certainly exceedeth all that ever went before it, both in Reſpect to its Plenty and Politeneſs; for if we regard the Number and Value of the Horſes, the Staunchneſs and Goodneſs of the Hounds, or the Wit and Humour of the Company, we ſhall be at a Loſs to know which merits moſt our Commendation; for from this Society might be culled Perſons, for their Wiſdom and Valour, fit either to compoſe a Cabinet Council, command Fleets and Armies, or be Plenipotentiaries at any Congreſs in *Chriſtendom*. But, above all, let us commend the Cooks; for the Cooks of *Norfolk* have been eminent for many Ages.

Proceed we now to give ſome Particulars of this noble Entertainment.

The Breakfaſt or Preliminary Courſe is made up of cold Veniſon Paſties, Hams, Tongues, Tea, Chocolate, with a Mixture of many other Delicacies, inſomuch that it hath been generally called an *Ambigu*, which being interpreted in our Language ſignifies ſomething doubtful in its Nature, or which no body knows what to make of. At this Courſe the Converſation run chiefly upon Hunting a Vixon or She Fox, which they were determined to purſue thro' all the Brakes, thick Woods and Covers ſhe ſhould lead them. They got on Horſeback and reſolved to ride over Hedge and Ditch after her, not regarding the He-Fox that belong'd to her, who kept always burrow'd in his Earth, and never ſtir'd abroad.

After a very long and weariſome Chaſe, they found that they could make nothing of this ſame *Vixon*; for ſhe baffled all their Hounds, and tired them and all their Horſes. By Way of Excuſe they pretended that during the whole Chaſe a large Eagle flew over her Head and protected her from the Dogs.

The chief Huntſman tells an incredible Story. He ſays that he ſaw this Eagle once make a Stoop to a foundling Child, that lay in the Way, and that he ſaw the Child with *Bologna Sauſages*, in the Manner that we often ſee it repreſented in our Signs. But the Huntſman being known to be a great Gameſter, the Company did not ſeem inclined to believe him.

The Dinner conſiſted of many hundred Diſhes, all replete with the moſt excellent Viands, of great Prodigality and delicious Flavour; to expreſs the Sumptuouſneſs or Variety of it is impoſſible. But ſome of the moſt remarkable Diſhes will I adventure to relate.

In the firſt Place, there was an *Hotch-Potch*, which conſiſted of *Weſtphalia Bacon*, *Engliſh Beef*, *Dutch Pickle-Herrings*, and *French Truffles*. It ſeemed very ſtrong, but few People reliſhed it; for it could not ſit well on their Stomachs.

Over againſt this was placed a *Spaniſh* Ollio, with an huge Oſtrich in the Middle of it. It was made chiefly with Garlick, Giblet-hare, and many other Ingredients, all ſeaſoned with certain Spices brought from the *Eaſt Indies*.

There was alſo a Peace-ſoop, filled with Balls of Forced-meat.

A *Cardinal* (which is a moſt rare Fiſh, often mentioned by *Horace*, tho' ſcarcely known in *England*) was placed ſuper-eminently on a Ring of Gold in the Midſt of the Table, and round it were ſeen many Gudgeons.

Next came a pompous Pye, with a young Cockeril upon it, curiouſly formed in Paſte, with an Olive Branch in his Mouth, ſignifying, as the Neighbours would have it, the *Peace*, which the young King of *France* was to give to *England*; for *Gallus*, as we have been informed, in the antient Language of the renowned *Romans*, ſignifieth both a *Cock* and a *Frenchman*.

There was alſo a *Pruſſian* wild Boar's Head, with an Orange in his Mouth.

The Maſter of the Houſe himſelf fed chiefly on Stock-Fiſh and Plumb-Dumpling. On one Side of him ſtood a Porringer of Viper-Broth, and on the other a Diſh of Fri-

Pidgeons, denoting the Wiſdom of the Serpent and the Innocency of the Dove.

The Sallad conſiſted entirely of Sallary and Penny Royal, which all the Gueſts devoured very greedily.

There was one Diſh that ſhock'd many of the Spectators, which was an *Engliſh* Collar of Brawn, ſtuck with *French* Lillies, inſtead of Roſemary. At this many were offended, and ſaid, the Times were hugely changed with our Landlord, and his Taſte and Way of Living ſtrangely altered: For they remembred when he had like to have overturned the whole Table, upon ſeeing ſome *French* Kickſhaws upon it, which he ſaid was Poiſon to an *Engliſh* Conſtitution; but now forſooth, nothing but *French* Sauces will go down, and he loves every Thing gareen'd, but particularly Tongues, when they are ſo, which we ſhould call corrupted.

But how vain would be an Attempt to deſcribe the whole of this Entertainment! All was elegant, ſumptuous and polite, tho' no Deſert ever appear'd at it. The Wines, which came from all Parts of the World, were like the Maſter, rich and generous. *Burgundy* and *Norfolk* Nog were equally plenty; and all the Neighbourhood were invited to partake of it, except the poor handy *Craftſmen*.

Craftſman, June 1. N° 413.

The dreadful Conſequences of a general Corruption.

THERE cannot (ſays *D'Anvers*) be a more certain Symptom of approaching Ruin to any Country, than the Manifeſtation of a general Diſregard to publick Virtue. When once the Bulk of the People are thus initiated, there is no Miſchief, however remote it may ſeem, that is not actually at the Door; and the Change from Liberty to Slavery, from Plenty to general Diſtreſs, is often ſo precipitate in Countries thus corrupted, that the ſame Men, who have enjoyed the Benefits of the pureſt Conſtitution at the Beginning of their Lives, have lived not only to ſee the Introduction, but to groan under the Burthen of the moſt ſevere Tyranny.

The Limitations of a Monarchy, the Regulations of a State, or what we call a valuable Conſtitution, are juſtly to be regarded and eſteemed; but no otherwiſe than as they naturally produce a good Effect upon the Minds of the People, which are always influenced by the Government, under which they live. A *good Conſtitution* is a downright Farce with a *corrupted People*. Every good Law made in it is perverted, or at leaſt is never to be put in Execution; and, in ſhort, a *Solon*, a *Lycurgus*, or a *Moſes*, would never be able to form a Government, ſo as to render a People happy, unleſs their Minds were generally prepared to aſſiſt in the Adminiſtration of it.

The Forms of Liberty were long preſerved in the *Roman* Government, after the moſt intolerable Tyranny had uſurped its Seat; and we are told that under *Tiberius*, one of their moſt execrable Emperors, the Freedom of the People was ſtill in outward Shew preſerved. The *Senate* was ſtill employed in managing the Buſineſs of the Publick. Their Money was for many Ages after coin'd by their Authority, as the Marks upon it teſtify to this Hour; and every other publick Affair received their Sanction; yet, at the ſame Time, we know the moſt ſhocking Barbarities were exerciſed by the Emperors; who, while their Actions met with no ſignificant Oppoſition, were well ſatisfied that the People would ſtill flatter themſelves with the empty Shew of Power.

If a *Miniſter* ſhou'd be exalted here, with a Diſpoſition to mind nothing but the Increaſe of his private Fortune, and conſequently aim at nothing ſo much as to continue himſelf in his Employment, tho' the Means were ever ſo flagitious; our Ruin would follow as certainly from him, as it could from any other. If he ſingly ſet about this Work, by playing our own Corruption upon us, by reducing all the Corporations into a venal Habit, by beſtowing only upon ſuch as were qualified to elect Members of Parliament the inferior Employments, and afterwards by confining the larger and more lucrative to the Parliament, thus choſen, and to ſuch of its Members, as would accept them upon the baſe Tenure of doing all his Drudgery; if this ſhould ever happen, the Increaſe of our Corruption muſt eaſily be foreſeen, and we may readily determine that nothing could follow from it, but a total and voluntary Conceſſion of the publick Liberty to the very firſt Prince, who ſhould ſhew a Deſire for it.

I ſhall not inſinuate that any *Miniſter*, now in Power among us, hath betrayed a Diſpoſition of this Kind, or endeavoured to ſupport his Adminiſtration by theſe deſtructive Meaſures. I mean only to ſhew how dangerous and deſperate our Condition muſt be, if *ſuch a Genius* ſhould ever ariſe in this Kingdom.

We are daily treated as *Promoters of Sedition*, and *publick Incendiaries*, for endeavouring to ſtem the Torrent of that general Corruption, which every Man of all Parties acknowledges in private Converſation. Surely, we may venture to give our Senſe of the dangerous Conſequences of an Evil, which has proved fatal to every Country, that has been yet invaded by it; and, in this, we act with the ſame Zeal to the *Prince* and to the *People*; for however weak Men have been flattered with the Temptations of abſolute Authority, it is equally dangerous to the Perſons, who poſſeſs it, as to thoſe, who feel its Burthen.

To

To perſuade the People that we would endeavour to deſtroy their Veneration for *Parliaments*, is an Inſinuation as weak as the Attempt would be vain. They are univerſally ſenſible that *Liberty* can never be preſerved but by a *Repreſentative from among themſelves*; tho' their Indignation and Apprehenſions might naturally lead them to ſpurn at ſuch a one as may be hereafter made, by *Treaſury Mandates*, and a *Congé d' Elire from a corrupt Miniſter*; if any Thing could deſtroy the Reverence due to parliamentary Juriſdiction, the *corrupt Influence* contended for by ſome would effect it.

We ſhall conſume no more of our Time in Animadverſions upon the Infamy of *theſe Men*. They are no farther worth our Notice, than as their Numbers teſtify the Depravity of the Times. We ought therefore every one of us, who have not bow'd our Knees to *Baal*, who have not yet been infected, to endeavour in our different Capacities to ſtem the Torrent. Some may, by the Stations they are placed in, be able to be more eminently ſerviceable by a virtuous Example. Others may have Opportunities and Talents to perſuade, or confirm their Fellow-Subjects in the noble Principles of *publick Virtue*. But the meaneſt of us all hath it in his Power to preſerve one Man; nor can any private Neceſſity juſtify a Crime againſt the Publick; for the moſt important Duty and Buſineſs of our Lives is to promote the general Welfare of Mankind.

London Journal, June 1. N° 779.

A View of the Reign of Queen Anne.

THE Gentleman (ſays one who ſigns himſelf *T. Wharton*) who hath entertained the Publick with the *Diſſertation on Parties*, (ſee p. 32.) ſeems, at length, to have declined the further Proſecution of it. This appears very ſurprizing, and indeed a little unkind in him; both as the Reign of Queen *Anne*, which he hath hitherto left untouched, affords Plenty of excellent Materials for ſo fine a Genius to work upon, and as the Gentleman himſelf ſeems exceedingly well *prepared* and *inſtructed* for letting his Readers into the *Secrets* of that buſy and remarkable Period. I am of Opinion, that the Tranſactions of that Reign are of the utmoſt Importance to be conſidered by every ſincere Lover of his Country; for which Reaſon, I ſhall venture to give my Sentiments on that Subject.

When Q. *Anne* aſcended the Throne, I think it is univerſally agreed on, that ſhe was under the Influence of the *Tory* Party. The two *Great Men*, who then had the largeſt Share of her Confidence, found themſelves obliged to comply with her Inclinations this Way, and to join in Counſels with a Set of Men, who diſcovered a very early Deſign of overthrowing every Thing that had been done at the late happy *Revolution*. Their Pretence was no longer *Liberty* and *Property*, which had been their Cry in the *late Reign*. The *Divine Hereditary Right* of the *Queen*, and the *abſolute unconditional Obedience* of the *Subject*, became the Topicks of all Converſation, and were boldly propagated both from the Pulpit and the Preſs. The *Toleration* was complained of as a Grievance, and ſeveral repeated Attempts made to undermine and render it *precarious*. Their Regard to the *Conſtitution* and the Liberties of *Engliſhmen* remarkably appeared in the famous Caſe of the *Ailſbury* Men. Here not only the Judicature of the Houſe of *Peers*, but the known Laws of the Land, and the *Perſonal Liberty* of the Subject, were invaded in the moſt open and violent Manner. A continued Series of ſuch arbitrary and imperious Meaſures, as it render'd them intolerable to the Bulk of the Nation, ſo at length it diſguſted the *ſoberer* Part of their own Friends, and obliged the very Men who had brought them in, to throw them out again, not for their own Safety only, but to prevent the Ruin of their Country, and of all *Europe*.

Minds *inſolent* in Power are always *mutinous* out of it. The *Tories* did not fail to verify this Maxim in the following Years of that Reign, while they were kept under by that glorious and ſucceſsful Adminiſtration, who furniſhed the Materials for the moſt ſhining Period of the *Britiſh* Annals: Their Tune was now changed; tho' they ſtill kept up their *old Principles* and *Averſions*. The Miniſtry were repreſented as a Set of dangerous Men, who had enter'd into very cloſe and dark Deſigns againſt the *publick Liberty*; and the chimerical Project of ſetting up an arbitrary *General for Life*, was boldly charged upon Men, who had proved themſelves the beſt and trueſt Friends to *Liberty* the Kingdom had ever enjoyed. Annual Invectives were made, both in Parliament and out of it, againſt *Bribery* and *Corruption*, under an Adminiſtration, which, every Body is now convinced, was one of the honeſteſt and moſt upright that had appeared in any Age. *Courtiers* and a *Court Intereſt* were exclaimed againſt, at a Time when the *Court* employed none who were not truly in the Intereſt of their *Country*, and when the Glory of the Kingdom was carried to a higher Pitch than it had been in any former Reign. Thus did they rave and babble during the Time of their Seclusion from Power, till they had ſo perverted the Underſtanding of a great Part of the People, and made ſuch Impreſſions in a higher Place, that they once more got into the Seat of Government, and had an Opportunity of ſhewing the World their true and genuine Character.

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The *Tories*, upon this *new Revolution*, display'd themselves in their *ancient* Colours. But this was not sufficient, for now they went greater Lengths than ever they had done before. I speak not here of the *infamous Treaty* of Peace with *France*, and the *barbarous Sacrifices* made at *Denain* and *Barcelona*. These Transactions, however wicked and impious, yet had not a direct Tendency to hurt the Constitution. But was not the Creation of 12 *Peers* in one Day, on Purpose to *carry a Point* in the House of Lords, a plain Attack upon the Constitution, and an open Attempt to destroy *the balancing Powers* in the Legislature? Were not all the *secret Transactions* in Favour of the *Pretender*, calculated for the Destruction of all our Liberties? Was it consistent with Freedom, to put the *Queen* upon repeated Messages, and Speeches to her Parliament, to induce them to come into Measures for restraining the *Liberty of the Press*? And, in one Word, did their whole Management, during the *Four last Years*, wherein *Great Britain* was under the Influence of this *unhappy Constellation* of Men, discover any Thing else but one uninterrupted Concatenation of Measures for breaking down all the Barriers of Liberty, and making the bravest and freest People in the Universe a vile and contemptible Herd of *Bondmen* and *Bigots*?

Weekly Miscellany, June 1 and 8.

An Apology for Religious Zeal.

EVERY one, I believe, that looks abroad into the fashionable World, and observes the Humours and Modes prevailing in it, must be sensible enough of this melancholy Truth, that we are refin'd at last into the most irrational Coldness and Indifference to Religion, that ever was seen in *England*, since the Christian Religion was first planted in it. Our Thoughts, our Company, and Conversation are so turn'd upon Matters of a lower Nature, they are so entirely swallowed up in Voluptuousness and Secularity, that a Zeal for Religion looks as odd and singular upon a Man, as an antiquated Dress of our great Grandfathers, and is truly become the Object of Pity and Derision among the Men of Elegance and Taste. What may be the Causes of this Folly, I will not determine; but sure I am, that 'tis contrary to Reason and good Sense, brings Dishonour and Reproach upon our Nation, and serves no other End, but to propagate Licentiousness, and to plunge us at last in a general Ruin.

By *Religious Zeal* I understand a *hearty and affectionate Concern for the Service and Honour of God, and an earnest Desire and Study to promote it, upon good Grounds, by all lawful and prudent Methods.*

One necessary Requisite in Religious Zeal is, that it be always express'd in a *decent Manner*. And this will require our utmost Vigilance; because in a Complication of so many various Passions, as are naturally concurring to our Zeal, we shall find ourselves in perpetual Danger of transgressing the Rules of *Prudence* and *Decency*, nay, and of *Justice* and *Charity* too, unless they be constantly kept under good Regulation. The Truth and Excellency of the Gospel of Christ, the Honour of God, and the Salvation of Men, are dear and sacred Pledges, which Zeal is always most affectionately concern'd for, and will always most earnestly contend for. But then 'tis still a compassionate Concern, and a very charitable Contention; not carried on by Virulency of Speech, and railing Accusations; not enlightening Mens Eyes by the dreadful Blaze of Fire and Faggot, nor butchering Mens Bodies in order to save their Souls; that's the Charity and Presumption of the *Romish Church*. But the Zeal that is truly *Christian*, tho' it is always an active Instrument in promoting God's *Glory*, yet it never presumes to be the Executioner of his *Vengeance*.

From hence we may observe, that *Zeal* and *Moderation* are not Opposites and Enemies to one another, but inseparable Friends and Allies; for that *Zeal* is never commendable, which is not allayed with something of Moderation, nor is that *Moderation* of much Value, that is not enliven'd and invigorated with Zeal. Take away your *Moderation*, and your Zeal is the most irregular, furious, and ungovernable Thing in the whole World; and take away your *Zeal*, and then Moderation degenerates into Remissness and Supineness, which leaves the Soul quite destitute of Resolution, Constancy and Vigour.

I may deservedly recommend religious Zeal, as one of the justest, the most reasonable, most necessary, most becoming, and most beneficial good Qualities, that can adorn either a *Christian*, or even a *rational* Creature. For,

1st, It is most just, whether we consider God's prerogative *Right* to the best of our Affections and Services; or the equitable Reasons on our Part that bind us to it. God has unquestionably a prerogative *Right* to the best of our Affections and Services, and that immediately derived from the very Pre-eminence of his Nature; not barely as he is the supreme Being, the Author, Proprietor, and Disposer of all Things; but as he is the *supreme Good*, and therefore the ultimate End and Scope of all *rational* Creatures and their Actions; and the absolute Complement of all the Happiness they are capable of.

Again farther. Such a Zeal is as reasonable as it is just. For one principal Use of Reason

Reaſon is to direct and govern our Paſſions in ſuch a Manner, as to make them ſubſervient to Virtue. And this Direction and Government of the Paſſions conſiſts partly in determining them towards their proper Object, and partly in keeping them under due Regulation; that ſo they may incite us to purſue ſome rational and worthy End, and not turn us out of the Way to it by any precipitate and diſorderly Motion. Now where can our Paſſions (out of which Zeal is form'd and compounded) be placed, with more Reaſon and Succeſs, than on him who is himſelf the ſupreme Good, and on that Service of him, which alone can lead us to it, and qualify us for it? I deſire it may be remember'd, that the Zeal which I contend for, is not a blind, enthuſiaſtick, and furious Zeal, without Knowledge, without Juſtice and Charity, but one that is regular and well-grounded, under the Guidance of Reaſon, influenced by religious Principles, and ſteadily purſuing the Glory of God as its great and ultimate End.

Neither is it only reaſonable and juſt, but alſo neceſſary; neceſſary both to the *Being* and *Well-being* of Religion. For, indeed, the very Eſſence of Religion, conſiſts in the due Apprehenſions of God's Excellencies and Perfections, and in ſuitable Affections and Demeanour towards him. Laſtly, a Religious Zeal is highly beneficial to the Perſon endu'd with it, and to others about him.

Univerſal Spectator, June 8. N° 296.

The Folly and Abſurdity of Atheiſm.

THERE needs no *Miracle* be wrought by *God*, ſays Sir *Francis Bacon*, to convince Men of the Error of *Atheiſm*, becauſe his *ordinary* Works convince it. He who contemplates the Works of *Nature* (if ſo he pleaſe to term them) will find ſuch a Chain of Miracles, that he will be oblig'd to fly to the Acknowledgement of a *God*. If we conſider the immenſe Stock of Beings endow'd with *Life* and *Senſe*, in this our little World; that every Plant and Animal breeds numberleſs other Inſects; that every Drop of Water has its Inhabitants; or if we contemplate the bright and ſpacious Globes of Heaven, we muſt have Reference to a *ſupreme Cauſe*, which *Cauſe* can be only *God*.

The *Mite* has its Eyes; it will turn away from ſuch Objects as may be hurtful to it; place but a Straw in its Way you will ſee it alter its Courſe immediately. Can you think then that the *Cryſtalline Humour*, the *Retina*, the *Optick Nerve*, all which are aſſiſtant to convey Sight to this little Product of *Nature*, are the Product of *Chance*?

Take your Magnifying Glaſs and look into a Drop of Water in which a little Pepper has been ſteep'd; there obſerve what a Thirſt it has excited in an infinite Number of ſmall Animals, who like ſo many Monſters in the wide Ocean are moved to and fro with incredible Swiftneſs: Each of theſe Creatures is a thouſand Times leſs than a *Mite*, and yet is a Body that lives, receives Nourihment, muſt not only have *Muſcles*, but Veſſels alſo equivalent to *Veins*, *Nerves*, *Arteries*, and beſides them, a *Brain* to make Diſtribution of the *Animal Spirits*. To vary your Wonder, look thro' your Glaſs at the leaſt Bit of any Thing that is *mouldy*, tho' no bigger than a *Grain* of *Sand*, and it will appear like a Heap of many Plants, ſome of which have *Flowers*, ſome *Fruits*, others only *Buds*, others quite *wither'd*; how extreamly ſmall muſt the Fibres be thro' which they receive their Nourihment? But then ſhould you conſider that theſe Plants have their own proper Seed as well as *Oaks* or *Beech*, and that thoſe minute Animals are multiply'd by Generation as well as *Whales* or *Elephants*, whither can ſuch Obſervations lead the moſt ſtubborn Favourer of *Chance*, but to confeſs theſe could never be the *meer Effects* of it? Could a fortuitous Congregation of Atoms produce Creatures ſo fine, ſo exceeding ſmall, that no Eye can perceive them; and, that as well as the Heavens, border on Infinity, tho' in the other Extreme? Is it not rather that *Being* which moves the *Heavens* and the *Stars*, thoſe vaſt Bodies, ſo wonderful in their *Bigneſs*, *Motion*, and Extent of their Courſes? Behold this our World, which in Regard to the whole Syſtem, is but one Atom hanging in the Air; behold the *Moon* in its *Full*, it ſeems larger than the *Sun*, and a great deal larger than the other Planets; yet there is nothing in the Heavens ſo ſmall: Its *Motion* is not above 1,620,000 *Miles a Day*, which is not above 1120 *Miles in a Minute*. But the *Sun* is really larger than a Million of ſuch Globes put together: Conſider then the Diſtance it muſt be, when its Appearance to us is ſo ſmall; it is calculated to be many *Millions of Miles*; but the Diſtance of the Planet of *Saturn* is *nine hundred Millions of Miles*; yet the Diſtance of theſe is inconſiderable, if oppos'd to that of the other Stars, that no Compariſon, no Expreſſion is adequate to the Meaſure. Do you not wonder? but if you wonder that ſuch immenſe Globes ſeem only Sparks, ſhould you not admire that they preſerve from ſo vaſt a Height any Appearance at all? When you have ſurvey'd theſe, think of the *Earth* which you tread; a Globe like a looſe Grain of Sand hanging in the Air: Behold that Multitude of fiery Globes, the Vaſtneſs of whoſe Bulk confounds Imagination, whoſe Height is beyond the Conception of Men, all in a conſtant Courſe perpetually rolling round this little *Ball*, and each within its proper Limits journeying thro' the immenſe

Spaces of the Heavens. Are these *Miracles* of *Chance*, as you call it? Consider if these can be *Chance*; and while you are *amaz'd*, confess the *Power* of your *God*. These Globes are regular in their proper Courses: Should they in the least deviate, should they hit, should the least of them but touch our World, it would reduce it into a *Chaos*: But all these heavenly Bodies are so exact and constant in their Stages, that a little Creature, (confin'd to this little Globe) call'd *Man*, knows their Revolutions, and can tell in what Degree of their Courses these Stars will be 2000, nay, 10000 *Years* hence. Now think, thou *Patron* to *Chance*, thou *Denyer* of thy *God*, are these the *blind Effect* of *Chance*? Could *Chance* produce such *Wonders*?

A contemplative *Atheist* is what I think impossible; most who would be thought *Atheists*, are so out of Indolence, because they will not give themselves Time to reason, to find if they are so or not: It is rather from the Wantonness of their Heart than the Result of their Thoughts. But as for those who take the Denial of a *God* to be a Specimen of their *Wit*, they are deceiv'd: Any one might be as *witty* as they, would he be as *wicked*: Like the *Fool* he might say *there is no God*, if like the *Reprobate* he would hazard his *Salvation*.

Fog's Journal, June 8. N° 292.

Extract from the Examiner *of* Oct. 5, 1710. *concerning the Choice of a new Parliament.*

LET us see (says *Fog*) what Sort of Gentlemen the *Examiner* (and consequently the Ministry then just enter'd into Power) recommended to the Freeholders and other Electors of the new Parliament, upon the Dissolution of the *old one*, in the memorable Year 1710.

" Your first Care (says that Writer) should be to chuse Gentlemen of Estates in your Neighbourhood, whom you know, rather than those, who come from *London* once in 3 Years, and whom you never see but at an Election. The first of these have their Lands at Stake for their Probity and Honour; the latter, as Actions rise or fall, have an Estate or none. Those spend their Fortunes among you; the other are to raise them from you.

" Beware of *Member-makers*, and *Undertakers* for Parliament Men: People that have a further Aim, than bringing in a Friend or Relation into your Borough.——They know very well how to get the Money they bribe you with, repaid; and at what Rate to sell you and your Borough, to their Party; and be sure to make a good Bargain of you, whenever they can answer *Leviticus* out of *Numbers*, and prove Majority to be Law.

" They that are lifted under these Great Men, are not to be reckon'd free Agents; like the Clans in the *High-Lands* before the Union, they may be very stout Men, and wear broad Swords, but they will draw them only for their Masters. And the *Hopes* or *Fears* of these Gentlemen *for the common Cause, rise or fall, as his Lordship is in or out.*

" I would advise you to chuse Gentlemen of Religion and Conscience; of the true old Principles of *England*; entirely in the Interest of her Majesty, and of the most illustrious House of *Hanover*, and utterly averse to that of the *Pretender*. But don't let us have the House fill'd with Men of neither Estates, Honour, Honesty, nor Sense; such as would turn a Senate into a *Bear-Garden*, take Noise for Wit, Ribaldry for Eloquence, and a Jest for an Argument.

" With Respect to the Church, I would persuade you to vote for those, who not only conform to it, but are heartily and affectionately concerned for its Establishment and Prosperity.

" With Regard to their *Fellow-Subjects*, pray chuse those, who love their Countrymen better than any *Foreigner* whatsoever; and would neither be *enslaved* by the *French*, nor *bubbled* by any *other Nation*:——Who would be exact and industrious in the *publick Accounts*; be *frugal* of the Nation's Money; and let those that pay it, know how it is disposed of.—— Who would consider that *Great Britain* is an *Island*, and therefore be infinitely diligent in strengthning our Naval Force. In a Word, such as would be just to all Men, religiously observe the known Laws of the Land, and be always tender of the Lives, Liberties, and Fortunes of their Fellow-Subjects. But let me entreat you never to elect those, who are profuse of the Nation's Money, because they have none of their own; and are for raising private Estates, by fleecing and pillaging the Publick; whose Business is to quash all Accounts concerning the State of the Nation, the Fleet and the Army; to divert any Enquiry of that Nature, and punish One that does not deserve it, in order to screen Twenty that do——Nor will you, I hope, ever approve of those, who would be guilty of the most *barefaced* Injustice to their own Members, turning the most unexceptionable, the most deserving Gentlemen in the World out of the House, tho' they were elected by a most undoubted Majority, even according to the most unreasonable of their own Accounts. In short, never chuse such a Parliament, as will itself chuse a Parliament; never vote for those, who, to gratify their own private Malice, Covetousness or Ambition, or even Caprice and Humour, shall themselves vote, that Black is White; that Five are more than

Seven; that Merit ought to be punish'd, and Treason to be rewarded; shall arbitrarily prosecute those they represent, contrary to all Law, Reason, and Justice, and destroy those Liberties at home, which we are fighting for abroad."

It must be observed (says *Fog*) with great Satisfaction by all true Lovers of their Country, that most of the Counties in *England* have chose for their Representatives in the ensuing Parliament, such Gentlemen as our Author has thought the best qualified for that Trust: Which shows that the Landed Men of this Kingdom are become so sensible of their true Interest, that they are not to be blinded by specious Pretences, nor corrupted by undue Influences.

Craftsman, June 8. N° 414.

Farther Observations on the Elections.

WHEN I complained (says *D'Anvers*) of a *general Corruption*, in my last (see p. 305.) the Invective was plainly levelled against the meanest of the Populace, whose vicious Habits expose them to *Corruption*, and some others in a much higher Sphere, who have brought themselves under the Necessity of subsisting upon that *wretched Expedient*; for I had before acknowledged that the middling Sort of People preserved themselves untainted, as appears by the *County Elections*; and I may add those of the *great Cities*, and *rich trading Corporations*.

In a former Paper upon this Subject, I took particular Notice of the *Kentish Election*, (see p. 250.) which was carried by such a Majority as was never known in the Memory of Man, against the Weight of the *Docks*, *Cinque-Ports*, and *other Influence*, *ecclesiastical*, *civil* and *military*, which hath usually turn'd the Balance there, on the Side of the *Court*.

Nor hath this Spirit discovered itself in the *County* only, but likewise in *two of the richest* and *freest Corporations*, *Canterbury* and *Maidstone*, who have each of them returned two Members in the *Country Interest*, tho' the *Church* hath a very great Influence in *one* of them, and *Chatham Dock* in the *other*. The same Disposition manifested itself at *Rochester*, on several Occasions; but their Dependence is so well known, that nobody can wonder to see the *other Interest* prevail.

I shall say nothing of *New Romney*, which is certainly the most independent of all the *Cinque-Ports*, till the Dispute about the Election of a *Mayor*, the Right of *several Voters*, and consequently the Legality of the *Return*, is determin'd by the proper Judges.

I cannot quit *this County* without lamenting the Loss of that *noble Patriot*, [Lord *Vane*] who hath been lately snatch'd from us, just after he had received the highest Honour, which his Country could bestow on him. (See p. 267.) But we hope this great Loss to the Publick will be repaired, as far as possible, by that *worthy Gentleman*, who hath been lately nominated as a Candidate to succeed him in Parliament.

The Election for the County of *Southampton*, where the same Kind of Influence prevails to a very great Degree, is another Instance of the *Sense of the People*; for even supposing our Accounts of that Election, in the publick Prints, to be just, *one* of the Candidates in the *Country Interest* carry'd it by a great Majority, and the *other* lost it only by *two Votes*.

But the good People of *Norfolk* afford us the most remarkable Example of a publick Spirit, and have for ever distinguish'd themselves in our Annals by their glorious Opposition to all the Arts, which could possibly be employed to corrupt, or divert them from the true Interest and Service of their Country. Indeed, when I consider not only the natural and adventitious Influence, which a *certain Gentleman* must have acquired in *that County* by a long Monopoly of Power, but even his personal Presence, and that Multitude of Emissaries, whom he dispatched to all Parts of the County, with the most prevailing Arguments; I am at a Loss to think how a Cause so well supported could possibly fail, in this Age. It is certainly a very melancholy Circumstance for the *poor Gentleman*, and I can scarce help pitying him, in Spight of my Country; for I am somewhat of Mrs. *Peachum*'s Opinion, *that it is a moving Thing to see a* Great Man *in Distress*. If from the *North* we travel *Westward*, his Affairs will appear in a much worse Plight; all the Counties in that Part of the Kingdom having chosen their Representatives on the *popular Interest*, without any Opposition, or Struggle, on the *other Side*.

It hath been already observed that most of the *rich trading Cities and Corporations*, where there is the least Degree of Independency, have discovered the same malignant Disposition, and preferr'd the general Interest of the *Nation* to that of *one private Man*. But since I am now got into the *West of* England, the City of *Bristol* deserves particular Mention; for as it is, without Dispute, the greatest trading City in the whole Kingdom, next to *London*, so it hath followed her Example in the Choice of her *Representatives*, against all the corrupt Applications of *Power* and *Money*.

But the *Cornish Elections* are a demonstrative Proof of what we have advanced, concerning the *Sense of the People*; for tho' *Cornwall* is in a Manner over-run with *Borough Towns*, and a great Majority of them are absolutely under Dependence; yet it is plain that they have no Influence on the Body of the People; since *the same Persons*, who assume a Sort of dictatorial Power

Power over the *Corporations*, have not ſo much as attempted, or propoſed, to ſet up any of their Creatures for *Repreſentatives of the County*.

Methinks, there is ſomething very ridiculous, as well as unwarrantable, in the Circumſtances and Management of *theſe Boroughs*. They are generally treated like *Ideots*, or *Lunaticks*, who are not capable of chuſing their *own Guardians*, and therefore are deliver'd over to the Care of ſome *Relation*, or *Neighbour*, who undertakes their Affairs. From hence it often comes to paſs that the *Repreſentatives* and the *Repreſented* are utter Strangers to each other; and I ſhould not be in the leaſt ſurprized to ſee a warm Contention in Parliament about the late Elections for ſome of *theſe Boroughs*, which never ſaw, or were ſeen by any one of the *Petitioners*, or the *ſitting Members*. Nay, I have been told that ſome of the chief Inn-Keepers in *theſe Boroughs* have not been able to ſatisfy the Curioſity of their Gueſts who their *Members* were; and that their *Members* have been equally at a Loſs in Town to anſwer to the Names of their *Boroughs*, when they have been call'd over in the Houſe.

There muſt be ſome extraordinary Magnetick to draw the Affections of People at ſuch a Diſtance, and make them ſtick ſo cloſe to Men, whom they never ſaw, or heard of before. Some Perſons affirm that *this Noſtrum* is compoſed of a yellow Kind of Earth, which is found in great Quantities, at theſe Seaſons, on a certain Hill in *Cornwal*, called the *Mount of Corruption*. Others are of Opinion that the *Maſter of the Mount*, who is certainly a very great Adept in the occult Sciences, hath diſcovered the *Philoſopher's Stone*, and can turn every Thing he touches into *Gold*.

There is a remarkable Caſe in *Coke's Inſtitutes*, which deſerves the Obſervation of the Publick, at this Time.

Thomas Long gave the Mayor of *Weſtbury* 4*l.* to be elected Burgeſs, who thereupon was elected. This Matter was examined and adjudged in the Houſe of Commons, *ſecundum Legem & Conſuetudinem Parliamenti*, and the *Mayor* fined and impriſoned, and *Long* removed; for *this corrupt Dealing*, ſays Sir *Edward Coke*, *was to poiſon the* Fountain *itſelf*.——*Chap.* 1. *Inſt.* 4.

From this Caſe it appears that the Practice of *corrupting Boroughs* is not entirely modern; and we read of a Set of *Projectors*, in the Reign of King *James* the Firſt, who *undertook to model the Houſe of Commons to the King's Purpoſes*; from whence they gain'd the Name of *Undertakers*. But as the *former Attempt* was puniſhed in an exemplary Manner, ſo the *latter* was defeated; and tho' ſuch Practices of *poiſoning the Fountain* have been wonderfully improved ſince that Time, they were never inſiſted on till very lately as any Proof of the *Senſe of the People*.

Nothing is more common at preſent than to hear one Corporation call'd a *Court-Borough*, another a *Treaſury-Borough*, a third an *Admiralty-Borough*, a fourth a *Poſt-Office-Borough*, and ſo of many more; becauſe they depend on *theſe Offices*.

I ſhall conclude (ſays *D'Anvers*) with a very extraordinary Letter, which I am informed hath been ſent to all the Poſtmaſters in the Kingdom, during the late Elections.

SIR,

I deſire you'll ſend me a particular Account of your Election, when it comes on, and if there be any Oppoſition and a Poll, pray adviſe by every Poſt *how it goes*; and when the Return is made, inform me *how the Parties ſtand affected*, where their *Places of Reſidence* are, if they are *new Members*; your punctual Compliance with this will greatly oblige

General Poſt-Office, *April* 18, 1734. *Your Humble Servant.*

P. S. *If there be any Boroughs in your Knowledge, or Delivery, pray procure me Accounts thereof, as above.*

I ſhall make no Comments on *this Letter*, which ſufficiently explains itſelf, and ſhews the unwearied Endeavours of *ſome Gentlemen* to preſerve the *Freedom of Parliament*.

Univerſal Spectator, June 15. N° 297.

The Maiden's Scheme for governing a Husband: By Martha Single, *Spinſter.*

AS the whole Happineſs of the Marriage State depends on our firſt Choice, the utmoſt Caution ſhould be taken by the Fair, to know well the Perſons to whom they give themſelves away; nor would it be improper to deviate from the common Maxim of the Sex, and rather take the Man who loves them, than him whom they love: They may retain their Power over the firſt, the latter will keep up their Power over them.

As one Woman governs a great many Men before Marriage, ſhe might eaſily govern *one* after it: The Authority of the Miſtreſs ſhould not be ſunk in the Fondneſs of a Wife; She ſhould have Pride and Good Nature by Turns, as ſhe found it would be moſt convenient; for by indulging a Man in a few Humours, it is ten to one but he'll indulge her in all.

When after Marriage any particular Foible in a Man is diſcover'd, it ſhould as much as is poſſible be conſtrued to your Advantage. Is he covetous, he'll make you rich; is he preciſe, he'll not be paſſionate; is he paſſionate, he will make you patient; is he foppiſh, he'll be always neat; if a Rake, he'll love his Wife in her Turn: Think him at leaſt ſtill agreeable, as the only Way he ſhould ſtill think you ſo.

To preſerve Dominion, there muſt be preſerv'd good Humour, and to pleaſe a Huſband, you muſt continue that which pleas'd a Lover: To expoſe the ill Qualities of Mind, or neglect the Care of their Appearance to their Huſband, is a great Overſight in the Ladies: When inſtead of the agreeable, they become ſullen; inſtead of appearing always to the A beſt Advantage, they ever appear to the worſt, I cannot wonder if they loſe the Power over their Huſbands Hearts, againſt ſo many Women, who always appear to them complaiſant and well-dreſs'd, to engage them.

There are ſome Women who might govern their Huſbands, where they not always telling them that they are capable of governing them; and hinting *they* are Fools, B by crying up their own Prudence and Conduct; they would have more Power did they not ſhew they were aiming at it: Others, to enjoy a Power they think they deſerve, boaſt of their Excellencies, till they ceaſe to be ſo. What greater Plague could a Man have than to be ſtunn'd with the Repetition of—What? Uſe a Woman ſo of my Merit? A Woman of my Conduct?—The Sway they might C eaſily have over their Huſbands, is ſoon loſt, in eternally boaſting their Wit, their Beauty, their Fortune, their Family, and that diſtinguiſhable Thing which ſome People call *Virtue*.

I cannot agree that it is neceſſary for the better Preſervation of domeſtick Dominion, for the Women to be Tyrants. I would have them rule, but yet be generous, to rule mildly; D and how deſpotic ſoever they may be in private, in publick it will be ſufficient, if they juſt let the Company ſee, the *Grey Mare is the better Horſe*. A Huſband ſhould ſtill retain the external Appearance of a Man, and be indulged ſo far as to ſee a Play or an Opera by himſelf; nay ſometimes drink his Half Pint at the Tavern, provided he gave a very good Account E what Company he was in: And he might be allowed to think ſome Half Hours in his Life might be ſpent with a little Satisfaction, tho' he was not in Company with his Spouſe: I can't conceive but he might have a Liberty alſo to make uſe of his Senſes, and believe this or that Woman tolerably pretty, had Senſe, Wit, and was agreeable, if it was a Degree at leaſt beneath the Perfections of his *Wife*.

Craftſman, June 15. N° 415.

Some Remarks on the Free Briton.

BEFORE the Choice of a new Parliament came on, the *miniſterial Drudget* (ſays *D'Anvers*) thought themſelves ſo ſure of their Game, that they began to ſing *Te Deum* upon it, and inſult us with the Loſs of our *Popularity*. Nay, even when the Elections were above half over, good Mrs. *Oſborne* and ſome of her ingenious Aſſociates in the *Courant* had the Modeſty to boaſt of their Succeſs, and that the Returns then made were ſufficient to determine the *Senſe of the People* on their Side. But as ſoon as it appeared that above three Parts in four of the *Counties*, and moſt of the *rich independent Corporations* had declared in the ſtrongeſt Terms againſt them, by the Choice of their *Repreſentatives*, they immediately turn'd the Tables upon us, and began to depreciate the Affections of the People, which they had in vain attempted to conciliate to themſelves.

The *modeſt Eſquire*, who ſhines at the Head of the *Free Briton*, in his Paper of the 6th Inſt. begins with a laboured Invective againſt *Popularity*, which he hath embelliſhed with all thoſe Commonplace Flowers of Rhetorick, that are to be found in Plays, Poems, and Declamations. It is, in his Language, *the Food of vain Ambition*; *the Snare of Senſe and Honeſty*; *the Breath of giddy Multitudes, which neither* Wiſdom *nor* Science *can always obtain, nor* Wealth *with all its Treaſures purchaſe with any Security, nor* Truth *and* Integrity *allure its Attachment to themſelves, however deſerving above all others. As it proceeds from, ſo it depends on, the great promiſcuous Heap of Mankind, where Numbers, without any* Senſe *or* Property, *give Law to the wiſeſt Underſtandings, and to the largeſt Fortunes.*— He runs on, with his uſual Glibneſs, in the ſame looſe, undiſtinguiſhing Gibberiſh, which is neither true nor falſe, without ſome Application, and may be properly called *a pretty, diſguis'd Way of ſaying nothing*. All I can collect from it is, that Mr. *Walſingham* is very angry with the People of *England* for their Conduct at the late Elections; by which they have given the World a convincing Proof that Wealth *with all its Treaſures cannot purchaſe Popularity*.

I can eaſily comprehend how *Want of Senſe* may be imputed to thoſe, who have the Hardineſs to fly in the Face of *Wealth with all its Treaſures*; but that a vaſt Majority of the *Britiſh* Freeholders ſhould have *no Property*, is to me a little myſterious. Perhaps, Mr. *Walſingham* might deſign to inſinuate that all the Property of *England* is confin'd to the *Cinque-Ports* and *Corniſh Boroughs*.

F The next Thing remarkable, in this fine Piece of Caſuiſtry, is the Character of ſome *great and good Man*, who hath been lately *degraded*, and ſtript of all Pretences to *Popularity*.

"That Man, *ſays he*, who hath been the *Father of the People*, and *Guardian of their Happineſs*; whoſe Cares have comprehended G the Intereſts of all, and who hath lived a publick Benefit to the Community under his Care; whoſe humane and compaſſionate Breaſt hath been open to every Man, with Capacity to oblige the moſt conſiderable, and Condeſcenſion to the very meaneſt; whoſe Integrity hath

hath been as much above Suſpicion, as his Behaviour free from Pride, or his Hands from having been employed in any Work of Oppreſſion; who hath neither feared Enemies, nor provoked them; who hath been diſintereſted in his Friendſhips and good Offices; equal to any Truſt, and ſuperior to all Temptations; that Man *may be rejected by the* People, *but* A *neverthleſs will riſe ſuperior to* Popularity. They may loſe their *greateſt Ornament* and *Benefactor* by their Ingratitude; but he can never loſe the Character of having been their *injur'd Father*, and their *abuſed Friend*."

Mr. *W.* alludes to this *great Perſonage*, as well as the cruel Uſage, he hath lately received from the People, in ſeveral Parts of the ſame Paper. In one Place, he is called B *the perfect Character itſelf*; in another, *the moſt valuable of Mankind*; and in a third, *the moſt amiable and uſeful Man of any in the World*; but, at the ſame Time, we are left ſomewhat in the Dark for whom this *perfect Character* is deſigned. There is certainly but one Perſon in *England*, who can with any Propriety, or Decency, be ſtiled *Father of the People, and Guardian of their Happineſs*. Theſe Appellations have been always appropriated to the *Sovereign*, and thought incommunicable to any Subject; but I am ſo well acquainted with Mr. *Walſingham*'s excellent Talent at Panegyrick, who hath often level'd *Majeſty* upon theſe Occaſions, and made ſeveral Improvements on *Wolſey*'s modeſt Stile, that I am almoſt confident his *Patron* ſate for his beautiful Picture. It is well known that he hath long enjoy'd the Title of *Princeps Senatus*, and hath often had the *ſacred Oil* pour'd upon his Head; ſo that altho' he may not be able to prove himſelf the *Father of the People* by any Marks of natural Affection towards them, and it might be conſtrued High Treaſon to call him our *Father-in-Law*; yet I apprehend he may be properly enough denominated the *Step-Father of the People*; or ſuch a Kind of Parent as *Saturn* was of old, who is ſaid to have *devoured his own Children*; and perhaps this may be the Reaſon for putting us ſo often in Mind of that famous Hemiſtich, *Redeunt Saturnia Regna*; that is, in Mother Goſcorne's and Mr. *Walſingham*'s Engliſh, *We are the happieſt People on the Face of the Earth, and enjoy all the Liberty human Nature is capable of.* This Point being therefore ſettled, *that Mr. Walſingham's Patron is the Father of the People, and Guardian of their Happineſs*, it will be eaſy to reconcile the reſt of the Character to that *anointed Miniſter*; *whoſe Integrity hath certainly been as much above* Suſpicion, *as his Behaviour free from* Pride, *or his Hands from having been employed in any Work of* Oppreſſion.——The *Forage-Contract*, the *Bank-Contract*, and *Army-Debentures* (amongſt a thouſand other Inſtances, which might be produced) are undoubted Teſtimonies of the Truth; as his Modeſty in refuſing *Honours* is a Proof of the *ſecond*; and whoever conſiders the true Nature and Tendency of the late *Exciſe-Scheme*, will purge him from any Imputation of the *third*.—Nobody can charge him with *having either fear'd Enemies, or provoked them*, by making uſe of his Power to gratify his perſonal Reſentments, and turning Gentlemen, of the moſt unqueſtionable Abilities and Affection to his Majeſty, out of their Employments, becauſe they thought it their Duty to oppoſe ſome of his Meaſures.—That he hath been *diſintereſted in his Friendſhips and good Offices*, appears from his Gratitude to thoſe, who aſſiſted him in the Time of Diſtreſs, and contributed to his preſent Elevation.—The prudent and happy Conduct of Affairs, both at home and abroad, for ſeveral Years paſt, is ſufficient to prove him *equal to any Truſt*, and his moderate Acquiſitions demonſtrate his *Superiority to all Temptations*. Yet every Body knows that *this great, this good, this wiſe Man hath been lately rejected by the People*, almoſt with a general Voice, and that they are now in Danger of *loſing their* C *greateſt Ornament and Benefactor by their Ingratitude*; but his *worthy Advocate* comforts us with an Aſſurance, that *he will neverthleſs* riſe ſuperior *to* Popularity. This Paſſage puzzles me the moſt of any in the whole Character; and if I was not very well apprized of Mr. *Walſingham*'s Sincerity, I ſhould be apt to think that he intended to turn our Eyes towards *Temple* D *Bar*, where I have ſeen many a Man raiſe his Head ſuperior to *Popularity*; but his Attachments are ſo well known, that he could not be guilty of ſo baſe a Deſign, and only meant that *this injured Father and abuſed Friend of the People* was reſolved to ſpurn ſuch an *ungrateful Rabble* under his Feet, and defy them to do their worſt.

E Having chaſtiſed the *Body of the People*, in this publick Manner, he proceeds to *their Leaders*, whom he terms the *Minions of Popularity*, and compares them to *Dictators taken from the Plough*. He tells us that *vulgar Pebbles* (meaning theſe *rural Dictators*) *have the Price of* Gems *in ſome Eyes*: That is, as he is pleas'd to explain it, in the Eyes of *Fools* and *Country Bumpkins*; for thoſe, who have F had the Happineſs of a *Court-Education*, are too well acquainted with the Difference, to be impos'd upon in this Manner. For my Part, I have always look'd upon 'Squire *Walſingham* himſelf as a *precious Gem*, which was accidentally pick'd up amongſt *vulgar Pebbles*, and had the Honour to be ſtuck in the Cap of his *Patron*.

G The *learned Author of this noble Harangue* concludes with a publick and explicit Confeſſion that the *general Senſe of the People* is againſt him; for he tells us, *that it is not the Loſs of a* ſingle Conteſt, *which is to be conſidered as the real Grievance. The Example is of a*

ge-

general Nature. Such a Declaration as this must be rare News to the *popular Rabble*, as well as their *Minions*; and, conſidering from what Hands it comes, will put them no Doubt into very good Humour. I believe, indeed, that the late Elections have ſufficiently mortify'd our *political Daddy*, and that he hath but *one Artifice* left to ſupport himſelf in his *Guardianſhip*, which he will certainly put in Practice, unleſs prevented by the timely Vigour and Integrity of our *new Repreſentatives*.

Fog's Journal, June 15 and 22.

THESE Papers contain an Apology for the *Clergy*, being ſome Reflections on a late *Letter* ſent to one of them by his Pariſhioner, (ſee p. 253.) I am afraid (ſays the Author of theſe Papers to *Fog*) you were *deceived* in the *true* Intention of the Writer of that Letter, who ſeems to me to be one of our preſent modern *Infidels*, who attacks Chriſtianity thro' the Sides of the *Clergy*; and is ſo far from having that *Friendſhip* he pretends for the *Clergy* and their *Religion*, that he wiſhes *both* were baniſh'd out of *England*, that he and his Fellow-Thinkers might quietly enjoy the *Pleaſures* and *Intereſts* of this *World* in the Manner they *chuſe*, and *appear* to do it.

My Reaſon for this Opinion I chiefly draw from the *Method* he has choſen to *accuſe* and *reform* the Conduct of the Clergy *in general*, and of the Doctor and Curate of his own Pariſh in *particular*, (which laſt, as he has laid his Accuſation, muſt be confeſs'd, *needs* to be reform'd by proper *Authority*) by expoſing it to the View of *all Orders* and *Degrees* of Men, who are Members of the ſame Church; and of all the *Sects* which differ from it, by *Schiſm* or *Infidelity*. Now *this* Method of *publick* Reproof and Admonition from a *private* Pariſhioner to the *Miniſter* of his Pariſh, I think cannot be for the *Honour* and *Intereſt* of the Religion of the Church of *England*, any more than for the particular *Honour* of the Miniſters he has expoſed. I need not therefore, now, I think, inquire whether this Scene of the Parſon of 500*l.* a Year, and his Curate, is probably grounded in, and juſtified by Matters of Fact, or laid only to vent an impious Spleen againſt Religion, or an envious one againſt the Clergy.

But to ſuppoſe this Writer to have all the Zeal for Religion and the Clergy he deſires, the more he really has, the more he is condemned by his own Argument. If it is in vain to ſtop Infidelity till the Clergy begin the Reformation at themſelves, if their Sermons and Books cannot do it, ſo long as the Infide's have the ſtrongeſt Fortreſs in the Eccleſiaſtical Immoralities of the Clergy, and he confeſſes that Infidelity by this Means has diffuſed itſelf into all Parts of the Nation; why does he, by your Paper, which goes to to all Parts of the Nation, and alſo into foreign Chriſtian Countries, publiſh their Eccleſiaſtical Immoralities, except to reproach our Church, and confirm the Infidels in their Oppoſition and Hoſtility to it.

If we ſhould ſo far allow the Veracity of this Writer, with reſpect to his own Pariſh, and that the Ignorance and Viciouſneſs of all People there, is owing to the Negligence and Impiety of his Curate; yet it is falſe Reaſoning, as well as invidious, to infer the Guilt of *all* the Clergy, from the Guilt of *Particulars*. And if that friendly Expoſtulator with his Miniſter be of any Profeſſion or Employ himſelf, common to others, I doubt he would complain of it, not only as inconclufive, but injurious to his Character, to *tranſfer* the Guilt of *another* Perſon to him, with whom he had no other *Concern*, than being *innocently* engaged in the ſame Buſineſs. So if ſome of the Clergy forget their Profeſſion, and act upon the Principles of the World, it does not follow that all do ſo, nor reflect any Guilt upon thoſe that do not: And if the whole Clergy ſhould be as faulty as this Writer ſuggeſts, the Truth and Excellence of the Chriſtian Religion would in itſelf never be the leſs.

That a willing Subject to the Epiſcopal Authority, and the Miniſtrations of the Clergy in the ſeveral Offices of the Church, ſhould attempt, upon a ſlight, or no Foundation, to draw the Biſhops and Clergy into Contempt, to ſpeak favourably, is acting an inconſiſtent Part, no way for the Honour and Intereſt of our Church, or of the Chriſtian Religion, eſpecially when we conſider the Circumſtances of the preſent Times, wherein it appears too plainly, by ſome Fate or other, that the Biſhops are under ſome Diſguſt, and the People more than uſual pour out Complaints againſt them. It is out of my Sphere of Duty to examine the Foundation and Juſtice of the preſent ſeeming Diſlike; but whatever be the Cauſe of it, it can only be perſonal, I think, and affect the particular Conduct of ſome of them in ſome *diſputable* Matter, and it ought not to affect Epiſcopacy itſelf. That it cannot be denied poſſible for Caſes to happen in a Church acknowledged to be fallible, that even Biſhops may ſometimes fail, and the Conduct of the beſt Clergy require ſome Amendment; yet this cannot juſtify any Friends of theirs to take Occaſion from every Failure, to join with the Enemy in a general Cry againſt their perſonal Virtue or their Office. We know the Offices of Chriſtian Biſhops, and of the inferior Clergy they have ordained, are of all other Offices among Men the moſt ſacred, (next to our anointed Sovereigns, who are alſo anointed by the Lord in their civil Capacities over Biſhops and Clergy) but as they were ordained to be ſtill

the ſame common corrupt Nature and
railties, they will ever be liable to ſome per-
nal Miſconduct, as well as others, for which
candid and equal Judges will make Allow-
ces, and not ſuffer the common Condition
human Nature to draw their ſacred Cha-
ſters into Contempt.

The Letter-Writer makes a mighty Boaſt A
his paying Tithes punctually and duly, as
e Law requires, and ſeems to think the
ergy abundantly well provided for. I have
gratify my own Curioſity formerly calcu-
ed the ſeveral Values of the poor Livings
bjected by the gracious Acts in Queen *Anne*'s
ign, and her Succeſſor's, to an Augmenta-
n from the ſeveral Promotions of the B
ergy, and I found them thus according to
r. *Eſton*. Livings of 50*l*. a Year, and not
ceeding it, 56. Livings under 40*l*. a Year
lue, 190. Livings under 20*l*. a Year from
l. 448. Livings of 20*l*. a Year Value
under 30*l*. 782. Livings of 30*l*. a Year
under 40*l*. 966. Livings of 40*l*. a Year
under 50*l*. 1380. In all, under or not
ceeding 50*l*. a Year, 3862. This is an C
ditional Reaſon to pay the Tithes in theſe
ings *punctually*, and conſidering neverthe-
how imperfectly and fraudulently they are
d in theſe Livings above all the reſt; it
ms to give a juſt and charitable Occaſion to
Legiſlature and the Judges to conſtrue
ſe *Modus*'s by which they chiefly ſuffer,
the *original Intent* of thoſe that made them,
at an Equivalent for the Tithes they were D
en in Lieu of, and to make *this* the ſtand-
Rule of interpreting them, in all Places,
at all Times. Then the true Effect and o-
al Intent of the Law of Tithes will take
e to the Improvement of theſe *ſmall* Liv-
in the Way of *Juſtice* and *Equity*. But
am either miſtaken, or too preſumptive
this Suggeſtion, I humbly aſk Pardon; E
I meant no more than to enforce that
ept of our Saviour to the greater Honour of
Church of *England*: *So hath the Lord*
ined, that they who preach the Goſpel
ld live of the Goſpel. But if the Wiſdom
Compaſſion of the Legiſlature ſhould
it a better Method for that Purpoſe to
haſe *Impropriations*, it muſt be acknow-
d, it would promote it with more Expe- F
n, and without Injuſtice to the Impropria-
and be a *Charity* that deſerv'd to be
nemorated by the *poor Clergy* even more,
ſſible, than the *ever-memorable Bounty of*
e Anne, that true *Patroneſs* of the
rch and Nation, and deſerve an annual Day
neral Thankſgiving to *God*, and the ut-
Honour for *thoſe* who promoted it to Effect. G

Craftſman, June 22. N° 416.

his Paper the Craftſman *gives us the*
OTESTS *of the* Scotch *Peers in Rela-*
to the Election of the 16 *Peers there, on the*
4th Inſtant: Theſe Proteſts *were publiſh'd in*
many of the News-Papers, and are thus
introduc'd by the Craftſman.

I Congratulate the Publick (ſays he) on Mrs. *Oſborne*'s Return from the *Norfolk Elections* to her Poſt in the *London Journal*; where ſhe made her Appearance again, on *Saturday* laſt, and undertook the Solution of that knotty Problem, *whether the* Senſe of the People *is with the* Miniſtry, *or againſt them*. Our *political Grandmother* makes no Scruple to determine this Queſtion in the *Affirmative*, and ſeems to caſt an oblique Reflection on her Brother *Walſingham*, who gave it up to us the Week before. (See p. 313. G.) For this Purpoſe, ſhe begins with aſſerting that the *Freeholders of* England (whom ſhe calls a Parcel of *gaping, country Fellows*) *are almoſt as ignorant of all political Knowledge, as the* Beaſts *they ride on*; *and that their* ſeveral Leaders *are not much above them*; meaning the *Country Gentlemen* and *Clergymen*. Having laid down *this modeſt Poſtulatum*, ſhe concludes, with her uſual logical Exactneſs, *that thoſe, who have* no Senſe of national Affairs, *cannot be ſaid to expreſs the* Senſe of the Nation. She then proceeds to acquaint us where the *Senſe of the People* really lies; that is, amongſt the *Citizens* and *Burgeſſes, whoſe* Numbers *are as great in moſt Counties, as the* Freeholders *themſelves, and their* political Knowledge *much greater*. Now, ſuppoſing this, it ought likewiſe to be conſidered *which of the two are moſt* free *and* independent; and I believe Dame *Oſborne* will not ſay that the *Voters for Boroughs* are, generally ſpeaking, altogether ſo *free* and *independent* as the *Electors for Counties*. Beſides, the *good old Lady* ſeems to forget that the *Country Party* have already claim'd the Majority of *Cities* and *great Trading Towns*, as well as of the *Counties*, to themſelves; particularly *London* and *Briſtol*, which, for *Numbers*, *Trade* and *Property*, to ſay nothing of their *political Knowledge*, muſt be allowed ſuperior to all the *trading Towns* and *Cities* in *England*; not excepting even *Norwich* itſelf, which Mrs. *Oſborne* ſeems to mention with more than ordinary Triumph; tho' when *that Election* is conſidered in its true Light, it reflects as much Diſhonour on her *Patron*, as any one in the whole Kingdom. Neither will the Members for all the *Counties*, and *great trading Towns*, properly ſo called, conſtitute a *Majority of the Houſe of Commons*; and therefore we muſt collect the *Senſe of the People*, according to this Way of Reaſoning, from the *little, beggarly Boroughs* on the Sea-Coaſts, and in two or three *Inland Counties* whoſe Circumſtances render them independent on *Miniſters*, and put it in their Power to balance the *Counties* and *great trading Towns*.

Leaving theſe Points therefore to our *grand Mamma*'s farther Conſideration, I ſhall now paſs on to the *Scottiſh Elections*. I am ſenſible

ble that the *Court-Writers* will have ſome Advantage over us, in this Part of the Argument. But if we may rely on the whole Tenor of Advices from thence, the *late Returns* in their Favour are very far from being any Proof of the *genuine Senſe of the People*, in that Part of the united Kingdom, which hath concurred with the *Senſe of their Fellow-Subjects in* England, as far as they could manifeſt it by outward Profeſſions and Declarations. How it came to paſs that the *Voice of the People* ſhould be drown'd in the *Choice of their Repreſentatives*, and that the *Country Intereſt* ſhould be overpowered, amidſt ſo much *Popularity*, may be fully explain'd in due Time; nor is it, indeed, any great Secret at preſent; for by what already appears, concerning the late Election of *ſixteen Peers* to repreſent the Peerage of *Scotland*, the Myſtery is partly unfolded. Let us therefore take a ſhort View of *this Affair*, as it appears from the Minutes of Election.

THE Peers of Scotland *being met at the* Borough-Room, *in Order to chuſe proper Perſons to repreſent them in the enſuing Parliament, the Right Hon. the Earl of* Stair *entered the* following Proteſt, *previous to the Election*, viz.

Whereas this Forenoon, a Batallion of Foot was drawn up under Arms, in the Place call'd the *Abbey-Cloſe*, and there continues under Arms; and, whereas by the Law and conſtant Practice in all *Britain*, none of the ſtanding Forces can lawfully continue in any Town, or Place, or in the Neighbourhood thereof, during the Time of an Election for Parliament, in that Town, or Place, and that till now, at every Election of ſixteen Peers for *Scotland*, the King's Forces march'd out of the Suburbs, and near Neighbourhood of the Town of *Edinburgh*, and did not return till the ſaid Elections were over; therefore I proteſt for myſelf and all, who ſhall adhere to this my Proteſtation, that the drawing up and Continuance of the ſaid Battalion under Arms in the *Abbey-Cloſe*, or any other Place, in the Suburbs, or near Neighbourhood of *Edinburgh*, during this Election of ſixteen Peers of *Scotland*, to ſit and vote in the enſuing Parliament, is illegal, and plainly tending to overawe, diſquiet, and forcibly over-rule the ſaid Election; and I, for myſelf, and others foreſaid, proteſt againſt all the Conſequences, which the ſaid illegal Fact hath, or ſhall have, and for obtaining Redreſs thereof in proper Time and Place; and that this Election is and ſhall be conſtrued not to be free, but to be overaw'd and over-rul'd illegally.——Sign'd *Stair*, and by eighteen other Peers.

Proteſts were likewiſe entered againſt ſeveral Perſons, claiming a Right to vote at this Election; and two others, by the Dukes of Hamilton *and* Queenſberry, *to ſave their Titles as Peers of* England. *After which, the following general Proteſt was enter'd by his Grace the Duke of* Hamilton, *viz.*

Before giving my Vote at this Election, I think it my indiſpenſable Duty to proteſt, that whereas I have ſtrong Grounds to believe that the Peers, who are to vote at this Election, have not all of them been left at Liberty to make a free Choice of ſuch Peers as they ſhall judge moſt proper to repreſent the Peerage of *Scotland*; but that a Liſt of the ſixteen Peers hath been named by the *Miniſter* and ſent down by his *Agent*; and that, what I apprehend to be, undue Influence hath been uſed with many of the Peers of *Scotland*, to engage them to vote for the ſaid Liſt; and more particularly, that I have Ground to believe the ſaid Liſt conſiſts of the ſixteen noble Lords afternamed, for whom I have perſonally the greateſt Honour and Reſpect; to wit, his Grace the Duke of *Athol*, his Grace the Duke of *Buccleugh*, the Marquis of *Lothian*, the Earls of *Crawford*, *Sutherland*, *Morton*, *Loudon*, *Finlater*, *Selkirk*, *Becarras*, *Dunmore*, *Orkney*, *Portmore*, *Hopeton*, *Iſla*, and Lord *Cathcart*; therefore I do proteſt, that in Caſe it ſhall appear, in the Courſe of this Election, that the Liſt voted in, and hath been, a Liſt ſo named by the *Miniſter*, and that undue Means hath been uſed to induce the Peers, who are to vote at this Election, or any Number of them, to vote for ſuch Liſt, by Promiſe or Grant of Place, Penſion, or Reward, to themſelves or their near Relations, or by Threatnings of being removed from Offices, or of any other Kind whatſoever; that ſuch Election ſhall be held as illegal, contrary to the Freedom of Elections, and therefore void. And I do hereby proteſt, that I ſhall be at Liberty farther to diſſent from ſuch Election, if made, and to renew my Proteſt, and to offer my Reaſons and Objections againſt the ſame, in a more particular Manner. Sign'd

Hamilton, Queenſberry, Montroſe, Roxburgh, Tweeddale, Rothes, Buchan, Strathmore, Haddington, Kincardine, Aberdeen, Dundonald, Marchmont, Stair, Glaſgow, Roſeberry, Salton, Elphinſtone, Napier, Blantyre.

The Lord Elphinſtone *not only ſign'd the foregoing Proteſt, but corroborated the Motives to it by a particular Declaration, relating to himſelf, in the following Words*, viz.

I *Charles* Lord *Elphinſtone* do hereby adhere to the Proteſt entered by his Grace the Duke of *Hamilton*, concerning undue Influence uſed by *People in Power*, for this Election of ſixteen Peers to ſit and vote in the enſuing Parliament. And I do it for this Reaſon, that they have attempted ſuch undue Influences upon *myſelf*; which Attempts I withſtood, and rejected their Offers.——At *Edinburgh*

4th Day of *June* 1734, at the Election of the ſixteen Peers aforeſaid. *Elphinſtone.*

The Earl of Roſeberrie *adher'd to his Grace the Duke of* Hamilton's *Proteſt, for the ſame Reaſon, declaring that it was every Way his own Caſe.*

Then came on the Election, and the Liſt before-mentioned being voted, to a Man, his Grace the Duke of Queenſberry *enter'd the following Proteſt,* viz.

I, in my own Name, and in the Name of ſuch of the Peers of *Scotland* as ſhall adhere to me, do proteſt, that the pretended Election of his Grace the Duke of *Athol*, his Grace the Duke of *Buccleugh*, &c. to repreſent the Peerage of *Scotland*, is void and null for theſe, among other Reaſons.

1. That it appears from the ſeveral Circumſtances which have preceded and attended this Election, that this Liſt hath been named by the *Miniſter*, and ſent down by his *Agent*, without Regard to the real Opinion and Sentiments of the Peers; and that ſeveral of them have been ty'd down either to give their Votes for this Liſt, or to incur the Diſpleaſure of the *Miniſter*.

2. That, for many Months paſt, very undue Influence hath been uſed (as I have Ground to believe, from what hath already paſſed at this Meeting, and hope in proper Time to make farther appear) with many of the Peers of *Scotland*, to engage, or intimidate them to vote for this Liſt, at leaſt ſuch Liſt as ſhould be put into their Hands, by Promiſe or Grant of Money, Places, Penſions, or Preferments, civil or military, to themſelves, or their near Relations; or by Threatenings of removing them, or their near Relations, from Offices they enjoy'd; or other Promiſes, or Threatenings, equally inconſiſtent with the *Freedom of Elections*.

3. That I am rather induced to believe that ſuch undue Influence hath been uſed, becauſe of the many notorious Inſtances, that have occurr'd of undue Practices, with Reſpect to the Elections of the *Commoners*, by Promiſe or Grant of Places, civil or military, and Offers of Grants of great Sums of Money, to influence Voters, both in *Counties* and *Burghs*, ſuch as hath not been heard of at any Time before, by known Agents of the *Miniſter*; and Liberties, that have been taken by *Returning Officers*, in open Violation of the Laws; the Conſequences of which muſt be too plain, as tending intirely to the Deſtruction of the *Freedom of Elections*, the Ruin of our *Conſtitution*, the ſapping the very Foundation of *Parliaments*, and rendering them intirely dependent, not only upon the *Crown*, but every *aſſuming Miniſter*.

For theſe Reaſons I do proteſt, that the preſent pretended Election of the aforeſaid ſixteen Peers, to wit, his Grace the Duke of *Athol*, his Grace the Duke of *Buccleugh*, &c. is void; and that the Election of ſuch ſixteen Peers as have the greateſt Number of Votes, ſetting aſide the above Liſt named by the *Miniſter*, is the *only fair* and *free Election*, and *they alone* are intitled to repreſent the Peerage of *Scotland* in the enſuing Parliament. And I do proteſt, for my Part, that I have given my Vote for the Liſt, for which I have voted, in Conſequence of my free Choice, without any undue Influence uſed upon me; and that I have endeavoured to uſe no undue Influence upon any Peer whatſoever to concur with me in that Choice; and I require you, Mr. *James Juſtice* and Mr. *John Murray*, Clerks of Seſſion officiating at the ſaid Election, to extract from the Minutes of Election, and deliver to me a Certificate of ſuch ſixteen Peers as have the greateſt Number of Votes, ſetting aſide the above Liſt named by the *Miniſter*. Signed *Queenſberry*, &c. as in the preceding Proteſt.

When the Earl of Kincardine *ſign'd this Proteſt, he reſerv'd to himſelf a Power of making any farther Declarations of Matters within his* own Knowledge, *when called upon by any proper Court, or Authority.*

N. B. The Liſt on which the Minority fell, was as follows, *viz.* Duke of *Hamilton*, Duke of *Montroſe*, Duke of *Queenſberry*, Duke of *Roxburgh*, Marqueſs of *Tweedale*, Earl of *Stair*, Earl of *Marchmont*, Earl of *Rothes*, Earl of *Haddington*, Earl of *Caithneſs*, Earl of *Buchan*, Earl of *Aberdeen*, Earl of *Dondonald*, Earl of *Strathmore*, Earl of *Glaſgow*, and Lord *Elphinſtone*.

London Journal, June 22. N° 782.

Of the Voice of the People, &c.

THE *Craftſman* complains heavily of a *corrupt Influence* on the Side of the Court, and of *mercenary* Pamphlets and Papers diſperſed thro' all Parts of the Kingdom, to *deceive* the People: But, for God's Sake, what does he mean? Would he have the *Liberty* of Writing taken away from the *Miniſtry*, and the Preſs left open only to them?

The Truth of the Caſe about the *Voice of the People* in the Counties, in which they triumph with ſo little Reaſon, is this: The Country People, the *Majority*, I mean, have been *againſt the Court* ever ſince the *Revolution*, unleſs in the four laſt Years of Q. *Anne*: *Theſe People* were always againſt a *Whig Adminiſtration*, and always will be, till there is a more general Change among the *Country Gentlemen* and *Clergymen*, who are their *ſole Guides* and *Leaders*.

Nothing can equal the Aſſurance of theſe *Anti-miniſterial Scribblers*; they affirm, that all who vote for Members that agree with the Court, are *brib'd* and *corrupted*; and that all who vote for Members againſt the Court,

vote from *Conſcience* and from *natural, honeſt Principles:* Whereas the Truth is, there is actually more Corruption ſpread thro' the Nation by *Anti-Courtiers*, than by *Courtiers*; they have *corrupted* in the worſt Senſe of the Word, *Corruption:* They have corrupted *the Minds* of the People; and *brib'd* too, as far as they are able; and yet theſe Men complain of Bribery and Corruption! They have not only *brib'd* with Money, and *corrupted* with Falſhoods, but they have dealt plentifully in all Manner of Tricks and Artifices; ſuch as transferring Properties; polling Hundreds of *Cottagers* for Freeholders; turning *Eſtates* for 99 Years into *Eſtates for Life*, &c. ſo that when *the Houſe* meets, we may ſee a Scene of Iniquity laid open, which theſe *virtuous* Gentlemen, on the *Country Intereſt*, would be willing ſhould lie buried in Oblivion; for I am inform'd, as well as the *Craftſman*, (ſee p. 250.) that there is Evidence in Hand ſufficient to make *ſome Examples*, both of the *Corrupters* and the *Corrupted*; we may then make ſome Gueſs at leaſt, who have been moſt corrupt. I am very ſure the *Anti-Court Party* hath been moſt corrupt in making *Honorary-Freemen*, which is one of the greateſt of all Corruptions; for 'tis actually *creating* Voters to ſerve an Occaſion; and abſolutely deſtroys the *Rights* and *Privileges* of the Cities and Boroughs; for which Reaſon, I hope (ſays *Oſborne*) to ſee an Act of Parliament very ſoon, which will lay the Ax to the Root of the Tree, and put an End to this ſcandalous Practice.

To conclude: Suppoſing it true, that *the Majority* of the People are againſt the Miniſtry, what doth that prove? The People are ſometimes *right*, and ſometimes *wrong:* They have been in the *Right* againſt Kings and Parliaments too; and they have been in the *Wrong* againſt both.

Grubſtreet Journal, June 27. N° 235.

The Humours of Will Whimſy; *and certain faſhionable Vices expos'd.*

Dear Bavy,

THE common Notion is, that Drunkards are beſt qualified for Writing: For which Reaſon I take myſelf to be in a Condition to appear in the World as an Author, and therefore ſend you this Epiſtle. It is true, *My Head akes confumedly:* But I take that to be ſomewhat of the Impulſe, of which Poets frequently ſpeak; and that *Apollo* plucks me a little harder by the Ears than he commonly does other People, and makes them tingle, to give me a ſmarter Senſe of my Duty.

Am I drunk, my dear *Bavy*?—No; and therefore, contrary to the common Mode of Writers, I will now conſider what I am to write upon. Let me ſee—Shall I inveſtigate the Purlieus of *Fog* and the *Craftſman*, and write upon Politics? I ſhould ſhew myſelf far from ſober, if I did: Or, what if I could proſtitute my Pen, and turn Hackney-Writer? I fancy I could make black white, or white black, as well as the beſt of them. I could ſophiſticate Words, and ſpew out Sentences with *Walſingham*, without blending one good Argument to mar the Mixture. I could out-glaver *Carus*, and outſnore mother *Oſborne*; and that you muſt allow is no mean Accompliſhment:

But to ſhow, that drunken Men can think, and conſequently that the Law is very juſt, by which, any one, who, in that Condition, offends capitally, is to be hanged, when he is ſober; I have thought upon a Subject which will do, and ſhall only wait your Approbation. Suppoſe I ſhould follow notable Precedent, and libel ſome overgrown great Man, with Matter of Fact, into a Compoſition for Taciturnity. I would next divert the Keenneſs of my tremendous Pen into a Tranſlation of ſome old *Arabic* or *Hebrew-Greek* Author (which neither he nor I underſtand) and exact freſh Contribution by an unheard of Number of Subſcriptions, ſufficient to overſtock all the Libraries of *Europe*.

But Men in my Condition, Mr. *Bavius*, are apt to be troubled with Qualms: And I find one juſt now come over my Stomach, which affects me with unaccountable Reachings. It is either a Qualm of Modeſty, or Security; I do not yet know which: Without waiting therefore for your Diſcuſſion, I will change my Scheme, and chuſe a Task leſs dangerous. I will openly deſpiſe Virtue and its Followers; and demonſtrate to the Wiſe and Penetrating, that there is no one of our Vices that ſtands in need of praiſing to gain Practice.——E. G. And firſt of all, there is Fornication, that *natural and excuſable Failing*, as a certain Doctor of Phyſic, writing on an out-o'the-way Subject, in a Way ſuitable to the Subject, was pleas'd to expreſs himſelf. But, alas, I have little to ſay on this *Failing*, more than that the Univerſality of the Practice hardly diſtinguiſhes the *Jew* from the *Chriſtian*.—In this, our modern Men of *Sodoma* tread exactly in the Steps of their Forefathers: When the Precept is to their Goſh, they are *Jewiſh* all over; but when the Penalty is ſevere, not one bit of *Jews Fleſh* is to be found about them. Witneſs that other familiar Failing, as they phraſe it, Adultery: The Penalty on which by the *Jewiſh* Law was Death; but by our tender-hearted Nation, we find now ſoftened gently into a Mulct or Fine. This is an infallible Way indeed of double taxing the poor Sinner: But the Rich, if he does not carry his Conſcience about him, is neither in Trouble, nor Danger. A Peer, or a Parliament Man, after he has griped into his Paws the beſt Argument for her better Uſage, may ſend his good and beautiful

Wife

Wife into the Country, to feed Chickens; in order to keep a Trollop in Town, impunitively, whom his own Age and Diſcretion, as well as the Laws of God and Man, had interdicted him. Theſe Heroes of the Petticoat reckon every Man that talks againſt their Goût on this Subject a Fool: And every wiſe Man is as ſure to return their Compliment.

Another Vice, which Practice has rendered a Peccadillo, is that of prophane Swearing. A Vice ſo general, and yet ſo very low, that a drunken Man would bluſh to ſee the Conteſt between Quality and Mobility for the Precedence. Moſt certain it is, the Porter and Drayman have often put their peer-like Competitors to their laſt Trumps to maintain their Peerage; who, nevertheleſs, continue ſo condeſcending in the Conteſt, as to give the World great Hopes of ſeeing thoſe Heroes of the Beau Monde ſhortly mount the Stage at the *Bear-Garden*, or *Stokes*'s Amphitheatre. *Nero* was an Emperor, and did it: And ſure *Imperial* Example is as good as the Porter's.

I proteſt to you, Mr. *Bavius*, my Head is grown cooler with writing: ſo cool, that I begin to imagine, that in Equity, I ought next to fall upon the Failing I at preſent ſuffer under; I mean the Vice of Drunkenneſs. Indeed, Mr. *Bavius*, I confeſs myſelf a Novice: So that the Penance, which the Friar impoſed on a frail Brother of mine at Confeſſion, would be a very unacceptable Equivalent. Without therefore conſulting common-place Books for proper, but odious Stigmas, I ſhall fairly conclude, that as Thinking has brought me back my Reaſon, no Man that ever thinks, would think it becoming any Part of a wiſe Man to part with it on every trifling Occaſion. Good Wine, or good Company, may very poſſibly now and then delude a Man to take a Glaſs or two extraordinary. But why do we boaſt of Reaſon, or how do we ſhow it; if, when we find it a going, we yet ſuffer the Glaſs to ſteal it quite away, to our manifeſt Inconvenience and Ridicule? To be a Buffoon to the reſt of my Company, may be a Diverſion to them; and at that Moment perhaps to myſelf: But when Reaſon returns, with what mean, what abhorrent Reflections muſt I look back on thoſe Moments, wherein I depreciated human Nature, if not to the low Degree of a Brute, to the not much more honourable Station of a Harlequin or Jack-Pudding.

WILL WHIMSY.

Fog's Journal, June 29. Nº 295.

How to judge of Miniſters.

IT is reported of Sir *William Temple*, that when a certain *Quack* ſent him the Offer of his Service, under a ſevere Fit of the Gout, with poſitive Promiſe of immediate Eaſe, and infallible Cure, he only aſk'd whether the *Doctor* came in his Coach or a Foot; and being told he walk'd it, diſmiſs'd him without farther Tryal; readily concluding, that were he really poſſeſt of ſo valuable a Secret, he could not want any Convenience of Life, and that he, who would reſtore the Uſe of other Peoples Limbs, muſt be neceſſarily enabled to conſult the Eaſe of his own.

It is indeed generally true (ſays *Fog*) that in thoſe Arts that appeal to a popular Approbation, Merit is the Baſis of Succeſs; but where Fortune or Advancement depends on the Will or Caprice of a ſingle Perſon, it is commonly otherwiſe; and the Reaſon is plain, ſince almoſt every Individual is liable to *Impoſition*, *Flattery*, or *Fear*; but the Many are a Mirror to one another, and each ſees that Weakneſs in his Neighbour, which he would be partial to in himſelf. Hence it is, that tho' *Lying*, *Impudence*, and *Temerity*; *infinite Promiſes*, *frontleſs Aſſertions*, and *impoſſible Enterprizes*, can raiſe the medicinal *Quack* no higher than a *Smithfield* Stage, yet we find, upon Recollection of former Ages, many Inſtances of *State Quacks*, who were promoted to the higheſt Fortune, Honours, and Employments, *by the very ſame Qualities*.

But however defective this Rule of judging of the Ability, by the Opulence, may be, when apply'd to the *State Quack*; it is certainly no ill Way of diſcovering his *Honeſty* and *Integrity*. I am well aware, that theſe Qualities alone, tho' abſolutely neceſſary, are by no Means ſufficient to entitle a Man to publick Employment; Diligence, and Uprightneſs may conſtitute a tolerable Steward, but by no Means a good Miniſter. A Man poſſeſt of many Virtues may, thro' want of Genius, or Capacity, impoveriſh, and involve a Nation in infinite Difficulties; but yet, in this Caſe, it were ſome Satisfaction, that the publick Calamities were the Effect of Ignorance or Accident, not of Villainy or Deſign. There is a Byaſs in human Nature, which renders the Virtues of the Heart, an acceptable Excuſe for the Faults of the Head; and we ſeldom find any Perſon, however fatal to us, follow'd by a general Hate, till he has render'd his Intentions, as well as his Actions, ſuſpected to the People. Could we ſuppoſe *the great Man abovementioned*, who from a long Enjoyment of the higheſt Offices and Employments, had made no other Acquiſitions, than of publick Fame, and ſecret Satisfaction, the innocent Inſtrument of any great Evil to theſe Kingdoms, may we not reaſonably conclude, that an Appeal to his private Circumſtances, and the moderate Uſe of his Power and Proſperity, would render him rather an Object of Pity, than Reſentment.

There are, 'tis true, *many Abuſes* in the Power of a *Miniſter* of far more pernicious Conſequence, than the *amaſſing a private Wealth*, or *aggrandizing a particular Family*;

but *these* lie more level to common Underſtanding, and are more obvious to every Eye. State Policy, Tranſactions, and Negotiations, are Things remote from us; they paſs to us thro' many Mediums, from which they take their Colour; and often loſe their Deformity by their Diſtance. 'Tis true, we always feel it in the Conſequence; but then we journey ſlowly towards this Evidence, and in the mean Time give little Attention to *the Warnings* of thoſe whom we do not think more ſharp-ſighted and experienced than ourſelves; but when we find ourſelves involv'd in inextricable Difficulties, and ſurrounded with imminent Dangers, we then begin to murmur, and enquire why our *Guides* have thus abus'd and miſled us. And here it is that *the Circumſtances of the Miniſter* become the *Standard of our Judgment*. If, for Inſtance, a Nation languiſhes under a general Poverty, and Decay of Trade; if her Fields are loaded with Taxes, and her Streets filled with Bankrupts; if a long Peace has had the Effect of an expenſive War, large Diſburſements ſerv'd only to encreaſe great Debts, and tedious Negotiations but diminiſh'd her Power, and weakened her Security; it is natural and neceſſary for the People to ſee, that there muſt have been ſome Miſmanagement at the Root of theſe Evils; but if, at the ſame Time, *the Perſon at the Head of Affairs* be alone unaffected by theſe Calamities, we not only judge him inſtrumental, but triumphant in our Fall. In this Caſe the Eaſe and Opulence of thoſe in Power, are not only eſteemed the Cauſes, but the Aggravations of our Misfortune. Their Wealth is an Inſult upon our Poverty, their Luxury imbitters every Want, their Security doubles every Danger we are expos'd to. Nor can any Plea, or Pretence of Innocence, or Integrity take place, while there is this plain Evidence, that they enjoy peculiar Advantages, that do not reſult from the general State of Affairs, or the particular Employments they are poſſeſt of. And this Evidence every body may have, ſince whoever can reckon twenty can eaſily compute the real Value of publick Employments: If then, beſide the Profits that reward publick Service, *any Perſon* riſe to a Degree of Wealth and Grandeur, inconceiveably beyond the *honeſt* Means of enriching himſelf, if from moderate or low Beginnings, or indeed from *Want* and *Beggary*, by paſſing thro' a Courſe of publick Buſineſs, in which he has been always *prodigal*, tho' *not generous*; without the Advantage of any extraordinary Succeſs; but on the contrary, involv'd in a thouſand *ſelf-created Difficulties*; and ſo far from obtaining any publick Benefaction, or Confidence, that his Conduct has been always *ſuſpected*, watched, and obſerv'd upon; if, from ſuch Circumſtances as theſe, he appear poſſeſt of endleſs Wealth, which neither the erecting of Palaces to be converted into Store-houſes of Pomp, and Magnificence, for which all *Europe* is ranſack'd, and where the Arts of *Greece* and *Rome* are rather hoarded, than diſplay'd; nor the Luxury of Entertainments, whoſe Diſorder doubles their Expence, can exhauſt, or diminiſh; if he be the never-failing Banker of all thoſe, whoſe Riot and Extravagance oblige them to ſacrifice their *Honour* to their Wants; and the *ſole Purchaſer* of ſuch *Ware* as no Body is willing to take, *even Gratis*, off his Hands; for which yet he pays an immenſe Price; if, like the Sun, he communicates Value and Brightneſs to the very Dregs of the Earth, without diminiſhing his own Splendor, he muſt, like that, have the Power of creating Gold, or elſe he muſt abuſe the Truſt repos'd in him, and *enrich himſelf by the Plunder of his Country*. And if this is once plainly prov'd upon ſome Perſons in high Station, there is no Wickedneſs or Villainy, that is probably aſſerted of ſuch an one, but will gain an eaſy Belief.

But if, on the contrary, a Perſon entruſted with Power and Employment has made no Self-uſe or Advantage of it, it will, on all Occaſions, be naturally concluded, that he had nothing but the publick Good in View, however unſucceſsful he may prove in the Proſecution of it.

N. B. *The* Craftſman *of this Day containing only an Extract from the Life of Cardinal* Ximenes, *about certain Impoſts in the Kingdoms of* Caſtille *and* Leon; *we therefore omit it.*

Errat. *p.* 315. *col.* 2. *l.* 6. *from the bottom, read* dependent.

Deſcription of Morning. *By the Author of* the Epiſtle on rural Felicity, and Eſſay on modern Poets.

NOW glimm'ring light the purpled ſkies diſplay,
Aurora bluſhing uſhers in the day;
The ſun his orient rays remotely ſpreads,
And gayly gilds th' aerial mountains heads;
The waking ſwains their labours now renew,
The meadows gliſten with the pearly dew;
The choriſters, their neſts relinquiſht, rove;
The field reviſit! reſalute the grove!
The riſing day their notes regaling ſeem,
And joyn the murmurs of the purling ſtream;
With odoriferous wings the Zephyrs fly;
Joy fills each heart! and pleaſure ev'ry eye!
Fair ſcenes appearing to the raviſht view,
The whole creation ſeems reviv'd and new.
O rural ſeats, ſo lovely and ſerene,
Where health is, and truth in golden times was ſeen;
Such are the beauties of th' unblemiſht mind
(Surpaſſing all the charms of womankind!)
And ſuch, ev'n ſuch (cou'd we behold her here)
Fair and tempting, virtue wou'd appear.

Deſcription of a tempeſtuous Morning. By the ſame Author.

THE morning is o'erſpread with low'ring gloom,
The breaking day appears the day of doom;
The ſun ſeems ſluggiſh, and as loth to riſe,
Scarcely ſquinting thro' th' envelopt ſkies;
His diſk by fits reveals a fiery red;
Impending clouds involve the mountains head;
While thunder rumbling growls, the horrid glare
Of forked lightning rends the duſky air;
The flaſhing ſtarts a ratt'ling ſhow'r deſcends;
The ſturdy oaks a ruſhing tempeſt bends:
The birds their late abodes explore again;
The flocks and herds, mixt with th' affrighted swain,
To thick coverts from th' inclement plain.
Such is the mind, which paſſion's force obeys;
Where luſt, or wild imagination ſways;
Where its ſerener pleaſures ruffling ſpoil,
And all the grace of heav'n and nature ſoil.

AD *in Domicilium Hortumque* Vicariæ D--ſ--d--n--is *Comitatu* C--t--l.

1.
ALBA domus, blanda ſedes!
Qua moratur felix *hoſpes!*
En *viator*,
Quam alme ſtatur!
Parce mi' canenti laudes.

2.
Terram *floribus* vigentem,
Inſtar *Maii* jam micantem,
Veni cum vis,
Ita cernis
Inſtar *Maii* ſic *ridentem.*

3.
Juxta portas, ab hoc *ſcamno*,
Hos *ſudore*, illos *ſomno*
Spectes *equis*,
Curru, a *Gallis*
Prætereuntes ſine damno.

4.
Tolle jam ocellos altim,
Quo corvini *pulli ſaltim*
Captant ramos
Super rivos,
Matres invocantes item.

5.
Matrem, *nigras* inter, *nigram*
Quam ſcit, *eſca* reverſuram
Et apertis
Plaudit alis
Certus, pullus quiſque ſuam!

6.
Suavis *florum* O *pictura!*
Colore *qualis* non dictura!
Tinctus habes
Certe omnes!
Mutans *formam* non viſura!

7.
Intus penetra, *viator*,
Scias *ſcamnos* queis ſpectatur
Haud vulgaris
Urſi auris,
Nomen cui * *præclarum* datur.

8.
Inde, fuge ad *id clarum*
Scamnum *caryophilorum.*
Tales *flores*
Et *colores*
Stupent acies oculorum!

9.
Tun' aut amas ſeriatas
Arbores, & fructuoſas?
Coram gaudent;
Partu ſplendent:
Fructus qui arrident mandas.

10.
Vis *ceraſa rubicunda*
Turgida, *plus vinolenta?*
Tende manum,
Fac os *plenum*;
Premunt ramos, en, *ad ora!*

11.
Tune *fraga verecunda*,
Tam *ſilvoſa* quam *hortenſia?*
Sata *areolis*
In fœcundis
Ecce *magna & rotunda!*

12.
Tun' *Idæi rubi Mora*
Vis *vinoſa*, flava, rubra?
Tende lucem
Hanc ad ſepem,
Ede *cito*, plaude *pulchra!*

13.
Sitis *Corinth'acas Uvas?*
Cupis *Baccas anſerinas?*

Hæc

* *Hujuſmodi Flores gerunt Nomina Perſonarum Illuſtrium: Sic item* Caryophilli.

Hæc repleta
Dant arbusta
Belgi' cultu *melioratas!*
14.
Visne *Pruna decumana*
Succis *crystallinis* plena?
Hoc *selectum*
Ad *Prunetum*
Adstans, vores *ter centena.*
15.
Gustu Gallo commendata,
Sole Hiberno maturata
Pyra velis
Instar *mellis?*
Hisce te tu satûrato.
16.
Multinominis, curiose,
Diuturna quam *successa*
Poma mavis?
Hic quando vis,
Edas *hyeme, formosa.*
17.
Ficus pingues cum *tinctura*
Optas *alba* vel *purpur'a?*
Vade mecum
Ad *Ficetum,*
Palmæ cedunt *contacturæ.*
18.
Tu pro *cupis, tumescentes*
Uvas vindemiare gaudes?
Hunc *cultellum,*
Hanc *sportellam*
Pone me *Vineto* portes;
19.
Juglandes frangere dilectas,
Amygdala, aut *avellanas*
Forti dente,
Acri mente
Nuces? Hic aperte spectes.
20.
Verbo dicam: *Poma, Pyra,*
Nuces, Pruna, Fraga, Mora,
Uvas, Ficus,
Tempestivus
Tu, dum spires *obe!* vora.
21.
Visum eamus jam si velles
Domicilium atque * *Feles,*
(*Feles* pulchras,
Mites, blandas,
Mali muris mactatores!)
22.
Quæ *superna* vel *inferna*
Ædis adames conclavia!
Sine *fastu,*
Cum *modesto*
Nitore lucent omnia.
23.
Quæris quæ sunt hæ *cavernæ*
Lauri tegunt quas *Hibernæ?*
Certe portant
Et *coronant*
Pota ambrosia ac *Falerna.*

* *Matrona Felibus gaudet nitidis.*

24.
Ipsos tandem salutabis
Hospites? visos amabit.
Bini constant:
Florem laudant.
Beatos certe jam *cantabis!*
25.
Ut oblectant quemque *hospitem,*
Ut amate degunt, *vellem*
Nunc *cantare;*
Sed *laudare*
Hæc, *experto* t'ipso, *mallem.*

A SONG.

THE charms of Florimel,
No force, of time, or art,
Shall sever from my heart;
But ever to the world I'll tell
The charms of beauteous Florimel.

Each rock and sunny hill,
The flow'ry meads and groves,
Shall say Mertillo *loves;*
And echo shall be taught to tell
The charms of beautcous Florimel.

Each tree within the vale,
That on its bark doth wear
The triumphs of the fair,
To future times, in verse, shall tell
The charms of beauteous Florimel.

Each brook and purling rill,
Shall on its bubbling stream,
Convey the virgin's name,
And as it rolls in murmurs tell
The charms of beauteous Florimel.

The Sylvan gods that dwell
Amidst this sacred grove,
Shall wonder at my love,
Whilst every sound conspires to tell
The charms of beauteous Florimel.

Upon the Death of a young Lady's Lap-Dog.

CLOE, *the young, the fair, the gay,*
Was at her toilet set,
When Cupid, *pretty trifler, lay*
Expiring at her feet.

She stoop'd and strok'd his little head:
He cast a mournful look:
Come hither, silly rogue, she said:
His tail he faintly shook.

She view'd him dying, drop'd a tear,
Ah! Cupid's *dead, she cry'd;*
Well pleas'd to see, well pleas'd to hear,
He bow'd his head and dy'd.

Thrice happy Cupid! *whom we see*
Thus lov'd in life and death;
Who would not, to be mourn'd like thee,
In transport yield his breath?

The Old COQUETTE.

PRITHEE, old *Ruga, paint* give o
Those *ribbands,* and that *youthful*

For thoſe *grey hairs* betray *fourſcore*,
And nature in decay confeſs.
Theſe *eyebrows* which from *mouſe* you ſteal,
'Tis true, we for their *ſleekneſs* prize:
But then (what they can ne'er conceal)
We curſe the more your *rheumy* eyes.
This cheek is ſmooth; but ah! on *that*
The wrinkled paint betrays a *cranny*;
You look at once—I know not what—
This ſide a *Venus*—that a *Granny*.
Your *faults* of *age* we doubly ſee,
When them in vain with *art* you'd mend:
Seem *old* and *ugly*, as you *be*,
And, *Ruga*, 'faith you'd leſs offend.

The REVOLUTION.

WHAT *godlike ſaints* or *heroes* ſhall I chuſe,
At once the theme, and honour of my muſe?
Let *Pindar* champions in the race rehearſe,
And paint their courſers rapid as his verſe.
Let others, in exalted lines, relate
Great *Cæſar*'s riſe, or ſhining *Pompey*'s fate;
A nobler ſubject ſtill remains unſung,
The pride and envy of a *Britiſh* tongue.
Naſſau, the tow'ring *genius* of our land,
Does our regard and wonder firſt command;
When *ſuperſtition*, with tyrannick ſway,
Began her burdens on our necks to lay;
When *juſtice* from our publick courts was fled,
And *pure religion* durſt not ſhow her head;
He, like an angel arm'd with heav'nly pow'r,
Preſerv'd our nation, in the deſtin'd hour.
The clouds, that did portend a ſtormy day
By his ſerene approach were driv'n away;
To you, *O mighty prince*, what thanks are due!
For next to *heav'n* we owe our all to you;
Your ſword procur'd us liberty and peace,
You ſacrific'd your own, for *England*'s eaſe.
Shin wou'd the *muſe* your battles here rehearſe,
And with your valour animate her verſe;
Purſue you to the *Boyne*, or join your carr,
Return'd in triumph from the *Flandrian* war;
But narrow bounds forbid--your conqueringarms
Know no ſuperiour but *Maria*'s charms.
Joy of her lord, and darling of the land,
Pattern of love, and virtue's ſteady friend;
To lateſt times be conſecrate your name,
And live together in immortal fame.
Where *William* ſets, you ſee our *Anna* riſe,
Clad with new glory gild the *Britiſh* ſkies;
Like *Cynthia* ſhe out-ſhone her ſiſter-train,
But like her too, alas! ſhe had her wane;
Shon in full brightneſs ſhe adorn'd our iſle,
That was th' advantage of our ſoldiers toil;
With prudent counſel ſhe her meaſures laid,
And glorious *Marlborô* ſplendid triumphs made:
Four diſaſtrous years eclips'd the ray
Of beamy conqueſt, and refulgent ſway:
Clouds her glory ſet——but *George* aroſe
The nation's hope, and terror to his foes;
Whim ſerene ſoon overſpread our ſky,
Then we expected ſtorms, and tempeſts nigh.
A mad *rebellion* rais'd her head awhile,
And threat'ned ſwift deſtruction in our iſle;
His arms triumphant ſtop'd her proud career,
Which vanquiſh'd, did at *Preſton* diſappear.
A ſmiling plenty did from thence ſucceed,
And peaceful olives crown'd the victor's head;
In riſing tides our trade began to roll,
And brought us annual wealth from either pole;
But when he could no greater bliſs beſtow,
Nor make us happier than we were below;
The noble end b'ing gain'd, for which he ſtrove,
He left our bliſs below, for bliſs above.
See who ſucceeds! another *George* appears!
The hope, and pledge of many happy years;
Join'd with a *Conſort* of exalted mind
To bleſs, and to adorn the world deſign'd;
Tho' great's the honour to be ſought by kings,
And crowns and ſcepters are enticing things,
Yet her ennobled ſoul (record it, muſe,)
Could the *Imperial diadem* refuſe,
Rather than leave religion's ſacred law,
And unto pompous ſuperſtition bow.
Bleſt royal pair, may conſtellations ſhed
The beſt of bleſſings on your happy head;
Be bleſt in every action of your life,
Secure from treaſon, and domeſtic ſtrife;
And when the fates forbid you here to ſhine,
Late, late, for one above, this orb reſign.

Quintilianus Icenus.

On the Folly *of* Atheiſm.

HOW weak the *atheiſt*'s argument, how odd,
Who to be *happy* firſt denies a *God*:
Then with too *little* faith *truth* to believe,
Can ſhow too *much* an *error* to conceive;
So *inconſiſtent*, and his *folly* ſuch,
He truſts too *little*, while he truſts too *much*.
A foe profeſs'd to *God-Almighty*'s laws,
Yet a blind *bigot* in the *Devil*'s cauſe;
He from *free-thinking* hopes to gain ſome light,
Thinks *free* on every ſubject but the *right*;
A hint there is a *God* raiſes a *doubt*,
And *prejudice* puts weaker *reaſon* out:
Of *reaſon* proud, by *paſſion* rul'd alone,
Becauſe he'd have no *God*, concludes there's *none*,
Thinks *chance* with *blind effect* nice *order* brings,
And *harmony* from wild *confuſion* ſprings,
Springs of *itſelf*--- for all *ſpontaneous* grow,
And the *created* are *creators* too:
Then *Immortality* he'll diſbelieve,
Yet ſtarts to think he cannot always *live*;
Dreading it true a *future ſtate* denies,
And while he laughs at *death*, with *fear* he *dies*,
Deſpairing, launches to ſome future ſtate,
Repents his *folly*, but *repents* too *late*.

The Lamentation of a Pariſhioner of Ealing, *for the preſent Want of a* Church, *and the Loſs of a* good Wife. *N. B. A Brief was lately granted for rebuilding the ſaid Church.*

POOR *Ealing*, how art thou a deſart grown!
Thy houſes empty'd, and thy lovers gone!
Some move their tents to more auſpicious climes;
Some, mov'd by death, are ſnatch'd from evil times.

A dismal gloom thy dwellings overspreads;
Thy antient buildings hang their drooping heads:
A general decay proclaims their wants,
And new ones mourn without inhabitants.
Poor *Ealing*, how art thou a desart grown!
Who'll fill *thy* houses, while thy *God* has none?
These mournful objects urge my grief and spleen,
Tempt me to leave so tragical a scene:
From this sad station to some other go,
And quit so many monuments of woe.
But dear *Cordelia*'s ashes bid me stay:
Her sacred shade is now my *remora*.
This spot to me shall be *Machpelah*'s cave;
I'll not forsake *Cordelia* in her grave.
Nor will I, O ye sacred stones, which lie
In heaps forlorn, and prostrate majesty,
Forsake your ruins, nor indulge my rest,
Till *God* vouchsafe to second my request;
Till once again I see his temple raise
Its awful head, so he prolong my days,
His new-rais'd altar visit there, and there
the mercy praise.

The following Lines were wrote by a Yorkshire Freeholder, *upon the Close of the Poll for that County.*

To Sir Miles Stapleton, *Baronet.*

AT length the contests cease, the courts are clear,
Doubt is no more, and joy succeeds to care;
Success is yours, and gratitude inclines
To pay her tribute where such merit shines.
Virtue like yours, contemns th' opposing shock
Of *venal courtiers*, and the *sable flock*;
For you, the bold **Brigantes* bravely stood,
True to the glories of their ancient blood;
By threats unmov'd, regardless of the bait
Of sordid bribes, corruption of the state.
To *liberty*, bright goddess, firmly just,
In you they place the *delegated trust*.
So *Rome* untainted, her great consuls chose,
Her *Cato*'s thus, and thus her *Scipio*'s rose.
Indulgent heav'n to you compleatly kind,
Gives elocution, with the noblest mind,
To shine in *senates*, manage the debate,
And with your counsels prop the tott'ring state.
In happier times exert a patriot's care,
Wrongs to redress and *losses* to repair!
When *Britain* calls, and honour points the way,
With joy you'll follow, and with pride obey;
Surpass your own *great ancestors* in fame,
And wear the † *stars* familiar to your name.

KIRBY-HILL. *A Poem.*

AID sylvan muse, my rural song,
To thee all rural things belong;
Aid, whilst I sing in humble lays,
A country life's deserved praise;
Where nature seems to vie with art,
And every bliss of life impart.
In *Kirby* village * might I live,
For no ambition would I strive;
No honour, whose attendant's care,
Nor envy nor malignant war,
Shou'd e'er molest my rural ease;
There would I live in perfect peace:
Blest with a competency meet,
Life to support 'gainst cold and heat.
A choice companion wou'd I have,
Good-natur'd, affable and grave;
No charms I covet, virtue's all
That worth acceptance I can call:
Let her in modesty delight,
Be kind all day, the same all night;
Thus in sweet harmonious love,
We'll resemble saints above;
Surrounded by the cheerful notes
Of birds that strain their warbling throats,
To introduce the new-born *Spring*;
Source of joy to every thing:
From distant hills the huntsman's horn
Ushers in the rosy morn;
And the lark with early flight,
Hovering greets the dawning light.
Whistling goes to plow the hind,
With contented mein and mind;
Each mead adorn'd with flowers gay,
How beauteous is the queen of *May*!
Every plain with lambs resounds,
And every tree with bloom abounds;
Promising a plenteous soil
To reward the peasant's toil.
Summer succeeds, whose solar ray
Converts the grass to wither'd hay;
Haycocks appear in every field,
That ambrosial nosegays yield;
To make which comes a jovial train,
Each nymph takes out her youthful swain;
Side by side they jog a-long,
Or with chit chat, or with song,
Pass away the live-long day,
As they make the fragrant hay:
Till *Sol* retire to ocean bed,
And hills protract their lengthned shade;
When the milk-maid blith and jolly,
Greatest foe to melancholy,
Seeks the cows o'er field or plain,
With a shrill delightful strain:
Whilst the blackbird to outvie her,
From some thorn or latent brier,
Tunes his wild unequall'd strains
To the list'ning ravish'd swains.
Autumn comes next with golden ears,
And dissipates the peasant's fears.
Strait other works are left undone
To reap and bind the bearded corn:
And then kind † *Ceres* they each year,
In festivals and mirth revere:

* *The ancient Name of the People of* Yorkshire. † *Sir* Miles, *and Sir* Bryan Stapleton, *Ancestors to the present Baronet, were Knights of the Garter.*

* *Near* Richmond *in* Yorkshire, *where the Author had his Education.* † *The Goddess of*

And to the * jolly God ſing praiſe,
In ruſtick *Bacchanalian* lays:
Whilſt melodious bagpipes play,
Driving ** *Morpheus* far away;
Each ſingles out his fav'rite ſhe
To dance and ſing with wonted † glee,
In the barn, or on the green;
Thus they trip to all unſeen,
Save pale †† *Cynthia* queen of night,
That affords her borrow'd light;
And the twinkling ſtarry train,
‡ Brighteſt harp, and northern wain;
Privy to their midnight bliſs:
Gods! what paſtime equals this!
How great reluctance 'tis to view
Blith nature in her *brumal* hue!
Inſtead of ſportive *Zephyrs* gales,
That frequent the lawns and dales;
And briſk ‡‡ *Eteſian* winds that ſwage
The ſcorching *dog-ſtar*'s ſul'try rage:
Keen *Boreas* with benumming force,
Congeals the river's wand'ring courſe;
The trees of pleaſing green deſpoil'd,
With icicles and ſnow are veil'd:
Yet *Kirby*, 'midſt this *diſhabille*,
Yields immortal pleaſures ſtill.
Neighb'ring friends all met together,
Out of reach of wives or weather;
Round a fire, whoſe bounteous heat
Spurns the wind, and laughs at wet;
Cheer'd with nappy ſtrong and old,
That defies the pinching cold;
When inſpir'd with ſparkling ale,
Each relates ſome jocund tale,
That boaſts its birth from *Chaucer*'s pen,
Or what occurr'd in *Beſs*'s reign.
Who is *whig*, or who is *tory*,
Ne'er diſturbs the current ſtory;
Save the parſon, grown heroick,
Tho' in pulpit grave as *Stoick*,
Prays for *W----le* on his haſſock,
For ſupport of gown and caſſock.
With variety ſurrounded,
Pleaſant ſcenes of mirth unbounded,
Which each ſeaſon does preſent,
Kirby ſure for kings was meant.
Hail *Kirby*, worthy of the gods!
Hail! meadows, founts and ſhady woods!
May thy attractive charms induce
To ſing thy praiſe, brave * *Denham*'s muſe;
And may thy beauties ſtill remain,
When all things elſe are in the wane;
Till time itſelf ſhall ceaſe to reign.

E. C.

DAMON *and* DYCTINNA. *A Dialogue.*

Dam. MY dear *Dyctinna*, pray relate,
When you and I together ſat
Yeſter evening in the grove,
Why would you hear me talk of love?
Why did you tremble in my arms?
Or bluſh to hear me count your charms?
To know what *Damon* could deſire,
Why was *Dyctinna* all on fire?
Why when I aſk'd you did you ſigh?
Yet when I preſt you ſtill deny?

Dyc. Ah! *Damon*, never aſk me why;
Shou'd you be pleas'd if I comply?
When *Damon* his deſires wou'd move,
Dyctinna thinks of lawleſs love.
You give your heart, why not your hand?
Dyctinna waits her ſwain's command.
And why ſhou'd *Damon* ought deſire,
That ſets *Dyctinna* all on fire?
I aſk for wedding, ſtill you ſigh,
And when I preſs it, ſtill deny.

Dam. Should I conſent to your deſire,
Streight muſt my liberty expire.
In this man's greateſt bleſſing lies,
But ſhould I yield, alaſs it dies.

Dyc. And ſhould I yield before I wed,
My honour, *Damon*, will be dead.
As this ſupports all female joys,
They all muſt fail when honour dyes.

Dam. Thy virtue, faireſt, ſtill maintain,
Yet let not *Damon* ſue in vain:
I importun'd thee, but to prove
If thou would'ſt yield to lawleſs love.
This did thy faithful heart oppoſe;
But oh! comply with marriage vows.

Dyc. My virtue pure I ſtill maintain,
Nor yet let *Damon* ſue in vain.
Damon rejected well can prove,
I ne'er ſhall yield to lawleſs love.
But from my faithful heart he knows
Pleas'd I comply with marriage vows.

Both. Let us talk then no more like a nymph and a ſwain;
But like perſons united for life.
Be our paſſion ſincere tho' our living be plain,
And be happy both huſband and wife.

Dyc. Yet oh! we muſt wait,
For reaſons of ſtate
'Tis *prudent* a little to tarry.
Dam. But if, whilſt we wait,
Thoſe reaſons of ſtate
Shou'd make all our project miſcarry?
Dyc. My hand and my heart
To thee I impart,
And my vows, whilſt I live, I'll maintain.
Dam. Since then I am ſure
That my bliſs is ſecure:
Oh! kiſs me, and kiſs me again.

Both. Go the world how it will then, we're ſure to rejoyce;
Thus happy in each other's love.
In vain ſhe ſhall threaten, in vain ſhe'll entice,
No art ſhall our conſtancy move.

* Bacchus, *God of Wine.* ** *God of Sleep.* † *Mirth.* †† *The Moon.* ‡ *Lucida Lyra.* ‡‡ *Winds that blow in the Dog-days.* * *Author of* Cooper's-Hill.

The GENTLEMAN's

Monthly Intelligencer.

JUNE, 1734.

SATURDAY, *June* 1.

THE Seſſions ended at the *Old Bailey*, when the five following Perſons received Sentence of Death, *viz. Thomas Taverner*, alias *Cotton*, for robbing the Lady of *Samuel Ruſſel*, Eſq; late Sheriff of *London* and *Middleſex*; *Roger Bow*, a *Putney* Waterman, for the Murder of *Thomas Field*, a Butcher's Boy in *Hungerford-Market*, by cutting his Guts out; *William Ray*, for the Murder of his Wife in *Eagle-ſtreet*, *Holborn*; *Joſeph Hart*, for breaking open a Scrutore, and ſtealing thence ſome Linnen, and 27 *l.* 14 *s.* in Money, and a Pair of Silver Buckles; and *Samuel Walker*, for breaking open a Deſk in the Compting-Houſe of his Maſter Mr. *Joſeph Hague*, and ſtealing Caſh, Bills of Exchange, and Promiſſory Notes to the Amount of 981 *l.* 14 *s.* 7 *d.*

Five were burnt in the Hand, five ordered to be whipt, and about twenty ordered for Tranſportation.

SUNDAY, 2.

This Day, about Twelve o'Clock, one *Perkins*, a Journeyman Gardener in *Lamb-Alley* in *Blackman-ſtreet*, *Southwark*, having ſome Words with his Wife, drew out his Knife which he uſed in the Gardens, and ſtabbed her in the Groin, of which Wound ſhe inſtantly died. Whereupon he was apprehended and carried before Sir *John Lade*, who committed him to the New Jail. When before the Juſtice he was aſked how he came to be guilty of ſuch a horrid Crime, having, as may properly be ſaid, murdered two, his deceaſed Wife being big with Child; he ſaid ſhe provoked him, and that he would rather be hanged than live with ſuch a Woman; and withal, ſeem'd not in the leaſt concern'd; and the Mob being very numerous, he deſired them not to hurt him. The Coroner's Jury having ſat on the Body, brought in their Verdict *Wilful Murder*. The Body being opened, the Child was taken out at its full Growth.

TUESDAY, 4.

Came on at *Edinburgh* the Election of 16 Peers of *Scotland* to ſit and vote in the Parliament of *Great Britain*; when ſeveral *Proteſts* were enter'd before and after the Election, (which ſee, p. 316.) and the Choice fell upon the Liſt mention'd in Duke *Hamilton*'s Proteſt.

WEDNESDAY, 5.

The Directors of the *Bank* of *England* began to tranſact Buſineſs at their new Houſe in *Threadneedle-ſtreet*, having remov'd the greateſt Part of their Effects from *Grocer's-Hall*.

MONDAY, 10.

The Princeſs *Amelia* arriv'd from *Bath*, at *Kenſington*; whither alſo the Court came from *Richmond*, on the ſame Day.

THURSDAY, 13.

All the Writs for electing Members for the new Parliament were returnable on this Day; and his Majeſty was pleaſed to ſignify his Pleaſure to the Lord Chancellor, that the Parliament ſhould be prorogued to the 16th Day of *July* next.

FRIDAY, 14.

This Morning, between Twelve and One o'Clock, a Fire broke out at *Twickenham*, at the Houſe of M. *Chavigny*, the *French* Ambaſſador, which entirely conſumed the ſame and all the Furniture, *&c.* It was occaſion'd by a Servant's leaving a Candle burning in the Confectionary too near the Wainſcote. Mr. *Legreſſe*, his Excellency's Confectioner, by endeavouring to ſave his Cloths and Money, periſh'd in the Flames: His Excellency himſelf was the firſt that diſcover'd the Fire, and immediately alarm'd the Family, moſt of whom had juſt Time to eſcape the Flames: But the Under Cook, in his Fright running up Stairs inſtead of the contrary Way, was drove from Room to Room by the Fury of the Flames, till he was at laſt forc'd to jump down from the Top of the Houſe into the Garden, by which he was bruis'd in ſuch a Manner, that his Life was deſpair'd of. Neither the Wearing Apparel of his Excellency,

ellency, or of any of his Family, were ſav'd.

The Houſe was Part of the Freehold Eſtate of Sir *George Skipworth*, Bart. who granted a Leaſe of it for a certain Term of Years (now near expired) to the Lady *Mary Wortley Montagu*, who let the Remainder of the ſame to the Earl of *Denbigh*, which noble Lord, during his Abſence in the Country, was pleaſed to accommodate M. *de Chavigny* with the Uſe of it. Amongſt the rich Things burnt and loſt, are two ſmall Pictures, valued at 500*l.* each, the Property of Lord *Denbigh*. 'Tis thought his moſt *Chriſtian* Majeſty will repair the whole Damage, which is computed at 18,000*l.*

THURSDAY, 20.

This Morning between Three and Four o'Clock, ſoon after the Stage-Coaches were gone out, a Fire broke out in the Stables belonging to the *Croſs-Keys-Inn* in *Gracechurch-ſtreet*, (occaſion'd, as 'twas ſaid, by a Servant leaving a Candle burning) and in two Hours Time burnt the ſaid Inn to the Ground, together with all the Furniture, Stock, *&c.* as likewiſe ſeveral Warehouſes full of Goods belonging to Merchants and Country Chapmen, a Waggon laden with Goods in the Yard, and the back Part of 12 Houſes adjacent. There were two Perſons miſſing, one a Gentleman who lodg'd there, and the other a poor Woman who was to have been remov'd the next Day to the Hoſpital. Five Horſes belonging to the *Sudbury* Carrier were burnt to Death. The Barber's Shop in the Yard was burnt; and the Apprentices being lock'd in there, were ſav'd with great Difficulty. A Gentleman jump'd from the two Pair of Stairs Floor, and was happily catch'd without Hurt.

FRIDAY, 21.

James Oglethorpe, Eſq; Member of Parliament for *Haſlemere*, being arriv'd from *Georgia* (where he had been for ſome Time to aſſiſt in ſettling the new Colony) came this Evening from his Seat at *Weſtbrook* in *Surrey*, to his Houſe in *Old Palace-Yard*, *Weſtminſter*, accompany'd by ſeveral Gentlemen of Diſtinction; and ſoon after went to the *Georgia* Office in *Old Palace-Yard*, to wait on the other Truſtees of that Colony, who received him with all poſſible Acknowledgments. In the Evening the ſaid Truſtees gave a grand Entertainment on Occaſion of that Gentleman's ſafe Arrival.

TUESDAY, 25.

This Morning a Meſſenger arriv'd at *Whitehall* from Mr. *Finch*, his Majeſty's Miniſter at the *Hague*, with Advice, that the *Britiſh* Forces arriv'd at *Helvoetſluys* on Saturday laſt, and that her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs of *Orange* intended to embark in a Day or two for *England*; the Prince her Conſort being ſet out for Prince *Eugene*'s Army on the Rhine.

Came on before a Court of Delegates at *Serjeants-Inn-Hall* in *Chancery-Lane*, the Hearing of an Appeal brought by the Right Hon. the Lord *Onſlow*, from an interlocutory Sentence pronounced by the Judge of the Arches Court, in a Cauſe of a Matrimonial Contract, commenc'd there againſt the ſaid Lord, by *Anne Mead*, ſtyling herſelf the Right Hon. *Anne Onſlow*, Baroneſs *Onſlow*, otherwiſe *Mead*; and after a long Hearing the ſaid Sentence was repealed as null and illegal, and the Appeal of the ſaid Lord allow'd juſt, but without Coſts. (See Vol. II. p. 363.)

MARRIAGES *and* BIRTHS.

ROBERT *Sims*, of the County of *Northampton*, Eſq; married to Miſs *Mills*, Daughter-in-Law to *John Shepherd*, of *Mouſſey* in *Surrey*, Eſq;

—— *Hurſt*, of *Kent*, Eſq; to Miſs *Knatchbull*, of *Groſvenor-ſtreet*, Daughter of the late Sir *Edward Knatchbull*, Bart.

Sir *William Wyndham*, Bart. to the Marchioneſs of *Blandford*, at her Seat near *Windſor*.

Mr. *Norton*, Son of Col. *Norton*, to Miſs *Hutchinſon*, of *Weſtminſter*.

The Lady *Smyth*, Wife of Sir *Robert Smyth*, of *Iſfield* in *Suſſex*, Bart. and Daughter of the Earl of *Briſtol*, delivered of a Son.

Mr. *Jeſſer*, an eminent Attorney on *Bread-Street-Hill*, married to Miſs *Horſeman*, Daughter of *Gilbert Horſeman*, late of *Lincoln's-Inn*, Eſq; a 10,000*l.* Fortune.

—— *Baſſet*, Eſq; to the ſecond Daughter of Sir *William Courtenay*, Bart.

The Lady of *Thomas Archer*, Eſq; one of the Coheireſſes of the late Earl of *Oxford*, delivered of a Daughter.

Stephen Bray, Eſq; of *Iſleworth* in *Middleſex*, married to the Hon. Miſs *Arabella Paxton*, a near Relation to the Earl of *Yarmouth*, a Fortune of 20,000*l.*

Robert Turner, of *Epſom* in *Surrey*, Eſq; to Miſs *Dickins*, Daughter of —— *Dickins*, of *Brookſtreet*, Eſq;

Thomas Greville, of *Great Marlow*, Eſq; to Miſs *Miller*, only Daughter and Heireſs of *Samuel Miller*, of *Reading* in *Berkſhire*, Eſq;

Mr. *Iſaac-Barbanel Henriques*, an eminent Merchant, to Mrs. *Linder*, a *Portugal* Jeweſs of conſiderable Fortune.

The Lady of the Right Hon. the Lord *Gower* deliver'd of a Daughter.

The Lady of M. *Hopman*, Reſident from the Duke of *Mecklembourg*, deliver'd of a Son at his Houſe in *James-ſtreet*, *Weſtminſter*.

DEATHS.

JAMES *Bruce*, Eſq; Keeper of his Majeſty's Mint at *Edinburgh*.

Sir *George Carpenter*, Commander of a Man of War in the Reign of Queen *Anne*.

Rev. Dr. *Holland*, Warden of *Merton* College in *Oxford*.

Rev. Mr. *Townſhend*, Rector of *Hatfield Priory* and St. *Anne*'s in *Eſſex*.

Col. *Edmund Watts*, Captain of a Company of Invalids, and ſome Time third Aid-de-Camp to his late Majeſty.

Capt. *Lyell*, Commander of the *Windham*, from *China*, in the Service of the *Eaſt-India* Company; he died on board.

Capt. *Joſeph Hiſcox*, an eminent Merchant of this City.

Capt. *Smithſon*, an old Commander in the Navy.

Mr. *Thomas Ridout*, Shoe-maker near *Aldgate*, reputed worth 10,000 *l.*

Lord *Tufton*, eldeſt Son of the Right Hon. *Sackville*, Earl of *Thanet*; of the Small-Pox, in the 9th Year of his Age.

At his Seat in *Northamptonſhire*, Sir *John Lewis*, a Gentleman poſſeſs'd of a conſiderable Eſtate in that County, in the 104th Year of his Age.

Thomas Rawlins, Eſq; a Gentleman poſſeſs'd of about 1500 *l. per Ann.* which devolves to his only Son *John Rawlins*, Eſq;

Major-General *Hunter*, Governor of *Jamaica*, died there on the 4th of *March* laſt.

Capt. *Middleton*, who had a Company at *Gibraltar*.

At *Sevenoaks* in *Kent*, Sir *Henry Fermor*, of *Welzbes* in *Suſſex* and of *Sevenoaks*, Bart. deſcended from one of that Name that came out of *France* in the Reign of K. *Edward* III.

Hon. Miſs *Elizabeth Vane*, Niece of the Right Hon. the Lord *Barnard*.

At *Hanwell* in *Middleſex*, *Ralph Symonds*, Eſq; one of his Majeſty's Juſtices of the Peace for the ſaid County.

Robert Lloyd, of *Aſton* in *Shropſhire*, Eſq; who ſerved ſeveral Years as a Member for that County.

John Rickets, Eſq; formerly an eminent *Hamburgh* Merchant of this City.

At the *Spunging-Houſe* in the *King*'s-*Bench* Priſon, the famous *Japhet Crooke*, alias Sir *Peter Stranger*, who about five Years ſince ſtood on the Pillory at *Charing-Croſs*, had his Ears cut off and his Noſtrils ſlit, for Forgery; he was ſentenced to be confined for Life.

James Williams, Eſq; at his Houſe in *Queen*'s-*Square*, *Weſtminſter*, a Gentleman of a very plentiful Eſtate: He has by his Will left upwards of 4000*l.* to charitable Uſes.

At his Seat near *Coventry*, *Samuel Alleyne*, Eſq; late High Sheriff for the County of *Warwick*.

Major *John Hanbury*, one of the Knights of the Shire for the County of *Monmouth*.

Mrs. *Seignoret*, a *French* Lady, reckon'd worth upwards of 50,000*l.*

At *Litchfield*, Capt. *Shepherd*, formerly Commander of a Man of War: He had the Misfortune to loſe one of his Legs at the Fight of *La Hogue*, when Sir *George Rooke* beat the *French* Fleet there.

At *Kelham*, near *Newark*, in the 35th Year of her Age, her Grace *Bridget*, Dutcheſs of *Rutland*, Daughter and Heireſs of the late Lord *Lexington*.

At his Houſe on *Clerkenwell-Green*, Mr. *Joſeph Edwards*, the oldeſt Captain belonging to the Red Regiment of Train'd-Bands.

Mrs. *Vander Eſch*, Widow and Reliſt of the late *Henry Vander Eſch*, Eſq; who came over from *Holland* with King *William*, and Mother of *Henry Vander Eſch*, Eſq; Deputy Maſter of his Majeſty's Mint in the *Tower*, and one of his Majeſty's Juſtices of the Peace for the *Tower* Hamlets.

Miſs *Maria Bertie*, Niece to the Right Hon. the Earl of *Abingdon*.

Mrs. *Newcomb*, a Maiden Gentlewoman, reputed to have died worth 7000*l.* which ſhe has left by her Will to *William Newcomb*, Eſq; of *Rumford* in *Eſſex*.

Mr. *Chriſtopher Reed*, Inſpector-General of his Majeſty's Exciſe at the *Cuſtom-Houſe*, who is ſucceeded by Mr. *George Pratt*, General Gauger at the Keys.

Hon. *Francis Gwyn* of *Ford Abby* in *Devonſhire*, Eſq; in the 86th Year of his Age. He had ſerved the Crown in ſeveral great Offices of Truſt; the laſt of which was that of Secretary at War to Queen *Anne*.

Mrs. *Longley*, who ſome Time ſince was tried at *Kingſton* Aſſizes for the Murder of her Huſband.

Rev. Mr. *Haughton*, a Nonjuring Clergyman.

Samuel Cockeril, Eſq; one of his Majeſty's Juſtices of the Peace for *Glouceſterſhire*.

The Lady of Sir *Charles Lloyd*: She was Daughter to Sir *Edward Layton* of the County of *Salop*, Bart.

John Fawler, Eſq; formerly an eminent *Hambourgh* Merchant of this City.

Eccleſiaſtical PREFERMENTS.

DR. *Berkely* conſecrated Biſhop of *Cloyn* in *Ireland*.

Mr. *Kinard Bagbott* preſented to the Rectory of *Dumbleton*, *Glouceſterſhire*.

Mr. *Birdin* to the Vicarage of *Hawley*, *Northumberland*.

Dr. *Alured Clerk* made Deputy Clerk of the Cloſet to his Majeſty.

Mr. *Atwood Wigſell*, to the Rectory of *Sanderſtead*, *Surrey*, by *John Atwood*, Eſq;

Mr. *Ingram* to the Rectory of *Yelden* and *Shelton*, *Bedfordſhire*.

Mr. *William Moggridge* to the Rectory of *Porlock*, *Somerſetſhire*.

Mr. *Smelt* to the Living of *Boroughbridge*, *Yorkſhire*.

Mr. *Gilbam* to the Rectory of *Ripon*, *Yorkſhire*,

Mr.

Mr. *Barber* to the Rectory of *Aſhmore*, in the County of *Dorſet* and Dioceſe of *Briſtol*.

PROMOTIONS *Civil* and *Military*.

CAPTAIN *Sutton*, Captain of a Company of *Invalids*, appointed by the Duke of *Argyll*, Maſter of the Ordnance, to be Commander of the Garriſon of *Scilly*, in the room of Capt. *Curzon*, deceaſed.

His Grace the Duke of *Montagu* kiſs'd the King's Hand on his being made Captain of the Band of Gentlemen Penſioners.

Mr. *William Selwin*, who oppoſed Mr. *Boſworth* for the Office of Chamberlain of this City, (ſee p. 264.) appointed Receiver General of the City of *London* and County of *Middleſex*, in the room of Col. *Robinſon* the late Chamberlain, deceaſed.

Right Hon. *John* Viſcount *Lymington* made Gov. and Capt. of the Iſle of *Wight*, and Gov. of *Cariſbrook* Caſtle, and Conſtable and Door-keeper of the ſaid Caſtle, &c. in the room of his Grace the Duke of *Montagu*.

His Grace *Peregrine* Duke of *Ancaſter* and *Keſtevan*, Lord great Chamberlain of *England*, made Lord Warden and Juſtice in Eyre of all his Majeſty's Parks, Chaces, Foreſts, &c. North of *Trent*, in the room of the ſaid Viſcount *Lymington*.

Right Hon. *Charles* Lord *Cadogan* kiſs'd the King's Hand for the Command of the Regiment of Dragoons late the Right Hon. *John* Earl of *Stair*'s.

Mr. *Dives*, Brother to Miſs *Dives*, Maid of Honour to her Majeſty, alſo kiſs'd the King's Hand on his being lately preſented to a Lieutenancy in the Foot-Guards.

Capt. *John Talbot*, Brother to the Lord Chancellor, and Capt. *Henry Spencer*, appointed to the Command of two of the Independent Companies to be ſent from *Gibraltar* to *Jamaica*.

A Son of the Marquis *du Queſne*, Brother in Law to Sir *Roger Bradſhaigh*, Bart. made a Lieutenant in one of the Independent Companies.

On the 24th, Mr. *George Mertin*, Sen. Citizen and *Skinner*, and Mr. *William Pate*, Citizen and *Merchant-Taylor*, were choſen Sheriffs for *London* and *Middleſex*, for the Year enſuing.

Capt. *Blagden* appointed to command one of the independent Companies to be ſent to *Jamaica*.

James Montagu, *Humphry Fowle*, Eſqs; Sir *More Molineux*, Knt. *John Paul Yvonnet* and *Edwyn Coney*, Eſqs; made Commiſſioners for Appeals, and regulating the Duties of Exciſe.

Lord *Forbes* receiv'd his Commiſſion as Rear-Admiral of the *White*, in the room of Admiral *Mighells*, deceaſed.

Members of Parliament choſen.

Aberdeen, &c.	*Col. John Middleton*
Air, Irwin, &c.	*William Stewart, Eſq;*
Breconſhire	*John Jefferies, Eſq;*
Fortroſe, Inv. &c.	*Duncan Forbes, Eſq;*
Kirkwall, &c.	*Sir Robert Monro*
Newport, Cornw.	Sir John Moleſworth
	Hon. Tho. Herbert, Eſq;
Cardigan County	*Walter Lloyd, Eſq;*
Southwark	Thomas Inwen, Eſq;
	George Heathcote, Eſq;
Stirlingſhire	*Sir James Campbell, Bart.*
Dumbartonſhire	*Col. John Campbell*
Fifeſhire	*Sir John Anſtruther, Bart.*
Aberdeenſhire	*Sir Arthur Forbes, Bart.*
Forfarſhire	*Hon. Tho. Lyon, Eſq;*
Nairn County	*Hon. John Campbell, Eſq;*
Roſs County	*Hugh Roſe of Kilravock, Eſq;*
Berwickſhire	*Hon. Al. Hume Campbell, Eſq;*
Glamorganſhire	*Hon. Wm. Talbot, Eſq;*
Orkneyſhire	Hon. Rob. Dundaſs, Eſq;
Argyllſhire	*Sir James Campbell, Bart.*
Elginſhire	*Hon. Alex. Brodie, Eſq;*

Perſons declared BANKRUPTS.

TRaberne Browne, of *Chipping Ongar*, in the County of *Eſſex*, Innholder, Victualler and Chapman.

John Gyles, of the Pariſh of St. *James's*, *Clerkenwell*, in the County of *Middleſex*, Oilman and Chapman.

Robert Watkinſon, of the *Strand*, in the County of *Middleſex*, Glaſs-ſeller and Chapman.

Thomas Eden, of *Biſhopſgate-ſtreet*, *London*, Linnen-Draper.

Henry Hawthorne, of the Pariſh of St. *Luke*, in the County of *Middleſex*, Buckram-Stiffner and Warehouſeman.

James Jones, of the Pariſh of St. *Paul*, *Covent-Garden*, Chapman.

Compton Morris, late of St. *Alban's-ſtreet*, in the County of *Middleſex*, Linnen-Draper and Chapman.

Iſaac Levy, of *Ingram-Court* in *Fenchurch-ſtreet*, *London*, Merchant.

John Browne and *Joſeph Browne*, of St. *John's Southwark*, in the County of *Surrey*, Saleſmen, Chapmen, and Partners.

John Gilbert, of *Wantage*, in the County of *Berks*, Innholder, Merchant, and Chapman.

Robert Clapp, of the Pariſh of St. *Anne* within the Liberty of *Weſtminſter*, in the County of *Middleſex*, Silverſmith and Chapman.

William Holden, of *Lawrence-Lane*, *London*, Warehouſeman and Chapman.

Henry Liſter, late of *Goodman's-Fields*, *Middleſex*, Vinter.

Thomas Howes, of the *Old Artillery-Ground*, *Middleſex*, Weaver.

Samuel Fletcher, of *Middle-Moorfields*, *Middleſex*, Victualler.

Prices

Towards the End of the Month.

STOCKS.

S. Sea 80 ½	*Afric.* 22
—*Bonds* 48*s* Prem.	*Royal Aſſ.* 96
—*Annu.* 105 ¼	*Lon. ditto* 12 ⅛
Bank 137	*Y. Build.* 2 ¼
—*Circ.* 7 2 6	3 *p. C. An.* 94
Mil. Bank 107	*Eng Copper* 1*l.* 14*s.*
India 147	*Welſh* Books ſhut
—*Bonds* 27*s*	

The Courſe of EXCHANGE.

Amſt.	35 11	*Bilboa*	39 ¼
D. Sight	35 8	*Leghorn*	49 ⅛ a ½
Rotter.	36	*Genoa*	51 ⅞
Hamb.	35 9	*Venice*	48 ¾
P. Sight	31 ½	*Lisb.*	5 5 ⅔
Bourd ½uſ	30 ⅞	*Oport.*	5 4 ⅜ a ½
Cadiz	40 a ⅛	*Antw.*	36 4a5
Madrid	40 a ⅛	*Dublin*	11 a10 ⅞

Prices of Goods at *Bear-Key*.

Wheat	26 30	*Oates*	11 13
Rye	15 17	*Tares*	18 23
Barley	14 17	*Peaſe*	20 22
H. Beans	16 20	*H. Peaſe*	16 19
P. Malt	17 20	*B. Malt*	16 19

Abſtract of the *London* WEEKLY BILL, from *May* 21 to *June* 25.

Chriſtned	Males 769	Females 767	1536
Buried	Males 1234	Females 1260	2494

Died under 2 Years old			977
Between	2	and 5	312
	5	10	156
	10	20	94
	20	30	132
	30	40	192
	40	50	222
	50	60	141
	60	70	137
	70	80	75
	80	90	32
	90	and upwards	4
			2494

Prices of Goods, *&c.* in *London*. Hay 39*s. to* 42*s.* a Load.

Coals per Chaldron 24
New Hops per Hun. 5*l. a* 5*l.* 10
Old Hops 3*l.* 10*s. a* 4*l.*
Rape Seed 10 *a* 11
Lead the Fodder 19 *Hun.* 1 *half on board*, 14 *a* 14*l.* 10*s.*
Tin in Blocks 3*l.* 10 6
Ditto in Bars 4*l.*
Copper Eng. beſt 5*l.* 5*s.*
Ditto ordinary 4*l.* 16*s. a* 5*l.*
Ditto Barbary 85 *a* 95*l.*
Iron of Bilboa 15*l.* 5*s. per Ton.*
Ditto of Sweden 16*l.* 10*s.*
Tallow 30 *a* 31*s*
Country Tallow 30*s.*
Cochineal 18*s.* 3

Grocery Wares by the C.

Raiſins of the S. new 34*s.*
Ditto Malaga Frailes 18*s.*
Ditto Smirna new 24*s.*
Ditto Alicant 19*s.*
Ditto Lipra new 20*s.*
Ditto Belvedera 21*s.*
Currants 44*s.*
Prunes French none
Figs 20*s.*

Sugar Powder beſt 54 *a* 59*s.*
Ditto ſecond Sort 46*s. a* 50
Leaf Sugar double ref. 8*d. half a* 9*d.*
Ditto ſingle refine 56*s. a* 64*s.*

Grocery Wares by the lb.

Cinamon 7*s.* 8*d.*
Cloves 9*s.* 1*d.*
Mace 15*s.* 0*d.*
Nutmegs 8*s.* 7*d.*
Sugar Candy white 14 *a* 18*d.*
Ditto brown 6*d.*
Pepper for home conſump. 16*d.*
Ditto for Exportation 12*d.* 1 4*th*
Tea Bohea fine 10*s. a* 12*s.*
Ditto ordinary 8*a*9*s.*
Ditto Congo 10 *a* 12*s.*
Ditto Pekoe 14*a* 16*s.*
Ditto Green fine 9 *a* 12*s.*
Ditto Imperial 9 *a* 12*s.*
Ditto Hyſon 20 *a* 25*s.*

Drugs by the lb.

Balſam Peru 14*s.*
Cardamoms 3*s.* 6*d.*
Camphire refin'd 14*s.*
Crabs Eyes 1*s* 8*d.*
Jallop 2*s.* 8*d.*

Manna 2*s.* 6*d. a* 4*s*
Maſtick white 4*s.* 0*d.*
Opium 9*s.*
Quickſilver 4*s.* 3*d.*
Rhubarb 18 *a* 25*s.*
Sarſaparilla 3*s.* 0*d.*
Saffron Engliſh 22*s.* 6*d.*
Wormſeeds none
Balſam Copaiva 3*s.* 0*d*
Balſam of Gilead 20*s.*
Hypocacuanæ 5 *a* 5*s.* 6*d*
Ambergreece per oz. 8*s.*

Wine, Brandy, and Rum.

Oporto red per Pipe 32*l. a* 34*l.*
Ditto white none
Lisbon red 35 *a* 40*l.*
Ditto white 26 *a* 28*l.*
Sherry 26*l.*
Canary new 25 *a* 28*l.*
Ditto old 32 *a* 34*l.*
Florence 3*l.*
French red 30*l. a* 40*l.*
Ditto white 20*l.*
Mountain Malaga old 24*l.*
Ditto new 20*l. a* 21
Brandy Fr. per Gal. 7*s. a* 8*s.*
Rum of Jam. 6 *a* 7*s.*
Ditto Lew. Iſlands 6*s.* 4*d.*

FROM *Naples:* That the Count *de Montemar*, at the Head of 8000 of his *Catholick* Majesty's Troops, attack'd Count *Visconti*, the late Viceroy of that Kingdom, on the 25th of *May* at *Bitonto* near *Taranto*, where he lay entrenched with 7000 Foot, having 2400 Horse to support his Infantry; and that after a bloody Engagement, the *Spaniards* forc'd the *Germans* out of their Trenches, and took 3000 Prisoners.

From *Paris*. By a Courier arriv'd the 11th at Night, we are informed that the Marquis *de Coigny* no sooner heard that the *Imperialists* had taken *Colorno*, but he sent M. *de Maillebois* and M. *de Chatillon*, with a great Body of Troops, to attack them; who, after some Resistance, abandon'd that Place, repassed the *Lenza*, and broke down their Bridge for Fear of being pursued.

From *Rotterdam*, *June* 29. We have received the agreeable News of the *Imperialists* having defeated the *Allies* in *Italy*; the latter had 7000 killed, and 3000 taken Prisoners.

From *Paris*. A Courier arriv'd here from *Spain*, who brought the News of the Death of Marshal *Villars* on the 21st at Night, in the 83d Year of his Age.

From *Dantzick*. At a late Meeting of the several Orders of this City, one of the principal Members, in a long and pathetic Speech, having set to View the fatal Hazards of War, proposed to accommodate Matters with the Enemy, when a Scymiter was presented to his Throat, and he stop'd, or had never spoke more. 'Tis impossible to describe the Confusion that ensued; the Orator was hurried away by his Friends.

From the *Hague*. Letters from the *Russian* Camp before *Dantzick* of the 23d, advise, that Fort *Wechselmunde* had surrender'd, and that the *French* Troops encamped near it were made Prisoners of War; and that the Town was desir'd to capitulate.

The Surrender of the City of *Dantzick* to the *Russian* and *Saxon* Generals was towards confirm'd with these Particulars, that the Magistracy had not only consented to acknowledge King *Augustus*, but to ask Pardon of that Prince and her Czarian Majesty for the Trouble they have had; that the Millions of Rixdollars were to be instantly paid to Count *Munich*, and the City Privileges upon to be continued in her Privileges. *Stanislaus* found Means to make his Escape, as did likewise several of the Magistrates, and other Partizans of that Prince.

Letters from the *Rhine* advise, that *James* Duke of *Berwick*, having been in the Trenches before *Philipsbourg* on the 12th Instant, was mounting his Horse in order to return to his Quarters, when a Cannon Ball took him in the Groin, and he died soon after: The most authentick Accounts say, that his Head was shot off by a Cannon Ball: And according to several Letters from *Paris*, he met his Fate from one of the *French* Batteries fais'd against the Town of *Philipsbourg*; the Prince of *Conti* and likewise a private Centinel told him, that the Cannon had been pointed towards the Place he was going to, for several Hours: But the Duke obstinately persisted, and going on, was killed in four Minutes after. His Grace was natural Son of the late King *James*, by Mrs. *Arabella Churchill*, Sister to the late Duke of *Marlborough*, and had the Title of Duke of *Berwick*, as likewise the Garter, conferr'd upon him by that Prince: He serv'd in the *French* Army from his Infancy, and distinguished himself in several Actions during the late War: He rose to be Marshal of *France*, the higheſt Honour the King can bestow, not more by Favour than by his Services to that Prince; and as he was one of the oldest, so was the best General the *French* had: He has left three Sons, the eldest Duke of *Fitz-James*, the second Duke of *Liria* in *Spain*, having that Honour from his *Catholick* Majesty, whose Embassador he was some Time to the Court of *Vienna*, and the third is in the Service of the Church. Upon the Death of the Duke of *Berwick*, the Prince *de Tingry*, the Duke *de Noailles*, and the Duke *de Richlieu*, took upon them the Command of the three Bodies into which the *French* Army was divided; and the Count *de Belle-Isle*, and the Marquis *d'Asfeldt*, continued the Direction of the Siege. The latter was soon after constituted General in chief of the Army before *Philipsburg*.

From the Camp on the *Upper Rhine*, *June* 25. Prince *Eugene* has approach'd still nearer the *French* Intrenchments; his head Quarters at present are at *Odenheim*, about two Leagues from *Bruchsal:* The Prince has given Orders for repairing the Ways thro' the Black Forest towards *Alsace*, and those which lead to *Manheim* thro' the Province of *Odenwalt*. We have Advice that 15000 *French* are in full March to reinforce the Army before *Philipsbourg:* They push on the Siege with Vigour, and are in Possession of some Outworks; the *French* are likewise drawing a Line from *Neustadt* to *Spire*.

Hanover, *June* 25. As this Electorate is a Member of the Empire, and consequently engag'd in all the Steps the *Germanick* Body shall take, with Regard to the present State of Affairs, the Council of Regency has received Orders to permit the Emperor and Empire's Declaration of War against *France* to be published in all our Cities and Towns, as likewise the several Imperial Ordinances which have been since issued in Relation thereto.

The

COOKERY.

1. FIVE Hundred new Receipts in Cookery, Confectionary, Paſtry, Preſerving, Conſerving, Pickling, and the ſeveral Branches of theſe Arts, neceſſary to be known by all good Houſe-wives. By *John Middleton*, Cook to his Grace the Duke of *Bolton*. Reviſ'd and recommended by Mr. *Henry Howard*. Printed for *T. Aſtley*, 8vo, price 3 *s.*

HISTORICAL.

2. The antient Hiſtory of the *Egyptians*, *Carthaginians*, *Aſſyrians*, *Babylonians*, *Medes* and *Perſians*, *Macedonians*, and *Grecians*. Written in *French* by M. *Rollin*, Vol. 1. 2. Printed for Meſſ. *Knapton*, price 10 *s.*

3. A compleat Hiſtory of the Wars in *Italy*. Tranſlated from the original *French* of Count *Bonneval*. By *J. Sparrow*, Gent. With a correct Map explaining the Seat of the preſent and laſt War in *Italy*. Printed for *W. Mears* and *O. Payne*, 8vo, price 4 *s.* 6 *d.*

4. The Memoirs of Sir *John Reresby*, Bart. and laſt Governor of *York*, containing ſeveral private and remarkable Tranſactions from the Reſtoration to the Revolution incluſively. Printed for *S. Harding*, *G. Straban*, *S. Birt* and *T. Worrall*, 8vo, price 4 *s.* 6 *d.*

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9. An Attempt to prove that Chriſt's ſeven Epiſtles to the ſeven Churches in *Aſia*, are not to be underſtood in a literal and hiſtorical, but a myſtical and prophetical Senſe, and that the laſt plainly points at the preſent Times. By *Samuel Johnſon*, A. M. Printed for *L. Gilliver*, price 2 *s.*

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20. A Treatiſe on the Force and Energy of Crude Mercury. By *Thomas Harris*, Surgeon. Printed for *E. Symon*, price 2 *s.* 6 *d.*

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THE LONDON MAGAZINE.

JULY, 1734.

PROCEEDINGS and DEBATES in the *laſt Seſſion* of PARLIAMENT; continued from Page 302.

Remainder of the DEBATE *on the Druggiſts Petition.*

HAVING *y P---lb---m*, Eſq; Sir, I cannot ſay with the Gentleman who ſpoke laſt, that I have been in daily Expectation of the Petition now preſented to us; on the contrary, I was in Hopes, that, as the Senſe of this Houſe had been taken upon laſt Seſſion, the Petitioners would have choſen a more proper Time for renewing their Requeſt; for not to ſay that we are upon the Brink of a War, nor to flatter Gentlemen with any certain Hopes of Peace, our Situation is ſuch, that to do any Thing which might leſſen the publick Revenue, would be doing otherwiſe than this Houſe ought to do; for conſidering the Situation of the Affairs of Europe, and how nearly this Nation may be affected by the Event of the preſent War, the preſenting of ſuch a Petition at ſuch a critical Juncture, ſeems to me to be done with no other View but that of reviving thoſe Clamours, which were lately ſo artfully ſtirred over the whole Kingdom.

It is impoſſible, Sir, to talk either for or againſt committing a Petition, without entering ſome way into the Merits of it: In this, where is any Irregularity, the Gentlemen who have ſpoke for referring the Petition to a Committee, have been as guilty as thoſe who have ſpoke againſt it; but in my Opinion, there is nothing more proper to be conſider'd in the preſent Debate, than whether or no there can poſſibly be any Thing propoſed in a Committee, for redreſſing the Grievances complained of; for if no preſent Redreſs can be thought of, if there can be nothing propoſed, it would not be very conſiſtent with the Dignity of this Houſe, to go into a Committee, only to ſtare at one another, and then break up without hearing any Thing propoſed, or coming to any one Reſolution; and as yet I have heard nothing ſo much as hinted at, for us to do in that Committee, but what might very probably diminiſh the Revenue, which is a Riſk we ought not to run at preſent.

I am ſenſible, Sir, of the great Enormities committed by the Smugglers, eſpecially in the Counties in the Neighbourhood of this City: The open and the outragious Manner in which they carry on their Frauds is well known; but that Method of Smuggling is much more expenſive, difficult and dangerous than the private Way they had, before the Laws of Exciſe were joined to thoſe of the Cuſtoms; and it is well known, how many Seizures have lately been made, and how many of thoſe Smugglers have been quite ruined; this muſt neceſſarily diſcourage any new Undertakers, and will put an End to the Practice at laſt; for the Misfortunes of others will at laſt convince moſt People, that there is nothing to be got by the Trade; and as ſoon as that Opinion comes to be general, no Man will dare to engage in it.

I ſhall not at preſent pretend to determine, what Encreaſe has been made to the Revenue, by ſubjecting Tea, Coffee, and Chocolate, to the Laws of Exciſe; but it is certain, that Branch of the Revenue has been ſince that Time encreaſed, and I cannot think but there was more Smuggling before than ſince that

Alteration; there were not, indeed, ſo many Seizures made before that Time, nor was Smuggling formerly carryed on in ſo open or ſo violent a Manner, ſo that it has ſince made a great deal more Noiſe, and thence moſt People conclude falſely, I believe, that Smuggling has lately increaſed.

Moſt of the Things now under the Laws of Exciſe, are not indeed ſo much follow'd after as Tea; which makes a Difference as to the Number of Perſons thereby ſubjected to theſe Laws; but as to thoſe who, by their being Manufacturers of ſuch other Commodities, are ſubjected to ſuch Laws, they certainly feel as many Inconveniencies, and have as much Reaſon to complain, as the Dealers in Coffee and Tea can have, and therefore they have as good Reaſon to apply to Parliament for Relief: Have not the Malſters, the Brewers, the Soap-Boilers, and a great many others, as good a Title to all the Liberties of *Engliſhmen*, as the Dealers in Coffee and Tea, or as any other Subjects? and the Reaſon for diſtinguiſhing both from the reſt of their Countrymen is, becauſe the publick Utility, and the Nature of their Buſineſs make it neceſſary: If we then take the Caſe of the Petitioners into our Conſideration, can we expect, that all thoſe other Sorts of Traders will not apply to us for Relief? and will it be conſiſtent with the Juſtice of Parliament, not to take their Caſes under our Conſideration, as well as the Caſe of the Petitioners? Thus, Sir, ſhall we open a Door for a great deal more Buſineſs, than, I believe, we ſhall have Time to diſpatch in this Seſſion, or in this Parliament.

In the preſent Caſe, Sir, Gentlemen ought to conſider, that the Duties on Coffee and Tea are appropriated Duties; *that* Part of the Revenue, or at leaſt a great Part of it, is appropriated to the Payment of our publick Debts; and therefore, before we attempt any Alteration, as to the Method of collecting it, or any Thing that may diminiſh it, we ought to have the Conſent of thoſe who are intereſted therein, and in Caſe of a Diminution, we ought to be well aſſured of Means to make it up another Way. I have always had, and always ſhall have, as great a Regard to the Subject, as any Member of this Houſe, and I do not doubt, but the Hon. Gentleman who ſpoke laſt has the ſame; but I never could think, that the taking Care of the Subject, and taking Care of the publick Revenue, were diſtinct Conſiderations; they are certainly the ſame, and in all our Deliberations we ought to have a Regard to both. I agree, that ſomething may, and ought to be done, for putting an immediate Stop to the preſent Practice of Smuggling, but I think it more conſiſtent with the Wiſdom of Parliament, not to enter on ſo copious a Field, at the very Cloſe of a Parliament; and therefore, as one that wiſhes well to the Subject, as a Member of this Houſe, and as an honeſt Man, I ſhall now give my Vote for ordering the Petition to lie upon the Table.

W——m P——ney, Eſq; Sir, I find all the Gentlemen who have oppoſed the Motion now in your Hand, pretend to be of Opinion, that this is not a proper Time for going into the Committee propoſed. This was, I remember, the chief Argument made Uſe of laſt Seſſion againſt taking this Petition into our Conſideration: Then, indeed, they had another Objection; they pretended, the Petition then preſented, was ſigned but by a few of the Dealers in that Commodity; but this Objection being now removed by the Gentleman who preſented the Petition, they are obliged to have Recourſe to the other Objection then made Uſe of. In laſt Seſſion, they told us, this Seſſion is near an End, we have not Time now to enter into the Conſideration of the Matters complained of, but next Seſſion it ſhall be done; Now we are in the next Seſſion, and in the Beginning of it too, they cannot tell us the Seſſion is near an End, but they ſay, it will be but a ſhort Seſſion, and as it is now ſo near the Cloſe of a Parliament, we cannot now enter into the Conſideration of this Affair, but it ſhall be done next Parliament: What arrant Trifling is this, Sir? Can Gentlemen expect that this Houſe will be treated in ſuch a Manner? Who is the Gentleman can promiſe, that this will be done, or what may be done next Parliament? Can he who fancies himſelf the greateſt Man amongſt us be ſure of having a Seat in next Parliament? Or, if he has, can he be ſure that his Power and Sway will be the ſame? But why, Sir, ſhould this be but a ſhort Seſſion? There is no Neceſſity, that I know of, for putting an End to it ſo ſoon: If there is, why did they not call us ſooner? Thoſe in the Adminiſtration have the ſole adviſing of his Majeſty, and it lies wholly in his Breaſt when to call us together, as well as when to put an End to the Seſſion: Shall our Trade then lie expoſed to Fraud and Smuggling; ſhall our Fellow-Subjects continue to groan under Loads of Oppreſſion, only becauſe they are reſolved, that this Seſſion ſhall be but a ſhort one?

The Hon. Gentleman who ſpoke laſt ſeemed to think, that this Petition was preſented with a View only, as he ſaid, to revive the Clamours that were laſt Year without Doors: This I am ſurprized at; Shall our oppreſſed Countrymen be accuſed of having a Deſign to raiſe Diſturbances, when they complain to Parliament of their Grievances? Shall thoſe who ſue to us in the moſt humble Manner, be deemed ſeditious? No, Sir, they cannot be ſo much as ſuſpected of any ſuch Deſign;

Deſign; but if the preſent Motion be rejected, if the humble Requeſt of the Petitioners be deny'd, it will, and it ought to revive thoſe Clamours, which were laſt Year moſt juſtly raiſed over the whole Kingdom, by a moſt wicked Scheme propoſed in this Houſe; the Nation will from thence moſt juſtly conclude, that the Scheme then ſet on Foot, is not yet laid aſide; they will have Reaſon to fear that an Hon. Gentleman may perhaps be able to perſuade Gentlemen at the Beginning of a Seven Years Parliament, to agree to that wicked Scheme, which he could not perſuade them to agree to, immediately before a new Election: If our Fellow-Subjects were entirely relieved from the Oppreſſion of Exciſe Laws, it might not perhaps be ſo eaſy to ſaddle us with them again; but the Gentleman is reſolved to preſerve this as a Neſt-Egg, as a Foundation to build on, whenſoever he has a Mind to take up again his favourite Scheme.

Gentlemen ſeem to be in a Fright, as if the publick Revenue were to be diminiſhed or taken away, but their Fears are groundleſs; there never was, I believe, any ſuch Thing intended: All that is deſired by the Motion is, that we would go into a Committee, and take the Affair once ſeriouſly into our Conſideration, in order to ſee, if any Thing can be done more effectually to ſecure the Revenue than it is at preſent, and at the ſame Time to grant ſome Relief to thoſe who petition for it, and have a Right to expect it from Parliament: This, Sir, will be an Honour to this Parliament, it will give us a Title to return to our Conſtituents with ſome Confidence; and I can ſee no Reaſon why we ſhould leave to any future Parliament the Honour of doing a Work which will be of ſuch ſignal Service to their Country.

The Grievance now complained of was, without Doubt, the Foundation of that wicked Scheme which we had laſt Year before us, and I am convinced, that no Gentleman who had the Honour of oppoſing that Scheme, will agree to the rejecting of the preſent Motion, otherwiſe the Houſe muſt be much changed from what it was at the Time when an Hon. Gentleman, on ſeeing the Minority daily increaſe, and the Majority languiſh and ſicken away, was, at laſt, forced, almoſt with Tears in his Eyes, to give up his favourite Child, of whom he ſeemed to have a moſt extraordinary Opinion when he ſaid, that Gentlemen who envied him other Things, would ſome Day or other envy him the Honour of that Project; and I am perſuaded, he ſtill entertains the ſame good Opinion of it, and waits only for a proper Opportunity to renew it, for which Reaſon he is unwilling we ſhould go into ſuch a Committee as is now propoſed, leſt in that Committee we ſhould ſap all the Foundations on which any future Projects for a further Extenſion of the Exciſe Laws may be erected.

Mr. C———r of the E———r. Sir, if I were to follow the Gentleman who ſpoke laſt in all he has ſaid, I muſt entirely neglect the Queſtion before us; but of late it has become ſo faſhionable for Gentlemen to run away from the Queſtion, and ſay every Thing their Fancies ſuggeſt, that it is impoſſible to give any Anſwer to what they ſay, and at the ſame Time to keep to the Order of Debate. I cannot comprehend, Sir, how I come to be any way perſonally concerned in the preſent Queſtion, and yet moſt of what the Gentleman ſaid ſeemed to be directed at me, which indeed is a Subject I always ſpeak to with the greateſt Unwillingneſs, and which I am ſure is very little worthy the Attention of this Houſe, nor ought their Time to be taken up with any Thing relating to it.

As to thoſe Clamours which were lately, or have at any other Time been raiſed without Doors, I know very well, Sir, that great Art has been uſed to raiſe Clamours againſt me in all Parts of the Kingdom; but it is my Happineſs, that, after ten Years Endeavours for that Purpoſe, no Objection could ever yet be made to my Conduct, except what proceeded from ſomething I had ſaid, or ſomething I had propoſed or moved for in this Houſe; and I am not conſcious to myſelf, that I ever propoſed any Thing but what I thought conſiſtent with my Duty, as a Member of this Houſe, as a good Subject, and as a Servant to the Crown; and in ſuch Caſe, Gentlemen may talk of the Privileges of Parliament, and of the Freedom of Debate, but if what a Man ſays is to be miſrepreſented, and Clamours raiſed againſt him without Doors, for what he honeſtly and fairly propoſes, or gives as his Opinion here, I leave to the Houſe to judge, what their Privileges may in Time come to.

And, Sir, as to the wicked Scheme, as the Gentleman was pleaſed to call it, I, for my own Part, can aſſure this Houſe, that I am not ſo mad as ever again to engage in any Thing that looks like an Exciſe, tho' in my own private Opinion I ſtill think, it was a Scheme that would have tended very much to the Intereſt of the Nation in general; and I am convinced, that all the Clamours againſt it were founded on artful Falſhood and Miſrepreſentation, and upon Suggeſtions that ſuch Things were intended as had never entered into the Thoughts of any Man I am acquainted with.

I will now try, Sir, if I may be excuſed, to ſpeak a few Words to the preſent Queſtion, but muſt firſt take Notice, that I do not remember any Promiſe made laſt Seſſion, that the Petition then preſented, and now again before us, ſhould be taken into Conſideration in this Seſſion; nor do I know any Perſon that could make ſuch a Promiſe, or that can

now ſay, it ſhall be conſidered of next Seſſion; if the Gentleman means me, I am ſure I never made any ſuch Promiſe; but I believe any Gentleman may ſay, that the next Parliament may, if they pleaſe, take the Affair into their Conſideration, and I think it is an Affair of ſuch Conſequence, that it will be more proper to enter upon it in the Beginning of a new Parliament, than at the very Cloſe of an old one.

It has been pretended, that the Alteration as to the Method of collecting the Duties on Tea, has not prevented the Running of it, nor increaſed the Revenue, in Proportion to the Increaſe of the Conſumption; and to prove this, Gentlemen have made Computations, but, as has been before obſerved, (ſee p. 299 E.) they took a very unfair Method in making them. As to the Running of Tea, the Alteration made has not indeed entirely prevented it, but it has made Running a great deal more expenſive and dangerous, and therefore one may, I think, with a great deal of Probability conclude, that no ſuch large Quantities of Tea have been run ſince that Alteration, as there were before; or at leaſt it may be ſaid, that as all Sorts of Teas are now ſold much cheaper abroad than formerly, and as our Smugglers are become more cunning, and more bold and deſperate, a great deal more of that Commodity would have been run in upon us, if that Alteration had not been ſeaſonably made.

Now, Sir, as to the Increaſe of the Revenue, if Gentlemen will but take that Branch of it at a Medium for 7 Years before, and 7 Years after the Alteration, I believe it will be found to have been a growing Revenue from that Time till the Year 1729, when indeed it began to decreaſe; but that was not owing to the new Arts of the Smugglers, but to the Increaſe of their Profits by Smuggling; for in that Year the *Dutch* had 4 Ships at *China*, and the *French* 4 more, by which they imported ſo great Quantities of Tea, and were obliged to ſell it ſo cheap, that they not only ſupplied thoſe Places we uſed to ſupply, but great Quantities of it were run in upon us, becauſe the Increaſe of the Difference between the Price abroad and the Price here, conſiderably increaſed the Profits to be got by Running, which made the old Smugglers run greater Riſks, and engaged a great many new Adventurers in that pernicious Trade; and this, Sir, is the true Cauſe why that Branch of our Revenue began then to decreaſe; but if the former Method of collecting that Duty had been then in Uſe, it would have decreaſed much more; nay, I do not know but it might have almoſt entirely vaniſhed.

There is, Sir, another Miſtake which Gentlemen have fallen into; they have, as to the Produce of this Branch of the Revenue for laſt Year, forgot to make any Allowances for the large Quantities now in the Warehouſes of the *Eaſt-India* Company, which muſt all pay Duty before it can be removed, in order to be ſold for home Conſumption; ſo that to pick out any one Year for determining the Amount of that Part of the Revenue, is a very fallacious Way, becauſe it intirely depends on the Sales the *Eaſt-India* Company are pleaſed to make, and not on the Quantity conſumed within the Kingdom for that Year; and yet Gentlemen have been ſo candid, as to pick out this laſt Year, when the Produce was leſs than in any one Year ſince the Alteration was made, in order to compare it with the Year immediately preceding the Alteration, when the Produce was higher than ever before, and for this plain Reaſon, becauſe, when that Alteration began to be talked of, every Body imagined it would inhance the Price of Tea, and therefore moſt private Families laid in great Stocks of Tea, before the Alteration took Place.

When Gentlemen talk, Sir, of going into Committees to conſider of lowering, or taking the Duties off of any Commodity, they do not ſurely reflect, that it would be entering into a very large Field, into an Affair which would require the moſt ſerious and mature Conſideration; many other Duties ought to be lowered or taken off, if it were poſſible; and if we were to go into ſuch a Committee, I do not know but it might be thought more reaſonable by many, to take off the Duty on Soap and Candles, than to take off, or even lower the Duty on Coffee and Tea: but theſe are Conſiderations I cannot think proper to be entered upon in the very laſt Seſſion of a Parliament, and therefore I muſt be againſt the preſent Motion, whatever Uſe may be made of putting a Negative upon it: The rejecting of it may perhaps be made uſe of by ſome Gentlemen to raiſe new Clamours, and to increaſe the Number of Cockades, with the fine Motto of *Liberty, Property, and no Exciſe*; but whatever Hopes may be conceived from ſuch low Artifices, I entertain no Fears about them, nor ſhall they ever deter me from declaring my Sentiments freely upon any Subject that comes before this Houſe.

Mr. S——r then ſtood up, and ſpoke to Order; that it was none of his Buſineſs to appear of either Side of the Queſtion; but it was his Duty to acquaint Gentlemen when they were any Way diſorderly; and that there was nothing more irregular, than for Gentlemen to be perſonal in their Debates, or to mention any Thing that had been ſaid by any Gentleman in a former Seſſion, or even on the Day immediately preceding. Then

W——m P——ney, Eſq; ſtood up again, and ſaid, That it was certain, there was nothing more irregular, than for Gentlemen to be perſonal in their Debates, or to mention any Thing that had been ſaid by any particular

lar Gentleman in a former Debate; but if he was meant, he could not think he had been guilty of any of theſe Irregularities: He had ſaid nothing but what related ſome Way to the Queſtion, or in Anſwer to what had been ſaid by ſome Gentlemen who ſpoke before him. That he had been no Way perſonal, nor had he pretended to mention what had been ſaid in the former Seſſion by any particular Gentleman. But, Sir, (ſays he) now I am up, I'll juſt mention one Thing, with the Indulgence of the Houſe, which the Hon. Gentleman who ſpoke laſt ſeems to miſtake; he ſeemed to me to talk as if Gentlemen meant to take off the Duty on Tea: No Body, I believe, Sir, has ſpoke of taking it off; but if the Duty be too high, or laid on in a wrong Manner, if we go into a Committee, I doubt not but that ſomething may be propoſed for ſecuring the Duty to the Publick in a more effectual Manner than it is at preſent, and for levying it in a Way more agreeable to the Subject. We may remember, Sir, what was the Caſe of the Duty on Pepper; that Duty was found to be too high; it was lowered, and even by that, the Revenue came to be a conſiderable Gainer. This may be found to be the Caſe, with Reſpect to Tea, but this we cannot judge of till we go into a Committee upon it, and have all proper Papers and Accounts before us.

Sir *J---n B-rn--d.* Sir, the Hon. Gentleman over the Way has taken up a great deal of your Time in endeavouring to prove by Argument the contrary of what is known to be true in Fact. He granted, indeed, that the ſubjecting of Tea to the Laws of Exciſe has not entirely prevented the Running of it; but then he ſaid, that if it had not been ſubjected to thoſe Laws, much greater Quantities would have been run in upon us, becauſe of the great Difference there has lately been in the Price of Tea abroad, and the Price of it in this Kingdom: Now, Sir, this is a Fact I cannot ſo eaſily admit; I cannot believe there now, or has lately been, ſo great a Difference between the Price of Tea in foreign Parts, and the Price it is ſold for at our *Eaſt-India* Sales; for our *Eaſt-India* Company muſt, or ought to regulate their Price, according to the Price it bears in foreign Markets: They have it as cheap in *China* as any other Company can, and it coſts them no more to bring it home, therefore they may, and ought to ſell it as cheap as any other Company does, otherwiſe they cannot ſell any of their Tea in a foreign Market; and it is to be hoped, they will not make Uſe of their excluſive Privilege, to lay a Tax upon this Nation, by making us pay dearer for their Tea, than we can purchaſe it for in others: This indeed would encourage Smuggling, but this would be owing entirely to their making a bad Uſe of their excluſive Privilege, by graſping at a greater Profit than they ought to expect: For this Reaſon it is to be preſumed, that in 1729, when the Price of Tea fell ſo much abroad, it fell a great deal likewiſe at our *Eaſt-India* Sales, and therefore that Difference, which the Gentleman built ſo much on, cannot be the real Cauſe of the Decreaſe of that Branch of our Revenue ſince that Time; but this is a Fact which we ought to enquire into, and this, Sir, is a ſtrong Reaſon for our going into the Committee I have propoſed.

'Tis true, Sir, the Laws of Exciſe do not in their own Nature contribute any Thing to the Encouragement of Running, but I am convinced, they have contributed nothing to the preventing of it; and if that be the Caſe, we ought not to leave ſuch a Number of our Fellow-Subjects, even for one Year, under the Burden of ſuch oppreſſive Laws; otherwiſe it cannot be ſaid, we have that Regard to the Eaſe and Happineſs of the People, which a *Britiſh* Parliament ought to have, and I hope always will have.

The Gentleman found Fault with the Computations, but let him make his Computations what Way he will, I believe, it will be found, that the Increaſe of the Revenue has bore no Proportion to the Increaſe of the Conſumption; and this laſt Increaſe is a good Reaſon, why the Rule the Gentleman propoſes for diſcovering, whether the Revenue has been a Gainer by ſubjecting Tea and Coffee to the Laws of Exciſe, ought not to be obſerved; for if the Conſumption gradually encreaſed for 7 Years before and 7 Years after the Alteration as to the Method of collecting the Duty, the Medium for the 7 Years after muſt be much higher than the Medium for the 7 Years before, and yet the Increaſe of the Revenue cannot be ſaid to be owing to the Laws of Exciſe, but to the Increaſe of the Conſumption.

As to the great Quantities of Tea now in the Warehouſes of the *Eaſt-India* Company, and the large Quantities which, it is pretended, were bought up juſt before the Alteration took Place, it is certain the Company generally have large Quantities in their Warehouſes, and ſell them off according to the Demand, which, as to our Home Conſumption, muſt be pretty near equal one Year with another; ſo that if they have greater Quantities now than uſual, it muſt be becauſe of the little Demand for their Tea at foreign Markets; when there comes any ſuch Demand, they will, I ſuppoſe, ſell off what Tea they have on their Hands; but whatever is ſold for that Purpoſe, pays no Duty, and therefore it cannot be ſaid, that the Quantities they have upon their Hands muſt all pay the Duty, or that a Variation in their Sales can ever much alter the Amount of that Branch of the Revenue: And whether large Quantities of Tea were bought up juſt before the Alteration took Place, is what I ſhall not now

now pretend to determine; but if we go into a Committee, the Accounts of their Sales, and of Tea exported in that Year may be called for, and from them it will appear, whether large Quantities were then bought up by private Families; so that every Fact the Hon. Gentleman has mention'd is a strong Argument for our going into a Committee on this Affair.

I find no Fault with the Duty on Tea being so high, on the contrary, I wish it were higher, if it were possible to collect it, because I look on it as an Article of Luxury, and therefore, if the Duty on some Sorts of Tea were raised, and if all the Tea that shall hereafter be seized, were to be burnt and destroyed, I believe it would be much better for the Nation; and this, Sir, is an Answer to what an Hon. Gentleman said some Time ago, that we ought not to go into a Committee, unless we are well assured, that some Gentleman has something to propose; for tho' I do not allow his Rule to be good, because when a Committee is resolved on, and proper Papers and Accounts are called for, Gentlemen may from them find something very reasonable to propose to the Committee, which they could not before think of; yet in the present Case, this Argument is of no Weight, for besides what I have already mentioned, I could hint at several other Propositions which may perhaps be thought reasonable: We are certainly in a wrong Method at present, with Respect to our Duties on Tea: There is a very great Difference in the Prices of different Sorts of Tea, and yet our Duty is upon all Sorts the same; Tea of 2 *s.* *per* Pound pays as much Duty as Tea of 20*s.* and therefore, in my Opinion, if the Duty were laid on *ad Valorem*, neither the Revenue, nor the *East-India* Company would suffer so much by the large Quantities of low-prized Tea, run in upon us from *Holland* and *Flanders*.

In Cases where the Duty far exceeds the prime Cost of the Commodity, there is certainly a very great Temptation for Smuggling: A Man has more Profit when he gets two *Cents per Cent.* on the Money he lays out, than when he gets but one, or perhaps but 50 *per Cent.* and this will encourage him to run a greater Risk, and will engage more Persons to become Adventurers: Upon this Consideration it must be granted, that the Lowness of the Price of some Sorts of Tea abroad may of late have contributed a little to the Increase of Smuggling; but no Laws, no Severity can, in such Case, prevent the Practice; for where there is an excessive Advantage to be got by a Man's being lucky, no Risk can prevent his endeavouring to grasp at it, nor will the Misfortunes of some frighten others from becoming Adventurers: This is the Nature of Mankind, and therefore it is vain to imagine, that the joining of the Laws of Excise to those of the Customs will prevent the Practice of running Tea, as long as the Advantage to be got by Running continues so extraordinary.

Tho' every Man who is subject to the Laws of Excise is as liable to Hardships as another, yet there is a great Difference between the Excise upon Tea, Coffee, and Chocolate, and that upon any other Commodity. By all our other Excises, except Brandy, but a few People, none but the first Manufacturers are made subject to the Laws of Excise, and by most of them, there is a very great Addition made to the Revenue; but as to the Excise on Tea, Coffee and Chocolate, there is little or no Advantage got to the Publick by that Method of collecting that Duty, and yet by that Excise more People are, I believe, made subject to those oppressive Laws than by all the other Excises put together: And, surely, when we are to subject any of our Fellow-Subjects to Hardships, we ought to consider the Number that are to be subjected, and the Benefit the Publick reaps thereby, in order to compare the two together, and from thence judge, whether the Advantage got by the Publick bears such a Proportion as may justify the laying such a Number of our Countrymen under great Inconveniencies. This, Sir, shews, that the giving Ear to the just Complaints of the Petitioners, lays us under no Necessity of taking the Case of any other Set of Men under our Consideration.

As to the Consent of those who may have an Interest in the Duty on Coffee, Tea and Chocolate, I believe we need give ourselves no Trouble on that Head; for as they are certain that the Parliament will not allow them to be Sufferers, they will, as soon as asked, readily, I believe, consent to any Alteration we shall make, especially when it is for freeing such a Number of their Fellow-countrymen from great Hardships; but it will be Time enough to think of this after we have resolved to go into a Committee, and therefore this Argument can be of no Weight against the Question.

J——n C——n, Esq; In our present Situation, Sir, I would be far from agreeing to any Thing that could possibly tend to diminish the Revenue, but I am certain, it can be in no Danger by our agreeing to the present Motion; for when we are in the Committee proposed, if any such Thing should be offered, Gentlemen may freely give their Negative to it, notwithstanding their having given their Consent for going into that Committee. I must say, that, in my Opinion, I have heard much Argument made use of by the Gentlemen who have opposed this Motion. The Whole of what they have said may, I think, in this, that the Time is improper, because the Session is to be but short; for the true Question now before us is, Shall we

many of our Fellow-Subjects to labour under what they apprehend to be a Grievance, without making the least Inquiry into their Complaints? Or shall we sit 3 or 4 Days longer than some Gentlemen intend we should? As this seems to be the only Question at present before us, I think it is easy for any Gentleman to determine, which Side to take; for my own Part, I shall certainly be for going into the Committee moved for.

J—ph D——rs, Esq; I am so far, Sir, from being for the Question, that I think this House shews a great deal of Good-Nature, in allowing the Petition to lie upon the Table; for, in my Opinion, it ought to be rejected. I shall, indeed, Sir, readily be for any Thing that may discourage not only the Running, but the Importation of Coffee, Tea or Chocolate; for I wish we would or could be made all to return to the good old Way of our Ancestors, in breakfasting upon good *English* Ale and Bread and Cheese. Both the Men and the Women of those Days were, I believe, as strong and as healthy as they are now, and yet what they made use of for Breakfast, did not carry one Penny out of the Nation: However, I think we may find out much properer Time for enquiring into this Affair, than the very last Session of a Parliament, and a Session which must be taken up with Things of much greater Consequence to the Nation, and to *Europe* in general.

An Hon. Gentleman talked much of a Scheme which was before us last Year, which he called a wicked Scheme; but I differ, Sir, far from him, that I think the Gentlemen in the Administration never did a Thing so wrong as the Giving up of that Scheme: I then thought, and I still think, that it would have been very much for the Interest of the Nation in general; and I am very sure it might have been carried, if those Gentlemen had not of themselves let it drop.

The Question was then put for referring the Petition to a Committee of the whole House; and upon a Division, was carried in the Negative, 233 against 155. But no Motion was put for ordering it to lie on the Table; so that it was entirely dropt.

On *Feb.* 5. Sir *John Rushout* presented to the House (according to Order) a Bill to prevent the infamous Practice of Stock-jobbing; which was received and read the first Time, and ordered to be read a second Time.

DEBATE *on the Motion for additional Land-Forces.*

NEXT Day, the House (according to Order) resolved itself into a Committee of the whole House, to consider further of the Supply granted to his Majesty; and the proper Estimates being referr'd to that Committee, upon a Motion Sir *Charles Turner* had taken the

T——de A——ns Esq; stood up and spoke as follows: Sir, by the Employment I have the Honour to be in, it naturally falls within my Province, to take Notice of the Estimates laid before us, relating to the Charge of the Guards, Garrisons, and other Land-Forces in *Great Britain*, in the Plantations, and in *Minorca* and *Gibraltar*, for the Year ensuing: By these Estimates Gentlemen will find, that the Charge for next Year does but very little exceed that for last Year; and therefore, considering the present State of Affairs in *Europe*, I think it would be but misspending the Time of the Committee, to say any Thing to the Question I have now in my Hand to move to you.

The Difference between the Situation this Nation is in now, and the Situation it was in last Year, sufficiently justifies the small Addition proposed to be made to our Land-Forces; the Addition is no more than 1800 Men, and even this is proposed to be made in the easiest and least expensive Way: We have now 3 Regiments at *Gibraltar*, which have always hitherto been placed upon the *British* Establishment, because, tho' they were sent there on an Emergency, it was never before thought necessary to continue them there; but now that there is a War broke out in *Europe*, it cannot be thought safe to recal them, and therefore in their Place, it is proposed to add 1800 Men to the Regiments at home, and to place them for the future upon the Establishment for *Minorca* and *Gibraltar*: This, in my Opinion, is so reasonable, and so necessary a Demand, that I shall give the Committee no further Trouble, but beg Leave to move, That the Number of effective Men to be provided for Guards and Garrisons in *Great Britain*, and for *Guernsey* and *Jersey*, for 1734, be (including 1815 Invalids, and 555, which the six independent Companies consist of, for the Service of the *Highlands*) 17,704 Men, Commission and Non-Commission Officers included.

Sir *W——m W--nd--m*. I do not stand up, Sir, to oppose this Motion; for as it stands, the Number of Forces proposed for next Year is, I find, no greater than that of last Year; and, according to present Situation, I believe the same Number will not be thought very extravagant: But as by what the Gentleman was pleased to say, there seems to be an Augmentation designed; I shall therefore beg Leave to propose an Amendment to his Question. However, I must first take Notice, that as to our own particular Situation, it is a difficult Matter to say what it is at present; for, as no Information, relating to that Question, has been given to the House, as all Steps taken to get a little Light into that Affair, have been stopt, and the very attempting to get it has been reflected on as disrespectful to his Majesty; I am sure no Gentleman

tleman can ſay, that, as a Member of this Houſe, he knows as much of our preſent Situation as may juſtify his conſenting to the laying of a new Load upon the People he repreſents.

No Gentleman in this Houſe, Sir, can agree to any Demand of the Crown more chearfully than I ſhall, when I ſee it reaſonable and neceſſary; but when any Augmentation of our Forces, either by Sea or Land, is demanded, when any additional Load is deſired to be laid on the People, while I have the Honour to be one of the Repreſentatives of the People, I ſhall always expect to have ſufficient Reaſons ſhewn me, before I give my Conſent for complying with any ſuch Demand; and therefore, on every ſuch Occaſion, I think, a full Information ought to be given as to the Situation of our Affairs, that we may thence judge, whether we ought to conſent to what is propoſed: Nay, tho' nothing more were to be aſked, but to keep up for next Year the ſame Number that was kept up laſt Year, yet, as it is a heavy Charge on the People, and cannot ſurely be always neceſſary, the Conſent of Parliament ought not to be expected, without giving us ſome good Reaſons for ſo doing.

For this Reaſon, I hope, Sir, that ſome Gentleman who can inform us, will riſe up and let us know ſomething of our preſent Circumſtances: It is high Time we ſhould know not only our preſent Situation, but likewiſe what Share we are to take, or if we are to take any in the War now begun in *Europe:* It is chiefly with this View that I am to offer an Amendment to the Queſtion, that ſome Gentleman may riſe up, and give me ſome Argument, afford me ſome Excuſe, for my conſenting to lay a new Load upon a People whom I know to be already moſt heavily loaded. I know, Sir, we are in a Committee, and that therefore I may be indulged in ſpeaking more than once, for which Reaſon I ſhall now add no more, but only move, That the Words, *and including the three Regiments of* Tirrawley, Grove *and* Kirk, may be added to the Queſtion.

H——y P--lh--m, Eſq; My Opinion, Sir, is the ſame with that of the Hon. Gentleman who made you this Motion; the Augmentation propoſed is, I think, ſo very ſmall, the Manner of doing it ſo eaſy, and ſo little expenſive, and the Neceſſity for doing it ſo evident, that I did not expect that either I or any Gentleman elſe ſhould have been under a Neceſſity of ſaying any Thing in Support of the Motion. The Hon. Gentleman who ſpoke laſt has propoſed an Amendment, and wants much it ſeems to be inform'd of our preſent Situation, and hopes ſome Gentleman will ſtand up and ſatisfy him: I do not take upon me to ſpeak as a Perſon any way concerned in the Adminiſtration, I ſpeak only as a Member of this Houſe, and, as ſuch, I want no further Information; the Lights I have, and which every Gentleman in this Houſe muſt know, are ſufficient to enable me to give my Vote in the preſent Queſtion: If other Gentlemen, whoſe Curioſity may be greater than mine, want to know more, I am afraid they will return from the Houſe no wiſer, in that Reſpect, than they came to it; for Gentlemen are not obliged to ſay more than what is neceſſary for their preſent Argument, nor are they bound, on every Occaſion, to ſatisfy the private Curioſity of other Men.

Every Gentleman, Sir, muſt know the preſent Circumſtance of Affairs in *Europe*, and from that alone he muſt ſee the Neceſſity of the Augmentation propoſed: The 3 Regiments now at *Gibraltar*, have been, till now, kept upon the *Britiſh* Eſtabliſhment, becauſe it was not expected, we ſhould have been obliged to have continued them there; but now that there is a War broke out in *Europe*, now that our Neighbours have all great Armies in the Field, and great Fleets at Sea, would any Man think it prudent in us, to diminiſh the Strength of that Place by recalling thoſe 3 Regiments? Or can any Gentleman in this Houſe think a leſs Number of regular Troops at home neceſſary now in the Time of War, than what was laſt Year, in Time of Peace, thought neceſſary for the Defence of his Majeſty's Perſon and Government? Surely no Gentleman can think ſo, and therefore I cannot ſee how he can diſagree with the Queſtion before us, ſince all thereby propoſed is but a ſmall additional Expence of 34 or 35,000l. to the Nation; it is only an Augmentation of our Forces at home, equal to, and in the Room of thoſe 3 Regiments, which it is now become neceſſary to put upon a foreign Eſtabliſhment; for after they are once put upon that Eſtabliſhment, they cannot be called home, whatever Neceſſity we may have for them here; and, for all that has been formerly ſaid about numerous Standing Armies, I know very well, that while I ſerv'd in another Office, we never were able to make ſuch a Diſpoſition of Quarters, as to have it in our Power to call above 3 or 4000 Men together, upon any Emergency. For theſe Reaſons, Sir, I cannot agree to the Amendment propoſed; on the contrary, I never was, I think, clearer in any one Queſtion, than I am in that which you now have in your Hand.

G——e H——tt, Eſq; Sir, as the Situation of Affairs in *Europe* is very much altered ſince laſt Year, ſo my Opinion, with Reſpect to our Army is greatly changed. I was, 'tis true, laſt Year againſt keeping up ſuch a Number of regular Troops, as the Majority of this Houſe were in laſt Seſſion pleaſed to agree to; but the Reaſons which then made me vote againſt the Number propoſed, ſeem

to be good Reaſons for agreeing to what is now propoſed. We were then in a State of perfect Tranquillity, both at home and abroad; but now the Scene is changed, and we are in great Danger of being involved in the War already broke forth: Do not we ſee the King of *France*, who, for ſome Years, has been in a State of Inaction, and ſeemed to mind nothing but his Pleaſures, do we not ſee, I ſay, that young Monarch now applying himſelf to publick Buſineſs, and following the Foot-Steps of his ambitious Predeceſſor? Do not we ſee, that he, by his Armies, in Conjunction with thoſe of *Spain* and *Sardinia*, has, in a very ſhort Time, over-run a great Part of *Italy*: This, Sir, has given the Alarm to all the Princes of *Europe*, and ought to give us ſome Sort of Alarm likewiſe; we are, perhaps, amongſt the moſt remote from Danger, but it may reach us at laſt; and in ſuch Circumſtances I ſhould think it very unwiſe not to be upon our Guard; for which Reaſon I cannot but agree to a Demand, which in itſelf I think ſo modeſt and reaſonable; and I wiſh the preſent Queſtion had been agreed to without any Oppoſition or Debate, in order to convince the whole World, that there is a good Harmony ſubſiſting between his Majeſty and his Parliament.

W——m S--pp-n, Eſq; Sir, notwithſtanding what has been ſaid by the two Hon. Gentlemen who ſpoke laſt, I am of the ſame Opinion with my Hon. Friend who moved for an Amendment; for unleſs we are to have ſome Share in the War, I can ſee no Neceſſity, nor any Reaſon for the Augmentation propoſed; becauſe I am well aſſured, none of the Powers engaged in War will attack us, if we ſtand neutral; and if his Majeſty were reſolved to take any Share in the War, or even to give the leaſt Aſſiſtance to either of the Parties engaged, he would certainly have communicated his Reſolutions to his Parliament: Surely thoſe Gentlemen who have always thought, at leaſt of late Years, that an Army of 18,000 Men is neceſſary in Times of Peace, to ſupport his Majeſty's Government, can never think the Addition of 1800 will enable him to take any Share in the War, or to aſſiſt any of his Allies; from hence I muſt conclude, that his Majeſty is not to take any Share in the War, ſo that the Smallneſs of the Augmentation demanded, which they make Uſe of as an Argument for prevailing with us to agree to it, is with me a very ſtrong Argument for refuſing to give my Conſent.

But, Sir, the chief Argument with me for being againſt the preſent Queſtion is, that I am afraid leſt the Number of Forces kept up laſt Year ſhould come to be thought always neceſſary, even in the Times of the moſt profound Peace; and indeed the Gentleman who ſpoke laſt but one ſeemed to inſinuate as much, ſo that from henceforth we may reckon an Army of 18,000 Men as a Part of our Conſtitution; and even this Army it ſeems is always to be augmented whenever any little Quarrel happens between any two of our Neighbours, and that whether we are to have any Share in the Quarrel or not: This is the principal Reaſon, Sir, why I cannot agree to the Queſtion, as it now ſtands, and therefore I ſhall be for the Amendment propoſed.

W——m P——ney, Eſq; Sir, the Hon. Gentleman who moved the Queſtion did extreamly well in explaining it to the Committee, for it is in itſelf ſo intricate, that without that Explanation, I believe very few in the Houſe would have underſtood it, or could have imagin'd, that a large Augmentation was thereby meant to be made to our Land Forces in *Great Britain*: By the Words of the Queſtion no greater Number of Land Forces than what was voted laſt Year appears to be demanded, yet when it comes to be explained, we find there is a Demand for an Augmentation of about 2000 Men: Here, Sir, is an Army in Diſguiſe; it really puts me in Mind of Mr. *Bays*'s Army in the Play, for it would have been an Army *incog.* if the Gentleman had not been pleaſed to diſcover it.

An Hon. Gentleman told us, that thoſe 3 Regiments now at *Gibraltar*, if they ſhould once be put upon that Eſtabliſhment, could not be called home, let the Occaſion for them here be never ſo preſſing; this I cannot admit; but granting it, have we not 12,000 Men in *Ireland*, from whence we may call home as many as we pleaſe, on any Emergency: Has not this been done, Sir, in former Times? And did not the Parliament willingly make up the Difference of the Pay, and all other Charges attending the tranſporting of them: Beſides this, cannot we call for Troops from *Holland*, whenever we have Occaſion? Has not this likewiſe been formerly done? We know the *Dutch* are by Treaties obliged to furniſh us with 10,000 Men, if we ſhould be attacked by any Power in *Europe*, and at their own Expence too; tho' I believe that we never had any ſuch Aſſiſtance from them, but what our Parliament was obliged to pay for.

The Gentleman ſpoke likewiſe of the Diſpoſition of Quarters, and the Difficulty of getting a Number of Men together, on any Emergency. Sir, I have had the Honour to ſerve in that Office, as well as the Hon. Gentleman, and I never knew a Diſpoſition of Quarters ſo made, but that almoſt all the Troops in *Great Britain* could be got together by regular Marches, Time enough to oppoſe any Enemy that could come againſt us, unleſs they ſhould drop from the Clouds;

I cannot comprehend from whence Gentlemen imagine ſuch Troops ſhould be ſent againſt us. Muſt they not march from their ſeveral Quarters to the Sea-Coaſt of that Country from whence they are to come? Muſt they not have a Fleet of Ships to tranſport them, and a fair Wind to bring them to this Iſland? Will not all this take up Time enough to give us an Opportunity of aſſembling our Forces? This really, Sir, to me ſeems to be raiſing Fantaſms in the Air, in order to find Pretences for loading the People with Taxes.

The Amendment propoſed was not, I believe, Sir, meant by the Hon. Gentleman, ſo much to be inſiſted on, as to oblige thoſe Gentlemen who deſire us to conſent to this Augmentation, to ſhew us ſome Reaſon for ſo doing; and with this View I muſt join with him, and will be for the Amendment, till I hear ſome Reaſon given for the Augmentation: If thoſe Gentlemen will ſhew us any Reaſons for what they aſk, and they ſhall appear ſufficient, I make no Doubt but my worthy Friend will be ready to drop his Amendment; and, till ſome Reaſon is offered, I think I have no Occaſion to ſay any Thing more on this Subject.

Mr. *P--lb--m* ſtood up again, and explained a little what he had before ſaid, with Reſpect to the calling home the Regiments from *Gibraltar*, and with Reſpect to the Diſpoſition of Quarters. And then,

W——*r P--m--r*, Eſq; ſpoke thus: I cannot but think, Sir, that it is highly reaſonable for Gentlemen to expect a little more Satisfaction than what they have yet got, as to the Neceſſity for this Augmentation, before they agree to it. This Houſe has always been ſaid to hold the Purſe of the People, but if we ſhould agree to any Tax, or to any Meaſure which may oblige us to load the People with Taxes, without the leaſt Reaſon aſſigned, I am ſure we could not juſtly be ſaid to be Maſters of the Purſe of the People; we would be only the Slaves who carry it, in order to open it as often, and as wide as our Maſters ſhall pleaſe to command. From all that has been yet ſaid, I cannot ſee that we are in any immediate Danger, either at home or abroad; and I am afraid that the putting of thoſe 3 Regiments on the Eſtabliſhment of *Gibraltar* may be done with a View to make the People feel the great Expence of that Place, in order to make them ſick of it, and ſo to induce them the more eaſily to agree to the delivering it up.

Hon. *E*——*d D*——*y*, Eſq; The Number of Land Forces now propoſed to be added to the Number voted laſt Year, I muſt own to be but very inconſiderable; but, Sir, as the Number voted laſt Year was by many Thouſands more than I then thought neceſſary, I muſt now look upon all thoſe Thouſands as an Addition made this Year to the Number of our Land Forces; and as that Addition is much larger than I can judge to be neceſſary, I cannot but be againſt any new Levies.

Gentlemen tell us, that the Expence of this Augmentation can be but very ſmall; it is, ſay they, but 34 or 35,000 *l.* but to this I muſt add the Expence of thoſe many thouſands which laſt Year I thought unneceſſary, and in this Light the additional Expence of our Army for this Year will amount almoſt to hundreds of thouſands: Beſides this, Sir, thoſe Gentlemen ſeem to forget that every Man added to the Army is a Man taken from the Labour and Induſtry of their Country; and with this View the real Loſs to the Nation will amount to double that Sum: Do they think that the Labour of a working Man is to be valued at nothing? Sir, I believe that the Labour of every working Man in the Kingdom, one with another, brings in 20 *l.* to his Country: It is by the Labour and Induſtry of ſuch Men that the Trade, and, conſequently, the Riches and the Power of this Nation is ſupported; and therefore the taking of any ſuch Man from his Labour muſt be doing a real Injury to his Country.

What was mentioned by an Hon. Gentleman ſome Time ago, affords me, Sir, a moſt melancholy Conſideration: He was afraid leſt an Army of at leaſt 18,000 Men ſhould come to be made a Part of our Conſtitution, and I am of Opinion, that his Fears are too well founded; for ſo many Gentlemen ſeem now to look upon an Army of 18,000 as always neceſſary for the Support of our Government, that tho' we have for ſome Years paſt been in a State of the moſt profound Peace, yet we have never been able to reduce our Army below that Number; but, as I am of Opinion, Sir, that that Number is not neceſſary in Time of Peace, as I think it is ſufficient, even tho' we were in ſome little Danger of a War, therefore I cannot agree to any Augmentation, unleſs I ſee ſome greater Neceſſity for it than has been yet ſhewn to this Houſe.

Sir *W*——*m W--nd--m*. I ſtand up, Sir, only to obſerve, that my Hon. Friend over the Way has done me Juſtice in ſaying, that the Amendment I have moved for was principally with a View of having a little Information from ſome of thoſe Gentlemen in the Adminiſtration, as to our preſent Situation, that I may from thence be able to judge of the Neceſſity of complying with the Demand made by the Crown: This is, Sir, I think no more than what the Parliament ought to deſire, and has a Right to expect; and therefore I cannot even yet think, but that ſome Gentleman, who is qualified for that Purpoſe, will riſe up, and give us at leaſt as much Information about our preſent Circumſtances, as may enable us to give ſome Reaſon for our conſenting to this Augmentation.

Mr.

Mr. C——r of the E——r. Tho' I had reſolved, Sir, to ſit ſtill and ſay nothing in the preſent Debate, yet, as I believe myſelf pointed at by the Hon. Gentleman who ſpoke laſt, when I find myſelf ſo often called upon, I cannot forbear giving ſome Anſwer to what Gentlemen have been pleaſed to ſay againſt this ſmall Augmentation of our Forces. As to the Information which Gentlemen are ſo fond of having, I do not know what they mean by it, or what they want to be informed about: It is publickly known, that there is a War now broke forth in *Europe*, even his Majeſty in his Speech has taken Notice of it, and in the ſame Speech his Majeſty has declared to us, that he is as yet no Way engaged in the War, nor would determine himſelf 'till he had examined the ſeveral Facts alledged by both Parties: This, Sir, is a Deliberation conſiſtent with the Wiſdom of his Majeſty's Counſels, and from thence we may be aſſured, that we are not as yet any Way concerned in the War; we may, 'tis true, be concerned relatively and conſequentially, but we muſt conclude that we are under no preſent Engagements; and therefore I muſt think it ſtrange in Gentlemen to expect or deſire any Declaration from his Majeſty, by thoſe who have the Honour to ſerve him, before any Reſolution has been taken, nay, even before his Majeſty could have an Opportunity to enquire into thoſe Facts, which, he has told us, he will thoroughly examine before he determines what to do.

But, Sir, as it is a Matter of the utmoſt Conſequence to all the Powers engaged in the War to know what Part *Great Britain* is to take, or whether or no we are to take any Part in it, we may conclude, they are all extreamly anxious about knowing what we are to do; and, ſurely, if there is any Power in *Europe*, who may in the Event become the Enemy of *Great Britain*, particularly intereſted in, and therefore anxious to know the Reſult of our Deliberations, it would be a very good Reaſon, if there were none other, why Gentlemen ought not to expect the Satisfaction they ſeem ſo earneſtly to deſire, eſpecially before ſo full and ſo publick an Audience: This, I ſay, Sir, would be a good Reaſon for his Majeſty not to declare his Reſolution here, even ſuppoſing he had come to a Reſolution; and till his Majeſty thinks fit to publiſh his Reſolutions, Gentlemen may believe, that neither I, nor any other Member of this Houſe, who has the Honour to ſerve the Crown, will be ready to make any Declarations in this Place, 'till we do it *ex Officio*, or by his Majeſty's Orders.

Now, Sir, without any further Information, let us conſider the preſent Circumſtances of *Europe*; we all know that a War is broke out in *Europe*; we are not immediately concerned in this War, but as the too great Succeſs of either Side may indanger the Liberties of *Europe*, we are certainly concerned in the Event; and ſo thoſe Powers who may perhaps now, or may hereafter come to think, that we are in Intereſt, nay, for Self-preſervation, obliged to declare againſt them, will not they, as ſoon as they begin to think ſo, endeavour to take us at a Diſadvantage, and, before we are prepared for our Defence, in order to prevent our attempting to put a Stop to thoſe ambitious Views which Succeſs may inſpire them with? Is it not therefore neceſſary to be upon our Guard, and to provide in Time for our own Defence? Upon this Conſideration, the Neceſſity for the Augmentation, is to me ſo apparent, that it ſpeaks itſelf; and the Demand is, in itſelf, ſo modeſt, and ſo evidently ſhews, that his Majeſty's Inclinations are to lay as few and as eaſy Burdens on his People as poſſible, that I muſt ſay, the making of any Difficulty to comply with it does not teſtify any great Reſpect towards his Majeſty, nor a warm Affection or Zeal for his Government; and therefore I hope the Queſtion will be agreed to without any Amendment.

As to the Inſinuation made by a worthy Gentleman over the Way, that there was a Deſign to make *Gibraltar* appear expenſive, in order to make People ſick of it, and induce them to conſent to the giving it up, the repeating this Inſinuation is, I think, Sir, a ſufficient Anſwer to it; for to ſay that the Miniſtry, by adding 3 Regiments to the Defence of *Gibraltar*, are in a Plot to deliver it up, has ſomething ſo ridiculous in it, that I am ſurpriſed it ſhould drop from the Hon. Gentleman; but I am perſuaded he did not mean to be ſerious when he made that Inſinuation, and therefore I ſhall take no further Notice of it.

W——m P——ney, Eſq; I believe, Sir, moſt Gentlemen, as well as myſelf, whoſe Expectations were raiſed when the Hon. Gentleman ſtood up, have met with a very great Diſappointment: That Gentleman, from whom we had Reaſon to expect ſomething of Weight, has not only told us, that we are to have no Reaſon for what we are deſired this Day to agree to, but has given us very little Hopes of having at any other Time that Information which one would think a *Britiſh* Parliament might expect. Are we, Sir, to vote powerful Fleets, and numerous Armies; are we to lay new and great Burdens on the People, and all this without being told any Reaſons for it? What Satisfaction can we give our Conſtituents, if they ſhould ask us, why we have augmented our Standing Army, which muſt always be dangerous to the Liberties of our Country? Why we have conſented to the increaſing the publick Charge, which is already heavier than the People can bear?

Really, Sir, to this moſt material and reaſonable Queſtion, I know, as yet, of no other Anſwer we can give, but only that his Majeſty has told us, there is a War broke forth in *Europe*, in which we have no Manner of Concern; and his Miniſters have told us, we ought to be afraid of the Armies and Fleets raiſed and fitted out by our Neighbours, becauſe they are under an abſolute Neceſſity of imploying all their Armies and Fleets in thoſe Parts of *Europe* which are moſt remote from us. We have Zeal, Sir, I hope we have all a great deal of Affection and Zeal for his Majeſty's Perſon and Government; but do not let us allow his Majeſty's Miniſters, or even his Majeſty himſelf, to expect ſuch a blind Zeal from his Parliament: It is inconſiſtent with the Dignity of Parliament, and I am ſure that Parliaments 30 or 40 Years ago would hardly have been perſuaded to have ſhewn ſo much Complaiſance to the Miniſters of the Crown.

What has been obſerved by ſome Gentlemen, I own, Sir, weighs greatly with me: From the Demand now before us we have Reaſon to conclude, that 18,000 Men may be the Number intended to be always kept up within this Iſland, even in the Times of the greateſt Tranquillity, and that the Augmentation now required is done with a View only, that when ſuch Times ſhall again come, thoſe in the Adminiſtration may have an Opportunity to pretend great Merit, in reducing the 1800 Men now propoſed to be added: We all know what Jealouſies and Fears the People have entertained at the continuing of this Army, during the laſt Years of perfect Peace both at home and abroad; and if that Meaſure ſhould be again attempted, when thoſe Days of Peace return, every Man muſt then conclude, that that Army is kept up, not for defending us againſt our foreign Enemies, but for the Safety of thoſe who have rendered themſelves odious among the People, and for defending them againſt the Reſentment of an injured and a plundered Nation: If this ſhould ever happen to be our unfortunate Condition, the People will certainly make a Struggle for the Preſervation of their antient Conſtitution: This will certainly be the Caſe, I know it muſt be the Caſe, and when it is, I hope thoſe who ſhall bring us under ſuch hard Circumſtances, will find, that even this Army of 18,000 Men will not be able to ſtand againſt the whole People of *England*. I have a great Opinion of many Gentlemen who have now Commands in the Army, and if ſuch a Caſe ſhould happen, while they have any Command, I make no doubt but they would behave as their Predeceſſors did at the Revolution; I dare ſay, that moſt of them would ſoon be found of the People's Side of the Queſtion.

If we are, Sir, to have any Share in the War, the Addition of 1800 Men is but a Bawble; and if we are to have no Share, why ſhould we bring any additional Expence upon the People? The Hon. Gentleman would not ſay, poſitively, that we were engaged or were not engaged, or that we were or were not to be engaged, but that we might be engaged relatively and conſequentially; and this refined Quibbling, Sir, is, it ſeems, all the Satisfaction, all the Reaſons, he will vouchſafe to give Gentlemen, for agreeing to the Demand now made upon them. Is an *Engliſh* Houſe of Commons to take this as a Reaſon for breaking in upon their Conſtitution, and for loading their Conſtituents with Taxes? Surely, Sir, let our Condition be never ſo bad, and I believe it is bad enough, if the Advice of Parliament is wanted, if their Aſſiſtance be deſired, they ought to have a full Information of our preſent Circumſtances, and ſufficient Reaſons given for the Demand that is made; but it ſeems we are for the future to have no other Reaſon given us for complying with any Demand that comes from the Crown, but only becauſe it is aſked; and if any Gentleman ſcruples to take that as a ſufficient Reaſon, he is, it ſeems, always to be told, that it will be looked upon as a Want of Reſpect to the Crown: Let us, Sir, have all due Reſpect to the Crown, but for God's Sake let us have likewiſe ſome Regard to ourſelves and to our Fellow-Subjects, without which I am ſure we have no Buſineſs here, nor can the Nation ever reap any Benefit from our meeting in this Place.

The extraordinary Expence of the Augmentation is ſaid to be but 34 or 35,000*l.* It is, at leaſt, 35,000*l.* which may, perhaps, ſound but little in thoſe Ears which are accuſtomed to Millions, yet it is a great Sum, and will be thought ſo by the People of *England*, who are already over-burdened with Taxes: It is an additional Expence, which no Man ought to conſent to, unleſs he ſees an abſolute Neceſſity for ſo doing: The Hon. Gentleman, 'tis true, ſays, that the Neceſſity is apparent, and ſpeaks for itſelf: It is well it does ſo, for no Gentleman has as yet thought fit to ſay any Thing for it; but as I neither can ſee this apparent Neceſſity, nor hear it ſpeak for itſelf, I muſt therefore as yet be for the Amendment propoſed.

Sir *W——m Y——ge*. The Queſtion now before us is, in my Opinion, Sir, ſo reaſonable, and the additional Expence, which the Hon. Gentleman who ſpoke laſt was pleaſed to call a great Sum, is, I think, ſo far otherwiſe, that I believe every Gentleman, when he heard the Motion made, was ſurpriſed at the Modeſty of the Demand, and could not but admire his Majeſty's Wiſdom, and the great Care he had of doing nothing that might be burdenſome to his People.

Gentlemen may, if they will, ſhut their Eyes, and not ſee that Object which ſtands before

fore them in the cleareſt Light, but the Neceſſity of what is now propoſed is to me as apparent as the Sun at Noon-day. Tho' we be not as yet any Way engaged in the War, yet no Man can anſwer for future Events, nor can we know what Reſolutions foreign Courts may hereafter come to; for this Reaſon we ought to be always well provided for our Defence againſt any ſudden Attempts; and we certainly ought to be better provided when our Neighbours are at War, than when they are in a profound Tranquillity: When they are at War, they always have Armies in the Field, and Fleets at Sea; they have many Pretences for marching their Armies wherever they have a Mind, and for fitting out what Fleets, and at what Places they think proper; with ſome of theſe they may come upon us at unawares, and when we think their War-like Preparations are deſigned againſt thoſe they are actually at War with; whereas, in Time of Peace, tho' they have Standing Armies, yet thoſe Armies are diſperſed and in Quarters, and if any Number ſhould be gathered together, and prepared for an Expedition, we would have a Right to demand the Reaſon for ſuch Preparations, and we could eaſily judge, whether or no they were, or could be, deſigned againſt us; as to their Fleet, it is the ſame, tho' in Time of Peace they have Ships of War, as well as other Ships, yet their Men of War are moſtly laid up in their Docks, and their other Ships employed in their proper Buſineſs, and if they ſhould begin to fit out a Fleet, and prepare for a naval Expedition, we would have a Right to demand whither they were deſigned, and could eaſily judge, whether or no they could be intended for an Invaſion upon us; in either of which Caſes, we would have Time to prepare for giving them a proper Reception: From hence it appears evident to me, that it is neceſſary for us to have both a greater Fleet at Sea, and a more numerous Army at Land, than our Neighbours are engaged in War, than we have Occaſion for when they are all in a profound Peace; and I cannot but think that the Augmentation propoſed is the leaſt that can be judged neceſſary.

As to the Conjectures, Sir, of what may be intended when Peace ſhall be again reſtored to *Europe*, I think no Gentleman now in this Houſe is any Way concerned in them, or obliged to give any Anſwer to what has been ſaid on that Subject: If what ought to be then done be not done, let thoſe who ſhall then have the Honour to adviſe the King anſwer for it; but a Suppoſition that they will not do their Duty, can be no Reaſon for us to refuſe doing our Duty. The Hon. Gentleman ſaid, he had heard no Body ſpeak, or give any Reaſon for the Neceſſity of the Augmentation; if it be ſo, I am ſure I have heard no Gentleman ſay any Thing againſt it; and therefore, ſince nothing has been ſaid of either Side of the Queſtion, let every Gentleman give his Vote, according to what his own Thoughts may ſuggeſt to him.

M——r of the R—lls. As I ſhall always ſhew a great Willingneſs in complying with any Demands which his Majeſty ſhall make, when I ſee they are requiſite for ſupporting the Honour and Intereſt of this Nation, ſo I ſhall always be extreamly cautious of agreeing to any Thing that may bring new Loads upon the People, unleſs when I plainly ſee an abſolute Neceſſity for it; and therefore, Sir, I cannot, for all I have yet ſeen or heard, agree to the preſent Motion. I am not ignorant of the State of Affairs abroad, but as we are not as yet any Way engaged in the Quarrel, I can ſee no Danger from any Power abroad, and therefore no Reaſon for our making any additional Proviſion for our Defence; for tho' we were really in ſome Danger, we have, in my Opinion, ſufficiently provided againſt it by the large Armament already voted for the Sea-Service, which, as it is our natural Defence, was chearfully, and unanimouſly agreed to: Nay, if we were to give ſome Aſſiſtance to ſome of the Powers engaged in the War, we may aſſiſt as effectually by our Fleet as by our Land Forces, and in ſuch Caſe I ſhould be for augmenting our naval Force rather than our Land Army.

The Hon. Gentleman who ſpoke laſt endeavoured to ſhew, that we ought to be better provided for our Defence, when our Neighbours are at War, than when they are in a profound Peace; but in my Opinion, if we are no Way engaged in the Quarrel, we have then leſs Occaſion to provide for our Defence, becauſe when our Neighbours are engaged againſt one another, they will be ſo far from doing any Thing that may diſoblige us, that we muſt then be courted by both Parties, if not for our Aſſiſtance, at leaſt for this, that we may obſerve an exact Neutrality; and to me it ſeems a Paradox to ſay, that any Nation will be the more ready to attack us, becauſe they are already deeply engaged againſt another Enemy. For this Reaſon I muſt conclude, we are in no Danger, till we come to a Reſolution to join one Side or other; then indeed we ought to provide for Offence, as well as Defence, and till then we ought to ſave as much as poſſible, that we may be able to execute our Reſolution, when taken, with the more Vigour.

Gentlemen talk of *France*, and of their great Armies in the Field, and their great Fleets at Sea; but I am ſure we can be at preſent under no Apprehenſions from them: That Nation has now Work enough on their Hands, in ſending two great Armies to different Parts of the World, and providing at the ſame Time for their own Security at home; and whatever Fleets they may have at Sea, they will have Occaſion for them elſewhere; nay,

nay, even tho' they had not, I doubt much if it be in their Power to ſend any ſuch Fleet to Sea as could give us juſt Cauſe of Fear; for when Gentlemen talk of Invaſions, I hope they do not think this Nation is to be conquered by 10 or 12000 Men; and unleſs they could ſend at once ſuch an Army as would be able to conquer the Nation, any leſſer Number would be ſo many Men thrown away; for our Fleet would not only prevent Succours from coming to them, but would likewiſe prevent thoſe who landed from making their Eſcape out of the Iſland.

But beſides its not being in the Power of *France* to attempt any Thing at preſent againſt us, I believe it is not in their Inclination: They certainly look upon us as their Allies, and have, I believe, good Reaſon for ſo doing. I ſhall not enter into a Diſquiſition of the many Engagements we are under to foreign Powers, but I am afraid they are ſuch, that whatever Meaſure we may purſue with Reſpect to the preſent War, it will not be eaſy to reconcile the Honour and Intereſt of this Nation: If our Intereſt ſhould call upon us to aſſiſt the Emperor and his Allies, I am afraid we muſt forfeit our Honour to *France* and her Allies; and if our Intereſt ſhould call upon us to aſſiſt *France* and *Spain*, we muſt equally forfeit our Honour to the Emperor; nay, if we ſhould obſerve an exact Neutrality, I am afraid both Parties would have ſome Grounds for accuſing us of a Breach of Faith: I ſhall not pretend to give Names or Epithets to any Meaſure, or to any Miniſter, but a Management which has brought the Honour and Intereſt of the Nation thus to claſh, I cannot applaud.

As the Deſign of propoſing the Amendment ſeems to be only in order to procure ſome Information, or ſome Reaſons for the Augmentation demanded, I muſt ſay, that if the Demand on one Side be thought ſo very modeſt, what is aſked on the other is fully as modeſt; and if nothing has been ſaid for or againſt the Augmentation, it certainly ought not to be complied with, for there is an eternal Reaſon againſt it; the People of *England* are not to be loaded with unneceſſary Charges: If this new Charge be unneceſſary, it ought not to be complied with, and if there be a Neceſſity for it, it ought to be ſhewn to this Houſe; the Parliament has as good a Right to have the Reaſons for any Demand from the Crown laid before them, nay, and a better too, in my Opinion, than the Crown has to expect their Compliance, without ſhewing them any Reaſons for their ſo doing; and therefore, till ſome Reaſons be offered for our complying with the Demand, I ſhall be for the Amendment.

Mr. S——r. I am heartily ſorry, Sir, I ſhould differ from the Hon. and Learned Gentleman over the Way, with whom I have always, till now, concurred in Queſtions of this Nature, and for whom I have the greateſt Eſteem. As I have always been one of thoſe who have appeared againſt keeping up numerous Standing Armies in Time of Peace, I think myſelf obliged to give my Reaſons before I give my Vote for the Augmentation propoſed; for tho' I never thought we ought to keep up a large Standing Army in Time of a profound Peace, yet when there is a War actually kindled in *Europe*, when our Neighbours are all making vaſt military Preparations, I muſt think we ought then to add a little to our Forces both by Sea and Land, not only for our own Security at home, but likewiſe to add to the Influence we may have, and ought to aſpire to, with all the Parties engaged in the War.

It is certain, Sir, if there were no Parties nor Diviſions among us, this Nation would have no Occaſion to be afraid of 10 or 12000 Men poured in by Surprize upon us; in ſuch Caſe I do not believe any Power in *Europe* would attempt to invade us with double the Number; but as there are Parties and Diviſions among us, and always will be, as long as we are a free People, 10 or 12000 Foreigners, joined by all the Power of the Diſaffected among ourſelves, might do us a great deal of Miſchief, if not overturn our preſent happy Eſtabliſhment, eſpecially if we had but a ſmall Number of Forces at home.

It is likewiſe certain, Sir, that none of the Powers engaged in the War will attack us, or do any Thing to diſoblige us as long as we remain quiet, and they are under no Apprehenſions of our being about to join with their Enemies. But when ſuch a general War is broke forth, when the united Forces of *France*, *Spain*, and *Sardinia*, are tearing the Emperor's Dominions in *Italy* aſunder, are we to be altogether unattentive? Are we to ſit entirely regardleſs of a War which may end in the total Over-throw of the Balance of Power in *Europe*? Surely, Sir, we are not; and if we ſhould reſolve to join either Party, or if either of them ſhould but ſuſpect ſuch a Thing, would not the Party againſt whom we ſhould reſolve to join, or who ſuſpected we were to come to ſuch a Reſolution; would not that Party, I ſay, attempt to make a ſudden Invaſion upon us? For tho' they could not perhaps expect immediate Succeſs, yet it might give ſuch a Diverſion to the Arms of this Nation, as might prevent its being in our Power to put a Stop to their ambitious Views, or to preſerve the Balance of Power in *Europe*.

In this Caſe, Sir, it is of no Weight to ſay, that, after we have come to ſuch a Reſolution, it will be Time enough to provide for our Defence; for, as I have ſaid, the Apprehenſions of our Neighbours may be ſufficient Cauſe for them to invade us, and thoſe Apprehenſions we can know nothing of till we feel the Effects of them; but even as to our own

own Reſolutions, they may happen to be diſcovered, as ſoon as taken, and as it requires a long Time to raiſe any Number of Land Forces, and to diſcipline the Men, it will be too late then to begin only to provide for our Security at home; we ought before we come to any ſuch Reſolution, at leaſt, to be ſecure at home; and then, after it is taken, we may with Eaſe provide for acting an offenſive Part.

Upon the whole, Sir, if any very large Augmentation had been now demanded, I ſhould not perhaps have given my Vote for complying with it, without having been a little better inform'd as to the Neceſſity of it; but the Augmentation now aſked is ſo ſmall, that I look on it as done chiefly with a View of ſhewing the World, that there is a good Harmony between his Majeſty and his Parliament, which, perhaps, ſome Powers abroad have been made to doubt of; and therefore I ſhall not only heartily comply with the Demand, but I wiſh no Sort of Unwillingneſs had been ſhewn by any Gentleman; for as nothing can give ſo great a Weight to the Counſels of this Nation among foreign Princes, as a ſtrict Union between the King and his Parliament, ſo nothing can give ſuch a Stab to our Influence abroad, as an Attempt to deſtroy that Union; and if *Great Britain* ſhould loſe all the Weight it has in the Scale of *Europe*, to what a paſs it might bring the Affairs of *Europe*, I ſhall leave to Gentlemen to judge.

In ſhort, Sir, thoſe who oppoſe an Army, as well when it becomes neceſſary, as when it was unneceſſary, I muſt ſuſpect of having ſome other Reaſons for their ſo doing, than thoſe they publickly avow. To me the Neceſſity of the Augmentation aſked appears ſufficiently evident, and therefore I am ready to give my Vote againſt the Amendment propoſed.

After him *T——s W——m*, Eſq; Member for *S——y* in *Suffolk*, ſpoke againſt the Augmentation. And then,

Sir *J——n S——t A——ns* ſaid: I cannot perſuade myſelf, Sir, to agree to the Motion as it now ſtands, becauſe I have, as yet, heard no Reaſon given for convincing me, that the Augmentation demanded is neceſſary; for tho' it be called but a ſmall Number, yet to me and to all thoſe who were laſt Year of Opinion, that the Number of Land Forces then voted was by much too large, the Augmentation muſt appear very conſiderable, as has been already obſerved. By the Arguments I had formerly heard, for continuing the Army, and thoſe I now hear for augmenting it, it appears to me, that ſome Gentlemen are of Opinion, that an Army of at leaſt 18,000 Men will always be neceſſary for the Support of our Government, and conſequently muſt become a Part of our Conſtitution; for when our Neighbours are all at Peace, we are told we muſt keep up at leaſt that Number of Troops, becauſe our Neighbours have nothing to do with their Troops elſewhere, and may therefore make a ſudden Invaſion upon us; and when any two of our Neighbours are at War with one another, which is the preſent Caſe, we are told, we muſt keep up a numerous Standing Army, becauſe our Neighbours have large Armies in the Field, and great Fleets at Sea, which they may turn ſuddenly againſt us.

I have, Sir, a very good Opinion of the *Engliſh* Soldiery, and when they have been properly employ'd, and kept in Action, they have always done great Honour to their Country; but an Army kept at home, in a State of Inaction, and wantoning in Lewdneſs and Luxury, till they have quite loſt the true Spirit of *Engliſhmen*, and are become fit to be made Slaves themſelves, may eaſily be perſuaded to make Slaves of their Fellow-Subjects; and therefore I ſhall always be againſt keeping up a numerous regular Army within this Iſland, let the Pretences be never ſo plauſible: Our Government has been ſupported for many Ages, without any ſuch Army, and even during the whole Courſe of the laſt two great Wars, there never was a greater Number of Forces kept at home than the additional Number now propoſed, above what I, as well as a great many other Gentlemen thought neceſſary laſt Year.

Gentlemen talk of Diviſions among us, and of its being neceſſary to prepare for our Defence before we come to any Reſolution; there may, Sir, be little Diviſions among us, but as long as his Majeſty enjoys the Affections of his People, thoſe Diviſions would immediately ceaſe upon the Approach of a foreign Enemy; we would then all unite in the Defence of our King and Country: And as to preparing for our Defence, half the Number of Troops we now have would be ſufficient to repel any ſmall Invaſion that could be ſuddenly brought upon us; and if any Deſign ſhould be formed to invade us with a great Number of Troops, would not they require a great Number of tranſport Ships? Could ſuch a naval Armament be prepared without our hearing of it? And have not we already voted a great naval Force, with which we might eaſily block up our Enemies in their own Harbour?

While the true Maxims of *Engliſh* Policy are purſued, neither his Majeſty, Sir, nor any of his Succeſſors, will ever have an Occaſion for Standing Armies; the King will always find a Security in the Hearts and Purſes of his People; but if ever a vicious Miniſter ſhall begin to act on other Maxims, Armies may then become neceſſary to ſkreen the Miniſter, or even to ſupport his Maſter; and ſuch a Miniſter may perhaps find a corrupt Parliament, ſlaviſhly complying with

with his moſt unreaſonable Demands: This may ſupport him for a while, but the Spirit of the People will be rouzed at laſt, and even that Army, in which he puts his whole Truſt, may probably join with the reſt of their Countrymen in taking Vengeance of the Man who attempted to enſlave his Country.

But as Standing Armies may be ſo model'd as to become Tools for tyrannical Power; therefore there is nothing a free People ought to be more cautious of; and as I can ſee no Neceſſity for the Augmentation, I cannot give my Conſent to the Propoſition. I do not, indeed, know our preſent Situation; but whatever it may be, if, by the Ignorance of him at the Helm, if by his ſhifting the Sails at every little Turn of the Wind, our Ship be brought into great Diſtreſs, and our Reckoning quite loſt, he ought in Juſtice and Modeſty to reſign the Helm; —— A general Council ought to be called, and every particular Circumſtance laid before them, that they may from thence learn how Affairs ſtand, ſo as to be able to judge how to put the Ship in a right Courſe.

C—l *C*——*y*, Member for *B*——*ny* in *Cornwall*, ſpoke next for the Augmentation: And then the Queſtion was put upon the Amendment, which, upon a Diviſion, was carried in the Negative 262 againſt 162.

After this, the Queſtion was put upon the firſt Motion, which was agreed to without a Diviſion, and then the two following Reſolutions were likewiſe agreed to, *viz.*

That a Sum not exceeding 647,429*l.* 11*s.* 3*d.* Halfpenny, be granted to his Majeſty, for defraying the Charge of the ſaid 17,704 Men for Guards, Garriſons, and other his Majeſty's Land Forces in *Great-Britain*, *Guernſey*, and *Jerſey*, for the Year 1734. And,

That a Sum not exceeding 203,996*l.* 17*s.* 3*d.* Halfpenny, be granted to his Majeſty, for maintaining his Majeſty's Forces and Garriſons in the Plantations, *Minorca*, and *Gibraltar*, and for Proviſions for the Garriſons at *Annapolis-Royal*, *Canſo*, *Placentia*, and *Gibraltar*, for the Year 1734.

DEBATE *on the Motion about the Officers of the Army.*

On *Feb.* 13. the Mutiny-Bill having been read a ſecond Time, and committed to a Committee of the whole Houſe, the Lord Viſc. *M*——*th*, ſtood up and ſpoke as follows;

Sir, tho' an Army be, as yet, no Part of our Conſtitution, yet we find the Parliament has of late Years thought proper to keep a much greater Number of Forces on Foot in this Kingdom than was known in former Times. 'Tis true, Sir, I have always been one of thoſe who thought a much leſs Number ſufficient; but a Majority of both Houſes have been of a contrary Opinion, being thereto induced, as I believe, ſometimes by treaſonable Conſpiracies at home, and at other times, by the Situation of our Affairs abroad, and the precarious State of the Affairs of *Europe* at the Time. This, Sir, has been our unfortunate Caſe, for many Years paſt, and it is to be feared, our Caſe for Years to come will not be much better; ſo that it is probable, the ſame Number of Forces, or perhaps a greater, may be thought neceſſary to be continued from Year to Year; and therefore, I think, it is the Buſineſs of Parliament to put our Army under ſuch Regulations as may be proper and neceſſary for the Security of our Conſtitution.

A numerous Standing Army, entirely under the Influence of the Crown, or of any one Man, has over-turned the Liberties of moſt Countries, and muſt always be dangerous to this; and tho' the Parliament have hitherto thought fit to conſent to the keeping up the Number we now have, yet it is well known what Fears and Apprehenſions that Meaſure has created in the Minds of the People, and therefore it is become neceſſary for us to think of ſome Regulation which may quiet their Minds, by ſecuring our Conſtitution as much as poſſible againſt the bad Conſequences uſually attending the keeping up of a Standing Army: This, Sir, may, I think, be effected in a great meaſure by making our Army not altogether ſo dependent on the Crown as they are at preſent; for the leſs dependent the Army is upon any one Man, the leſs dangerous they muſt be to the Liberties of their Country; and with this View I ſhall beg Leave to make a Motion, which will, I hope, meet with a general Approbation.

There is one Power, Sir, now enjoyed by the Crown, which muſt always be attended with the moſt dangerous Conſequences; I mean the arbitrary Power of removing the Officers of the Army at Pleaſure: At preſent, the Crown, or rather the Miniſters and Favourites of the Crown, may remove any Officer of the Army, without any Cauſe aſſigned, nay, even without ſo much as accuſing him of any Crime or Neglect in his military Capacity; and this Power muſt appear the more dangerous, when we conſider how many Gentlemen of the Army have Seats in this Houſe, as well as in the other Houſe of Parliament.

In all the other Countries of *Europe* which have any Pretences to Liberty, tho' perhaps none of them enjoy ſo much Freedom as we do, yet there are, by their Laws, ſome wiſe Proviſions made, with reſpect to their Armies: In *Holland* no Officer can be broke but by the Sentence of a Court Martial; and in *Sweden*, during the Reign of their laſt King, they were ſo ſenſible of the many inconveniences and great Danger of this abſolute Power

er, which their King had over the Army, that upon his Demise, they made a Law, that no Officer should thereafter be removed from his Commission, without the Consent of the Senate.

This must shew what Opinion all our Neighbours, who have any Regard for their Liberty, have of this arbitrary Power in the Crown; and as, I hope, there are no People on Earth who have a greater Regard to the Liberty of their Country, than the Gentlemen who now hear me, I shall therefore take up no more of your Time in opening this Affair, but shall take the Liberty to move, That Leave may be given to bring in a Bill for the better securing the Constitution, by preventing the Officers, not above the Rank of Colonels of Regiments, of such Land Forces as shall at any Time be allowed by Authority of Parliament, from being deprived of their Commissions, otherwise than by Judgment of a Court Martial to be held for that Purpose, or by Address of either House of Parliament.

Sir *J—n R--ſb-t.* Sir, the noble Lord, who has made you the Motion, has opened it in so full and clear a Manner, and has made it appear to me so reasonable, that I cannot help joining with his Lordship in the Motion. That a Standing Army is no Part of our Constitution, will not, I believe, be denied by any in this House, it being declared so by the Mutiny Bill, which we have just now read a second Time; but yet our Army has been kept up so many Years, and is likely to be kept up for so many Years to come, that it is high Time to provide some Antidote for that Evil which every Man so justly apprehends.

By the Mutiny Bill, Sir, it appears, that no common Soldier can be punished or dismissed as guilty of a Crime, 'till he be first tried and found guilty by a Court Martial; and that the Officers should be in a worse Situation, that they should be liable to be removed, as if guilty, without any Crime so much as alledged against them, or any Tryal or Sentence, appears to me so inconsistent, that I am surprised some Regulation in this Particular has not been made long ago.

The noble Lord took Notice, that there were, and, I believe, always will be a great many Officers of the Army who have Seats in Parliament; there are now above 40 who have Seats in this House, and tho' I have a great Opinion of their Honour, and do not doubt but that they will act with as much Integrity as any other Gentlemen in the House, yet as long as they are liable to be turned out of their Commissions at the Pleasure of a Minister, they may justly suspect that the Continuance of their Commissions may depend on their Behaviour in this House, and therefore they are more liable to a ministerial, or a Court Dependence, than other Members are; for which Reason I am sure, they cannot disapprove of a Proposition meant chiefly to set them on the same independent Foot that other Gentlemen are on, with respect to their Behaviour in this House: I cannot, indeed, apprehend, that a Proposition in itself so reasonable can meet with any Opposition, but if it should, I make no Doubt of having the Assistance of those Gentlemen of the Army who have the Honour to be Members of this House, in the Support of a Proposition designed for their Security, as well as for securing the Liberties of their Country; I am only afraid lest Modesty may make some of them withdraw: This I shall be sorry for; but I hope none of them will shew so much Self-denial as to oppose the Motion, only because it is for their private Interest to agree to it. I shall not, Sir, on this Occasion give the House any further Trouble; the Regulation proposed is so apparently reasonable and necessary, that I do not think it requires much to be said, either to explain or enforce it; and if any Objections should be started, I hope other Gentlemen will take Care to remove them; therefore I shall only second the Motion.

T——s Cl-tt--b--k, Esq; Member for *L--d* in *Cornwall*. Sir, notwithstanding what has been said by the noble Lord who made the Motion, and the Hon. Gentleman who seconded it, I cannot give my Concurrence. The noble Lord set out with saying, that a Standing Army is no Part of our Constitution: In this I'll agree with him; a Standing Army raised or kept up in Time of Peace without Consent of Parliament is against Law, and even with or without such Consent, it is no Part of our Constitution; God forbid it should ever become so: But the Parliament may sometimes find it necessary to keep up a Standing Army from Year to Year, for the Defence of our Constitution; and for this Purpose, the Parliament has of late Years consented to the keeping up of the Army, which some Gentlemen have, indeed, thought to consist of too great a Number, but I do not remember ever to have heard it so much as insinuated, that we ought not to have any regular Forces at all.

The Constitution of this Country is, Sir, the best I know or ever heard of; and therefore I shall always think that all that is incumbent on us, is to preserve and hand it down to those that shall come after us; but if there were any Fault or Flaw in it, the Proposition now made, would be so far from mending, that it would entirely sap and undermine it. It has always been the undoubted Prerogative of the Crown, to make and remove the Officers of the Army at Pleasure; this is a Part of our Constitution, and to invade the Prerogative, or wantonly to rob the Crown

of any Part of it, is an Invasion of our Constitution, which People ought to be very cautious of; for if we once begin to make Alterations or Innovations in our Constitution, it is not easy to tell, where it will end: If we once begin, we may be carried such Lengths, as may entirely subvert that Constitution which has rendered this Nation so rich and powerful, and makes us at present the happiest People on Earth.

While the Army continues, Sir, in its present Condition, while the Officers depend on the King for their Commissions, and the whole Army depends on Parliament for its Continuance and Pay, our Constitution cannot be subverted by Means of our Army, nor can we be in any Danger from any Number of Forces so kept up; but if this Proposition should take Place, it would make the Army dangerous to our Constitution; the Army would then become independent both of King and Parliament, and might soon make themselves Masters of both. An Officer may be guilty of many Crimes, which might give good and sufficient Reason to his Majesty to remove him, and yet those Crimes may be such as cannot properly be tryed by a Court Martial; for Example, Disaffection: His Majesty and all Mankind may be fully convinced of the Disaffection of an Officer, tho' it be impossible to prove that Disaffection to the Satisfaction of a Court Martial; and yet the Disaffection may be so flagrant, and so ready to break forth in some treasonable Act, that the Safety of the Government, the very Being of our Constitution, may depend upon the immediate Removal of that Officer; and as this Proposition, should it pass into a Law, would make such Officers the more bold and enterprising, the Consequences of their Disaffection, which could not then be immediately prevented, would be the more to be dreaded.

The noble Lord mentioned the Case of some of our neighbouring Countries, but I think, when we see other People more happy or free than ourselves, it is then Time enough to fly to other Countries to seek Examples for our Imitation: As to *Holland*, I cannot say I have lately considered their Constitution, and therefore I speak with Uncertainty; but I believe that, as to their Army, their Stadtholder has the same Power our King has; he may, I believe, remove the Officers of the Army at Pleasure, and for us to take from his Majesty that Power which all his Royal Predecessors have enjoyed, which even the States of *Holland* have trusted their supreme Magistrate with, would in my Opinion, appear very strange; especially since his Majesty has never once made an ill Use of that Power, nor done any Thing to deserve its being taken from him. In short, Sir, the Proposition now before us I take to be a most dangerous Innovation, if not a thorough Alteration of our Constitution, and therefore I cannot consent to it.

S——l S——y, Esq; I am much surprized, Sir, to hear the Hon. Gentleman who spoke last say, that this Proposition would sap and undermine our Constitution; for if a Standing Army be no Part of our Constitution, as he himself admitted, how can any Regulation, with Respect to our Army, sap and undermine, or indeed have any Thing to do with our Constitution? It is certain, our Army is not, as yet, any Part of our Constitution; but if a Standing Army be continued, for any Time to come, upon the same Footing it is at present, some future ambitious King, or criminal Prime Minister, may model it so as to make it not only a Part, but, under them, the Whole of our Constitution; the Officers and other Dependers on the Crown, may at last become so numerous in both Houses of Parliament, that they may come to be almost the only Persons to meet here, in order to make Laws and impose Taxes, and then to send their Orders to their inferior Officers and Substitutes, to execute those Laws, and levy those Taxes; and all this under the Direction of an ambitious Prince, or a wicked Minister, who may make a blind Submission to the most arbitrary Commands, the only Tenure by which they are to hold their Commissions, or even their Seats in Parliament; and in such Case I would gladly know, where we could find the Liberties and Privileges of *England*, or any other Constitution, but that of our King, his Ministers, and his Army. This Power, which our Kings are said always to have enjoyed, and which Gentlemen are so much afraid of the Crown's being robed of, is but a very new Prerogative; for a Standing Army is so far from being a Part of our Constitution, that till of late Years there never was any such Thing known in this Nation: Till the Revolution we never had any such Thing as a regular Standing Army; the Army that was raised at that Time, was raised to defend our Liberties and Properties, and to assist a Prince who came to rescue us from Slavery; as soon as the Danger was over, it was always understood, that the Army was to be disbanded, but the two heavy Wars we were successively engaged in, made it necessary to keep up a Standing Army, during the Reigns of that Prince and his Successor; and ever since that Time there have always been, I do not know how, some Pretences found to keep up a numerous Army, even in Times of the most profound Peace; so that we seem now to be so firmly saddled with it, that I am afraid few Gentlemen will live to see our present Army, or any Part of them, reduced. Before the Revolution, those Armies, by which we always

so bravely defended ourselves, which made us a Terror to our Enemies, were raised from among the People, upon the Approach of Danger; and as soon as that Danger was over, the Army was dismissed, and the Soldiers returned to their usual Labour and Industry; in those Days our Military Force did not entirely depend upon our Kings; the King, indeed, had the chief Command, but most of the other Commanders were such as were chosen by their respective Counties, or such as held their Commands by their Tenures, and could not be removed, without being legally found guilty of a Crime, no more than they could have been removed from their Free-holds: therefore when Gentlemen talk of the Prerogative of the Crown, which they say is to be invaded by this Proposition, they must be understood to mean, only that Prerogative, which has grown up since the Revolution.

The Prerogative has always been a very growing Part of our Constitution, and for this Reason our Ancestors have often been obliged to clip and pare it, otherwise all the Liberties and Privileges of the People would long ago have been swallowed up by it; and I believe it will be granted, that the Prerogative, even within these last 30 or 40 Years, has grown pretty considerably; I believe every Gentleman will admit, that the Power of the Crown is now infinitely greater than it was for some Years after the Revolution; and I wish these Gentlemen, who now seem so tender of invading what they call the Prerogative, would on other Occasions, appear as tender of invading the Liberties of the People; this, Sir, is what ought to be the principal Care of every Member of this House; the Crown stands in no Need of any Advocates here, because, by our Constitution, the Crown may put a Stop to any Encroachment upon the Prerogative, when the Encroachment is such as may not be thought necessary for the Preservation of the Liberties of the People.

The Gentleman talked, Sir, of Innovations and Alterations in our Constitution, as of something new and terrible; I do not know what he may mean by Innovations and Alterations, but I am sure our Constitution has seasonably met with many Amendments: Do not we know, that formerly the Crown not only named, but could remove the Judges, at Pleasure; and this arbitrary Power of Removing, with respect to the Judges, was formerly a Part of the Prerogative; but as great Inconveniences were felt from the Use that had been made of this Power, it was taken from the Crown, and the Judges, when once named by the Crown, were by Law made Judges for Life; this Law, when first made, was certainly intended to make them Judges for their own Lives; but even this Part of the Prerogative has begun again to grow; and the Judges themselves have been prevailed on to find out I do not know what Quirks and Evasions, whereby they seem now to have fixed their Right for the Life of another Person only; however, even as it stands now, the Prerogative has thereby been diminished, and whether this was to be called an Invasion, an Innovation, or an Alteration, I do not know, but I am sure, it was a very necessary Amendment, which has produced no Inconvenience, nor any way injured our Constitution; and why doing the same Thing, with respect to the Officers of the Army, should give such a terrible Alarm to some Gentlemen, as if our Constitution was thereby to be sapped and undermined, I cannot comprehend.

I will agree with the Hon. Gentleman in this, Sir, that our Constitution, in the general, is as good, if not better than that of any of our neighbouring Countries, yet in some Particulars some of them may have the Advantage of us, and in these we ought not to be ashamed to take Example from them, and from thence endeavour to improve and rectify our own; for political Constitutions, even of the best Sort, are like the Constitutions of human Bodies, they are apt to languish and decay, and often stand in need of Restoratives; even our own Constitution, good as it is, wants every now and then to be polished and restored to its primitive Lustre, and particularly that growing Part, the Prerogative, ought sometimes to have its cumbersome Branches lopped off, otherwise it may become too heavy for the principal Stock: This is what our Ancestors have often done, and this is what, I think, Sir, we may, in the present Case, do, without the least Danger.

The Hon. Gentleman took Notice of the Tryals by Court-martials, and said, there were many Things an Officer might be guilty of, for which he ought to be removed, and which, nevertheless, could not be properly tried, or, at least, not fully proved before a Court-martial; and he mentioned the Case of Disaffection: I cannot grant, Sir, that this Case can often happen, but allowing, that it might, it is fully provided against by the Motion which the noble Lord hath made: Does not the Parliament sit every Year? and, in Case of an Officer's being notoriously disaffected, is it to be doubted, but that the Parliament would address his Majesty to remove him? And there could be no Danger from the Delay, because his Majesty could, in the mean Time, suspend him, or even lay him under an Arrest, if it should be thought necessary.

C——l *B--d--n.* I can by no Means, Sir, give my Assent to the Proposition now before us, as it tends to the taking from the Crown a Prerogative which, not only by our Constitution, belongs to it, but has, by express Acts of Parliament been declared to be

ſolely in the Crown, for a Proof of which, I ſhall only deſire the two Militia-Acts paſſed in the 13th and 14th of King *Charles* II. to be read: *(Theſe Acts being read, he proceeded as follows.)* Whatever Gentlemen may ſay, Sir, about our antient Conſtitution, it appears, by theſe Acts, that the Senſe of Parliament then was, that the ſupreme Government of the Militia, and of all Forces by Sea and Land then was, and ever was the King's undoubted Right; and that the King might, at Pleaſure, commiſſionate or diſplace the Officers of the Militia; and therefore I muſt think, that if ever our Military Force was under any other Regulation, it was either not according to our Conſtitution, or was found to be ſo inconvenient, that it was ſoon altered: Gentlemen may, indeed, ſay, that theſe Acts concern only the Militia; but as our Militia was found to be of little or no Uſe after our Neighbours began all to keep up regular Standing Armies, therefore we were obliged to ſubſtitute in its Place, a regular Standing Army, and, conſequently, the ſame Power over that Standing Army, and the Officers of that Army, muſt be ſuppoſed to be veſted, by theſe Acts, in the King, as he is thereby declared to have had over the Militia and the Officers of it; and now to attempt to take away that Prerogative, when no wrong Uſe has lately been made of it, appears to me very extraordinary.

I have heard, Sir, that ſome Gentlemen are ſo much out of Humour with our preſent Government, and ſo tired of our preſent happy Eſtabliſhment, that they would do almoſt any Thing to get rid of it; they would, for that End, even agree to the making a thorough Change in our Conſtitution, by forming it into a Common-wealth; I could never, indeed, believe, there was any Truth in theſe Reports, or that there could be ſuch a Madman in this Nation: But ſhould this Motion take Place, if I could believe Gentlemen were really ſerious in it, I would no longer look on ſuch Reports as chimerical; for I never heard of any Motion which tended ſo directly towards a Common-wealth, as the preſent does, except ſome of thoſe famous Motions made in the Years 40 and 41; and I am perſuaded, if this Motion ſhould take Place, it would produce the ſame Conſequences.

What! to create an Army for Life, an Army independent of the King! ſure Gentlemen are not in earneſt, or they muſt have forgot the Confuſions, which were formerly produced by ſuch an Army. I thank God, Sir, I am none of thoſe who are tired of our preſent happy Eſtabliſhment: I think we enjoy our Liberties in their full Extent, and I ſhall never give my Conſent to a Propoſition, which would put it out of the King's Power to remove any, even of thoſe Officers who are appointed to guard his Royal Perſon, without the Conſent of the other Officers: It would be a difficult Matter to prevail with a Court-martial to puniſh or break an Officer, perhaps, for a Crime which every one of that Court-martial was himſelf guilty of. If the Gentlemen of the Army ſhould once be made to depend only on one another, they would ſoon be ſenſible of their own Power, and we do not know what Uſe they might be tempted to make of it. In ſhort, Sir, the Propoſition, in my Opinion, tends to nothing but Confuſion, and therefore I am heartily againſt it.

Sir *T——s R--b--ſ--n.* Sir, I cannot help expreſſing my Surprize at a Propoſition of this Nature; for tho' it has been talked of without-doors, for ſome Time paſt, yet I never could, till Yeſterday, believe, it would actually have been introduced here; becauſe it appears to me to be founded on a Suppoſition, that the ſame Number of Forces we now maintain is for ever to be entailed on our Poſterity.

Had a Propoſition of this Nature come hither from another Quarter, founded on the Perpetuity of the Army, it would have been thought highly unreaſonable; and if a Regulation, thus founded, ſhould paſs this Houſe, it may be made Uſe of hereafter as an Argument to continue the Army when there is no longer any Reaſon for it, and may be employed as a Means to interweave the civil with the military Power, and to make a military Eſtabliſhment a Part of our Conſtitution.

As this Queſtion has been ſtated, the Power of the King, and the Liberties of the People, ſeem to interfere, and therefore 'twill be very difficult to ſpeak in Favour of the one, without being liable to be repreſented as having a Deſign to depreſs the other; but as the Excellency of our Conſtitution conſiſts in preſerving a juſt Temperament between the King, Lords, and Commons, and the right ballancing the Power allotted to each, we ought not to attempt to diminiſh the Power of either in any Inſtance, unleſs by the Exerciſe of Power in that particular Caſe it be found, that that Branch of our Legiſlature is armed with a Strength diſproportionable to the other two; and therefore, before we take away from the Crown the Prerogative of diſplacing Officers, it ought firſt to be clearly demonſtrated, that the Influence the King has at preſent over the Army, is greater than is neceſſary for the Security of his Perſon and Government, or than is conſiſtent with the Liberties of the People.

The very Point now in Debate ſeems to be, whether the lopping off ſo great a Branch of Prerogative from the Crown, and transferring it to the Army, will not diſarm the Crown of a Power neceſſary to keep the Army ſteady to our preſent Eſtabliſhment; and whether by truſting it in the Hands of the Soldiers, we may not throw a greater Degree of in-

Independent Strength into the Army itself, than it ought to have.

Upon this Occasion, I cannot help reminding Gentlemen, what fatal Consequences attended that Law made in the Year 1641, whereby it was put out of the Power of the King to dissolve or prorogue the Parliament without their own Consent; if breaking the Balance of any of the three Powers in the Legislature, if the two Houses assuming an Independency not lawfully invested in them by our Constitution, was attended with so many Evils, what may we not dread, should we see the Officers of an Army not removeable, but by their own Consent? The History of the last Century fully shews us, what various Scenes of Confusion succeeded the fatal Statute I have just mentioned, and every one's Thoughts may suggest to him, what must be the natural Consequence of this, should it succeed.

If Gentlemen will recollect a little the *Roman* History, they will find, that whenever Military Governments of Provinces were given for Life, or for a certain Term of Years only, or even when the Army got the Privilege of chooſing their own Officers, the ſovereign Power came ſoon after to be lodged in the Army itſelf, and proved fatal to thoſe very Perſons who had acquieſced under theſe ill-judged Conceſſions; and I am afraid, if a Power ſhould be given our Army, that no Officer ſhall be put out, but by the Judgment and Conſent of the other Officers, the next natural Step for them to take will be, that none ſhall be put in or preferred, who have not their Recommendation; for Armies are of ſuch a Nature, that they either muſt obey, or will command. Numberleſs Examples might be produc'd in Support of what I have ſaid, both from antient and modern Hiſtory. But I ſhall not now enumerate Particulars, with which many other Gentlemen may be better acquainted than I am.

And that this has been the received Opinion of our Anceſtors, ſince Monarchy was known in this Iſland, becomes evident by reaſoning, that in all the Struggles they had with the Crown for Liberty; nay, even at the Time of the late Revolution, when every Thing was thought of by the Patriots of thoſe Days, for leſſening the royal Prerogative, ſo much was judged neceſſary for, or conſiſtent with the Preſervation of our Conſtitution, I do not remember to have read or heard, that there was ever Mention made of any Project of this Nature; and it is certain, if ſuch a Project had been in Force 50 Years ago, our Anceſtors in this Houſe would now have been ready to have regiſtered the Edicts preſcribed to them by the Army, than to have debated any Thing that might affect a Body of Men made formidable by their Independency.

I would aſk the Gentlemen, who are for this Propoſition, one plain Queſtion, Whether it be not abſolutely neceſſary, that either the military Power muſt be dependent on the Civil, or the Civil on the Military? If from the Nature of Things one be neceſſary, the Option cannot be difficult. Surely, Gentlemen on this Occaſion, do not recollect the Fate of their Predeceſſors in the Middle of the laſt Century, when the Parliament, by granting ſuch Conceſſions to the Army, made the Army ſoon hold them in Contempt, who had thus made the military Power independent of the civil Magiſtrate; I ſay, I muſt take it for granted, that this Part of our Hiſtory is entirely forgot, when I ſee a Queſtion moved, tending to give the Army that Independency of the State, which has formerly made, and in Proceſs of Time, muſt again make Parliaments uſeleſs; for I look upon Mankind in general as pretty near upon a Level in all Ages; very ſtrong Temptations will too often get the better of the very beſt Intentions, and like Cauſes will always produce like Effects.

In my Opinion, Sir, the great Danger to be guarded againſt in all Armies is, any Step that tends to raiſe them to a State of Independency; and therefore by the Wiſdom of the Legiſlature, our Army is ſo wiſely conſtituted, as not only to be dependent on the annual Votes of this Houſe for its Subſiſtence and Continuance, but alſo as to the Number it ſhall conſiſt of; then as to the Nomination of the Officers, it has always been lodged in the Crown, as 'tis highly proper it ſhould; they have always been left dependent on the King, whoſe Perſon they are obliged to defend, whoſe Government they are intended to ſupport.

Thus is our Army neceſſarily dependent in a double Capacity; the Whole is dependent on this Houſe, for its very Exiſtence; but the Officers, while the Army exiſts, are to depend on the King for their Commiſſions, otherwiſe how could he depend on their Fidelity, ſhould they be called forth to Action; for an Officer may be guilty of ſeveral Crimes which cannot be properly laid before a Court-martial, particularly Diſaffection, of which, tho' there be Proof ſufficient to make it indiſputable, yet the Proof may be of ſuch a Nature, as not to be proper to be laid before a Court-martial, or perhaps cannot be laid in ſuch a Manner, as to make it have its juſt Weight with Officers ſitting in Judgment on one of their own Fraternity.

Tho', therefore, in this Reſpect, our Army, as it receives its annual Support and Exiſtence from the Parliament, may be call'd a State Army (a Denomination an Hon. Gentleman has much inſiſted on) yet, I think, his Concluſions from thence are very ill grounded; for a State Army, as ſuch, does not in the leaſt imply a Neceſſity of the Officers holding their Employments for Life; on the contrary, it ſeems neceſſary in all Armies,

mies, they ſhould be ſubordinate to ſome other Power, that they may not defeat the Purpoſe for which they are maintained; for if they ſhould be thus made dependent only on themſelves, and independent of the three other Powers of the Legiſlature, it will, in my Opinion, be laying the Foundation of a 4th Power, a military one, which may, in Proceſs of Time, render uſeleſs the other three.

This leads me to conſider, in whom the Advocates for this Queſtion propoſe to lodge this Power, this important Branch of the Prerogative, which is to be lopp'd off from the Crown, if this military Scheme ſucceeds: As the Prerogative of the Crown is to be diminiſhed, one would naturally imagine the Power of the People was intended to be increaſed; but this, Sir, is not to be the Caſe, it is to be transferred from the Crown, not to the People, but to the Army, and lodged ſolely with the Officers themſelves, who, from that Moment, will be independent of the Crown, and in Time perhaps of all other Authority; for one of the great Reſtraints upon the Army is this very Prerogative the King has of diſplacing Officers who may be ſuſpected of bad Intentions: Give this Privilege to the Officers themſelves only, and what Security ſhall we then have for their future Behaviour: In ſhort, we ſhall then have raiſed a Power in Support of the preſent Eſtabliſhment, without having provided a Security againſt its attempting to overturn that very Eſtabliſhment; for thus, by removing this neceſſary Check upon the Army, a diſtant Time may come, when the Nation, with Reaſon, may be jealous of an Army, in whoſe Hands we ſhall have put a Power ſufficient to enable them to get the better both of King and Parliament, and to ſet up a new Conſtitution of their own; whereas, while the Army continues in the State it is at preſent, there is little Danger to be apprehended, even ſhould it have the Raſhneſs to attempt any Thing againſt either.

It has been urged by an Hon. Gentleman under the Gallery, that, as the Judges hold their Imployments for Life, we ought to convey the ſame Privileges to the Officers of the Army: In my Opinion, this is reaſoning on a very wrong Foundation, for, I think, no juſt Parallel can be drawn betwixt civil and military Officers in general, but certainly there is the wideſt Difference between thoſe who act in a judicial, and thoſe who act in a military Capacity; for the ſame State of Independence neceſſary to leave the Judge unbiaſſed in pronouncing Judgment, would tend to diſengage the Soldier from that Intereſt, to which he ought ſolely to be attached: A Judge ſhould be left free and unbiaſſed, that he may ſpeak what the Law ſpeaks, and diſtribute Juſtice impartially; but the very Nature of the Army requires the ſtricteſt Subordination in the Officers, without which, there can be no Diſcipline; the Soldier muſt be dependent, and muſt act in Subjection to the lawful Commands of thoſe, by whom he is maintained; nor can any Qualification make Amends for his Failure in this Particular.

There is beſides a particular Circumſtance, which makes it impoſſible to draw any juſt Parallel between the Judges and the Officers of the Army; the Judges not only determine between Subject and Subject, but are likewiſe to determine between the Crown and the People; if any Queſtion ariſes between the King and a Subject, they are to determine the Point in Diſpute, and therefore it is neceſſary they ſhould be made as independent as poſſible upon either of the Parties; but no ſuch Power was ever yet lodged in the Officers of the Army, and it is to be hoped never will; for tho' I have ſo great an Opinion of the Gentlemen who are at preſent in the Service, that I think any Power may be ſafely lodged in their Hands, yet, I believe, they neither deſire ſuch a Power, nor would they conſent to the giving of any ſuch to their Succeſſors.

But, Sir, the Propoſition now made to us would render the Officers of the Army full more independent, both upon our King and Government, than the Judges are at preſent: If a Judge be guilty of any Crime, or Neglect of Duty in the Execution of his Office, he is not to be tried by the other Judges only, he is to be try'd by a Jury, he is to have an open and a fair Tryal in *Weſtminſter-hall*, as the reſt of his Fellow-Subjects have; and if it were otherwiſe, if a Judge for any Miſbehaviour, were to be try'd in a private Way by his Brother Judges only, I ſhould think both our Lives, Liberties and Properties in greater Danger from them under ſuch a Regulation, than if they were ſtill dependent on the Crown for the Continuance of their Commiſſions; and it muſt be granted, that this laſt would be the Caſe of the Officers of the Army, if this Propoſition ſhould take Place; for they could be try'd by none, they could be puniſh'd by none but themſelves, and conſequently they would have no Dependence but upon one another; and without any Derogation to the Characters of thoſe who are now ſo worthily at the Head of the Law, or to thoſe who command in the Army, I believe every Perſon will allow, that the Fear of Puniſhment, and the Hopes of Reward, are equally neceſſary to keep moſt Men to their Duty, and of Courſe to make them uſeful to Society.

As another Reaſon in Support of this Propoſition, an Hon. Gentleman has recommended the Wiſdom of the *Swedes* to our Imitation, who, he ſays, have introduced this very Regulation in their Army; but this is ſo very late a Practice among them, that they cannot yet be proper Judges, how far 'twill anſwer

ſwer the Purpoſe for which 'twas introduced.

To be ſure, Sir, 'tis very commendable in thoſe who have ſpoke for this Queſtion; nay, it is the Duty every Man owes to his Country, to obſerve the Methods of Government uſed in other States, and adopt that which is founded on Wiſdom and true Policy into our own; but in all Attempts of this Kind, a ſtrict Regard is to be had to the particular Turn of our own Conſtitution; for what may be a neceſſary Step in one State, may prove the Deſtruction of another; and therefore, the bare Example of the *Swedes* ought not to influence us to take ſo extraordinary a Reſolution, unleſs the Nature of our own Conſtitution would juſtify it: If Gentlemen reaſon only from the Example of the *Swedes*, they may with the ſame Juſtice plead for a farther Introduction of their Laws; and as all foreign Affairs are tranſacted by their Senate, they may on the ſame Account expect, that the Management of all our foreign Negotiations ought to be ſubmitted ſolely to the Direction of this Houſe; they may likewiſe pretend to tranſplant other Cuſtoms prevalent in the Senate of *Sweden*, into our Parliament, which would quite alter the preſent Form of our Conſtitution, and introduce a new Species of Government into this Kingdom; for a King of *Sweden* has now hardly the Power of a Stadtholder of *Holland*, eſpecially with Reſpect to the Officers of the Army; none of whom he can even create or promote, without the Conſent of the Senate; their Government at preſent is indeed little more than a Commonwealth, ſo that few Things can be drawn from their Practice, as an Example fit for us to follow.

Before I conclude, Sir, give me Leave to remind Gentlemen, that our Hiſtories ſufficiently teach us this Truth, that our Liberties and Conſtitution are never in greater Danger, than when any one of the Branches of our Legiſlature graſps at any Power, which hath, by the Wiſdom of our Anceſtors, been appropriated to another; and therefore an unwarrantable Attack upon the Prerogative of the Crown, which may, indeed, be intended to extend the Liberties of the People, is in Reality the readieſt Way to bring them into Danger. I believe every impartial Perſon will acknowledge, that in our preſent happy Situation, we enjoy as much Liberty as is conſiſtent with that Subjection which is neceſſary for the Support of all Governments; and the ſureſt Way to continue this particular Bleſſing to ourſelves, and to perpetuate it to our Poſterity, is to reſt ſatisfied with what we enjoy, and not hazard what we already have, by aiming to extend the Liberties of the People to a Degree perhaps we ourſelves may be the firſt Perſons ſhall be ſenſible of the Inconvenience of: All Experiments therefore of reforming the Conſtitution muſt be hazardous, unleſs where the Event is clear and undiſputed: Tampering with the Laws, where our Liberties are concerned, hath often proved of dangerous Conſequence; and whenever we come to new-modelling the Conſtitution in any eſſential Point, unleſs where an apparent Neceſſity requires it, 'tis impoſſible to tell how far the Spirit of Reformation will proceed.

I beg Pardon for taking up ſo much of your Time: As I once had the Honour to be in the Service, and under a Gentleman whoſe good Nature and Affability muſt ever demand the Eſteem of all that know him, and who is as little deſirous of graſping at unreaſonable Power, as he is capable of miſapplying that he is already truſted with, I flatter myſelf, that during the Time I was under his Command, I learnt a little what the Nature of an Army is; and had I ſtill been in the Service, ſo far from retiring upon this Queſtion, as has been recommended to thoſe now in the Service, if Gentlemen ſhould divide upon it, which I ſhall not believe they intend, till I ſee it done, I ſay, had I ſtill been in the Service, I ſhould have been equally ſtrenuous againſt the Queſtion; as it has always been my Opinion, that the ſureſt Way to depend on any Set of Men for their acting right, is not to give them an unneceſſary Power or Temptation of doing wrong.

For theſe Reaſons I think myſelf obliged to uſe my Endeavours, that neither this, nor any other Propoſition of the like Nature, however popular they may appear, ſhall ever meet with Encouragement from this Houſe.

T——s W--nn--t--n, Eſq; I cannot, Sir, let this Queſtion go without declaring my Abhorrence to the Motion made to us: I really think it the moſt monſtrous Motion I ever heard ſince I had the Honour to ſit in Parliament. Gentlemen ſay, Sir, an Army is no Part of our Conſtitution, but if the Propoſition they have made ſhould take Place, the Whole of our Conſtitution would ſoon be at the Mercy of our Army. At preſent, Sir, the Officers depend on the King for their Commiſſions, and the Army itſelf upon Parliament for its Continuance, and its Pay; but if you ſhould once make the Officers independent of the Crown, and give them Sort of Freehold in their Commiſſions they would ſoon make both King and Parliament depend upon them. If both King and Parliament ſhould think it proper to make a Reduction of any Part of your Army, do you imagine that thoſe Gentlemen with their Swords in their Hands, would quietly lay them down, and retire to their reſpective Homes at our Deſire? No, Sir, they would then tell you, our Commiſſions are for Life, they are our Freehold, a Law of your own has made them ſo, and you ſhall not take them from us, unleſs we have been guilty of a Crime; if

if we have, let a Court-martial be called, let us be tried in that Way which is by Law preſcribed, and if we be found guilty, we'll ſubmit. This, Sir, we may reaſonably ſuppoſe, would be the Language of thoſe you had a Mind to reduce; and in ſuch a Caſe Gentlemen may eaſily gueſs what Redreſs the Nation could expect from a Court-martial.

The Liberties of *Rome*, Sir, were never deſtroyed till their Army was made an Army for Life; and even this Country loſt its Liberty by an Army: As ſoon as an Army was raiſed and made independent of the ſovereign Power, they overturned the Whole of our Conſtitution, they pulled a Predeceſſor of yours out of the Chair, and kicked the Members out of Doors; and ſhall we, Sir, eſtabliſh ſuch another Army? The Propoſition is ſurpriſing. I would rather lie under any Imputation, than that of having made ſuch a one to this Houſe: I am ſure it is very far from appearing to the noble Lord, who made it, in the ſame Light it does to me: I have, I think, a juſt Opinion of it; but if he had judged ſo, I am convinced he would never have offered it. However, ſince the Propoſition has been made, and as every Gentleman is at Liberty to treat any Propoſition according to that Light in which it appears to him, I muſt ſay, that I look on the Motion as monſtrous, abſurd, and ſlaviſh, and therefore I am heartily againſt it. If I have ſpoke with too much Warmth, I beg Pardon, Sir: I hope it will be aſcribed to my Zeal for our Conſtitution, and the preſent happy Eſtabliſhment, and not to any Want of Reſpect for the Gentlemen who ſeem to favour a Propoſition, which appears to me in a Light ſo very different from that in which, I believe, it appears to them.

Sir *J—n H——pe B——ce*, Member for *K——ſs*, &c. in *Scotland*. The Hon. Gentleman over the Way, Sir, has ſpoke with a great deal more Warmth than Decency, and has treated the Soldiery, both antient and modern, in a Manner which I think both ſcandalous and unjuſt. He ſpoke of the *Roman* Liberty, and pretended, the Loſs of it was owing to their Army's being made an Army for Life: I can remember nothing, Sir, of an Army for Life at *Rome*: Or that they ever had any ſuch Regulation in their Armies, even as his now propoſed, which is very far from eſtabliſhing an Army for Life: On the contrary, if they had had any ſuch Regulation, I believe it would not have been in the Power of their Generals, or Emperors, to have modelled and garbled their Armies ſo as to make them ſerve their vile Purpoſes; and if the Gentleman will read over the *Roman* Hiſtory, with Attention, he will find, that the Loſs of the *Roman* Liberty was, at firſt, more owing to Bribery and Corruption in their Elections, and in their Senate, than to their Army: It was by his Bribery and Corruption that all publick Virtue was deſtroyed in that Country, and when the Virtue of the Army, as well as the People, was deſtroyed, it became an eaſy Matter to make Tools of both, for the Support of arbitrary Power.

I have had the Honour to ſerve in our own Army, I have, likewiſe, Sir, ſerved in foreign Armies, and I think I know a little of the Nature of both: From thence it is that I judge, that no Army will allow themſelves to be turned againſt the Liberties of their Country, unleſs it be left in the Power of ſome ambitious Man to model them, ſo as to make them fit for his own wicked Purpoſes: It was this that made our Army in the laſt Century turn againſt the Parliament, which had raiſed them, and the Army will always be dangerous, as long as any ſuch Power is lodged in any one Man. I have the Honour, Sir, to be acquainted with many of the General Officers, as well as other Officers, in our own Army at preſent; I know their Merit, and I ſhall never fear any Thing from an Army under their Command; but if what has been once attempted ſhould ever be attempted again, if our Army ſhould be garbled, the Gentlemen now in Command turned out, and Fellows of mean Birth, or perhaps foreign Officers, put into their Places, we would have every Thing to fear from ſuch an Army, even tho' the Generality of the common Soldiers ſhould continue to be made up of our own Countrymen: And on this Occaſion I cannot but take Notice, Sir, of what I read t'other Day in a very judicious Author, who upon this very Subject ſays, that any Miniſter who adviſes the King to diſmiſs a good Officer, who has long and faithfully ſerved his King and Country, is guilty of the greateſt and blackeſt Act of Treaſon againſt his Prince; and therefore, Sir, to prevent as much as poſſible the Committing of any ſuch Treaſon in Time to come, I ſhall be for agreeing to the Propoſition.

H—gh W——ms, Member for *A——e*, ſpoke next againſt the Motion; and after him,

G——l *W——de*. The Gentlemen of the Army are certainly very much obliged to the noble Lord who made this Propoſition, and I doubt not but every one of us would be for it, if we thought it conſiſtent with the Good of our Country; for as it is natural for all Men to deſire to be independent, it is not to be doubted, but that the Officers of the Army deſire it as much as any other Set of Men; but whether it may not be dangerous to make ſo great an Alteration in our Conſtitution, is what principally weighs with me; and for my own Part, I ſhall always give up any private Advantage I may expect, rather than agree to any Meaſure which may in the leaſt endanger or hurt the Conſtitution, or the publick Intereſt of my Country.

Since

Since I have had the Honour, Sir, to sit in this House, I have always acted with the same Freedom, as if I had had no Commission, nor any Concern in the Army; and tho' I have generally joined in Opinion with those who were in the Administration, yet I have likewise on many Occasions differed from them. I remember when the famous *South-Sea* Scheme was in Agitation in this House, tho' it was brought in by a Minister, and strongly supported by those who were then at the Head of the Administration, yet I had the Honour to be one of the 55 who divided against it. It is true, Sir, I had on that Occasion Messages sent to me, and was threatened to be stripped of all my military Employments; but those Threats had no Weight with me, nor shall such Threats ever have any Weight with me in any Case where they come in Competition with my Duty as a Member of this House, as an Officer of the Army, or as a Subject of *Great Britain*; and, I hope, this is the Resolution of every Man who has the Honour to bear a Commission in the Army.

Gentlemen talk of Courts-Martial, and of his Majesty's having the Power to name the Officers who are to be upon them: His Majesty has indeed the Power of granting Warrants for the holding of Courts-Martial, as often, and in such Places as he shall please to appoint; I have myself a Warrant for holding Courts-Martial in *North Britain*, where I have the Honour at present to command; but I never did, nor does his Majesty ever name the Officers to be upon such Courts-Martial; that Service being performed by a Roll, as other Parts of Duty are, and I have often very great Difficulty to get a sufficient Number of Officers for holding those Courts-Martial; for sometimes 6 or 7 Captains, besides Subalterns, will be absent at one Time, and it is hardly possible now, in Time of Peace, to get them to attend their Duty, notwithstanding the great Power the Crown has over them; since then they are at present so negligent of their Duty, would they not be much more so, if they could not be dismissed for Neglect of Duty, but by a Sentence of a Court-Martial? If any of those Officers should be brought to be tryed for Neglect of Duty, by a Court-Martial, the Majority of which might perhaps consist of Officers who had themselves been guilty of the same, can Gentlemen imagine, that in such a Case, any Officer would be broke, or any Way punished by a Sentence of that Court-Martial?

In short, Sir, the Discipline of our Army is already in a very bad way, and I am afraid, if this Proposition should take Place, it would be entirely destroyed; for if it should pass into a Law, it would not only take away all Dependency upon the Crown, but it would destroy that Subordination of inferior Officers to their Superiors, which is absolutely necessary in all Armies; and without which, an Army would soon become an unruly Mob, instead of a regular and well-disciplined Army; therefore, Sir, I cannot but be against the Proposition.

G——es E——le, Esq; As this Proposition must tend to the establishing any Army with too great and too independent a Power, I must think it extreamly improper; and I must think that the Hon. Gentleman who spoke last has very justly observed, that it would destroy all Discipline, and would, I believe, introduce a general Licentiousness among the Officers; for there are many Irregularities an Officer may be guilty of, which could not well be brought before a Court-Martial, and if they were, the Irregularity might be so general, that it would be hard to get such a Court-Martial as would punish the Officer for a Crime which perhaps every one of themselves might be guilty of.

It is well known how many Complaints there are already, both against Officers and Soldiers, for Irregularities committed in their Quarters; even with all the Power his Majesty now has over the Army, it is very hard for those to whom he entrusts the chief Care and Management of it, to keep the Officers and Soldiers to their Duty, and to prevent their being now and then guilty of some little Acts of Oppression in their Quarters; but if this Proposition should pass into a Law, it would render the quartering of Soldiers most grievous to the People; one Officer would say, I have made my Quarters good, as they call it, another would do the same; this would encourage a Third, a Fourth, and so on, till the Practice became general; and if they were to be tryed and punished for this only by a Court-Martial, can Gentlemen imagine they would not acquit one another?

'Tis true, Sir, Officers may be removed, and have been removed without being guilty of any Crime; I was myself once removed, when I am sure they could not lay any Crime to my Charge; I was then sorry for it, but I was not for carrying my Resentment so far as to turn every Thing topsy turvy; yet there was at that Time more Ground for such a Proposition than at present; there has lately been no garbling or removing of any considerable Number of Officers, and therefore I cannot find out what could give Occasion for this Motion at this Time. Was not the great Duke of *Marlborough*, in the Midst of his glorious Success, removed from all Command in the Army? I believe no Man will accuse him of having ever been guilty of a Crime, or even of a Neglect of Duty. Was not the Man who was put in his Place justly suspected of having Designs against the present happy Establishment? nay, so justly was he

ſuſpected, that when the late King came over, he durſt not ſtand his Tryal, but took Guilt upon himſelf, and fled from the Juſtice of the Nation: Yet on that Occaſion there was no ſuch Propoſition as this made in Parliament.

I cannot, with the Hon. Gentleman who ſpoke laſt, think, that the Officers are much obliged to thoſe Gentlemen who appear in Favour of this Propoſition; on the contrary, I think, it is entertaining a very bad Opinion at leaſt of thoſe Officers, who ſit in this Houſe, to imagine, that they do not act with the ſame Integrity and Freedom that other Gentlemen do; I am ſure I ſhould not think, that any Man entertained a good Opinion of me, if he thought I could be induced, either by Threats or Rewards, to act contrary to my Duty in this Houſe.

There is not the leaſt Ground, Sir, for ſuſpecting any ſuch Thing of any Gentleman of the Army who ſits in this Houſe; and therefore I am not only againſt the Motion, but I hope it will be treated in ſuch a Manner as may prevent its being ever renewed.

W——m P——ney, Eſq; I cannot but obſerve, Sir, the unhandſome Manner in which ſome Gentlemen have treated the Motion now in your Hand, and the hard Names they have given it, ſuch as monſtrous, abſurd, ſlaviſh, and the like; I am ſure, Sir, neither the noble Lord who made the Motion, nor any of thoſe Gentlemen who have ſpoke in Support of it, can from their Conduct in this Houſe, or in any other Part of Life; from the Families they are come of, or the large Properties they poſſeſs, be the leaſt ſuſpected of entertaining any Notions of Slavery, or of making any Motion for deſtroying any Part, far leſs for undermining the whole of our Conſtitution: I will avoid retorting thoſe Names, or ſaying any Thing that may give Offence, tho' I am ſure I may do it with far more Juſtice upon thoſe Gentlemen, who have taken that Liberty with others.

The Hon. Gentleman behind me ſpoke of Officers making their Quarters good, which is a military Term I really do not underſtand, but I ſuppoſe it is doing ſomething they ought not to do, and yet ſomething, as that Gentleman ſeemed to inſinuate, which they are ſo apt to do, that there is no preventing it without keeping them in a ſlaviſh Sort of Dependency: He told us he was himſelf once removed, and that he was very ſorry for it; he was, 'tis true, once removed, and that he was ſorry for it is, I believe, what no body will doubt of; but I hope it was not for making his Quarters good, for tho' the Gentleman likes good Quarters, and knows as well when he is in ſuch as any Man, yet I am convinced, he is incapable of doing any Thing wrong, either for obtaining Quarters, or making them good: He likewiſe told us of the D. of *Marlborough*'s having been removed; I believe no Man will ſay it was a right Step to remove that great General, but it has no Relation to the Queſtion before us; becauſe, if I underſtood the noble Lord's Motion right, the Power of removing Generals from their Command as Generals is to remain in the Crown, as much unlimited as ever it was before; and it muſt be granted, that the Removal of that great Man, and the many other Removals that followed, if they have any Relation to the preſent Queſtion, are ſtrong Arguments in its Favour; for, I believe, every Man who wiſhed well to the Conſtitution, would have wiſhed that ſuch a Law had been in being at that Time; and indeed all the other Arguments I have heard againſt the Propoſition, are much ſtronger Arguments for it than they are againſt it.

Gentlemen talk, Sir, of invading the Prerogative, as if it were a moſt heinous Thing, to leſſen, in any Reſpect, what they call the Prerogative; but this has been already anſwered by a worthy Gentleman over the Way; he juſtly ſaid, that the Prerogative has been growing ever ſince the Revolution, and it is certain that it is daily gaining Ground both in this Houſe and the other. The Power of the Crown is what every Member of this Houſe, as well as the other, ought always to be jealous of; for what by Creations and Tranſlations, it may, at laſt, grow ſo great as entirely to over-turn that Balance on which our Conſtitution depends: And it is well known, that the Prerogative now in Diſpute, is of a very ſhort Standing; even the Prerogative as to the Militia has been aſſumed but of late Years; and tho' the Power of the King, as to the Militia, be very fully and explicitly declared in the two Acts an Hon. Gentleman read to us, yet I hope, that neither he nor his Friends will recommend all the Proceedings of the Parliament, in which thoſe Acts were paſſed, as proper Patterns for us to imitate, nor will he deſire, that we ſhould now approve of every Thing that was done at that Time in Parliament: Beſides, Sir, there is a very great Difference between the Officers of a Standing Army, and thoſe of the Militia; the firſt is both an honourable and a beneficial Employment, the laſt is become of late Years not very honourable, and I am ſure it cannot by Law be made a beneficial Employment; ſo that the arbitrary Diſpoſal of Commiſſions in the Army, may be of much more fatal Conſequence, than the arbitrary Diſpoſal of Commiſſions in the Militia.

Gentlemen, Sir, have aſked us, Will you make the Officers of the Army independent? Will you give them their Commiſſions in the Nature of a Freehold? No, Sir, by the Propoſition now made to us, they are to depend upon King and Parliament as much as ever they did before upon the King ſingly: His Majeſty

Majeſty is ſtill to have the Power of preferring them; and his Majeſty, with the Aſſiſtance of either Houſe of Parliament, is ſtill to have the Power of removing any one, or any Number of them, without any Reaſon or Cauſe aſſigned: This is very far from making them independent: But ſuppoſe they were to be made independent both of King and Parliament, has the Parliament and People, ſupported by the King, more to dread from ſuch an Army, than the Parliament and People have to dread from an ambitious King, ſupported by an Army which, by this Power of removing and preferring, he has made entirely dependent on himſelf alone? An Officer who depends upon nothing but the Laws of his Country, is engaged in Intereſt, as well as Honour, to ſupport thoſe Laws, as the Tenure by which he holds his Commiſſion; but an Officer who depends entirely upon the abſolute Will of one Man, be he King, or be he Chief-general, is a Tenant at Will, and is in Intereſt, at leaſt, engaged to ſubmit to the Will of his Lord in every Thing: It was this that made the Army ſo pernicious about the Middle of the laſt Century, they had become entirely dependent upon their General, and then their General made what Uſe of them he had a Mind; and it was a Neglect of this Maxim which ſaved our Conſtitution towards the End of the ſame Century, becauſe our King then began to break thro' the Conſtitution, before he had taken Care to make the Army entirely dependent on himſelf alone: If that King had taken Care of the laſt before he had attempted the firſt, the Nation would now have been groaning under Popery, Slavery, and arbitrary Power; it was a moſt remarkable Providence, a moſt remarkable Fatality in the Counſels of our Oppreſſors, that ſaved the Nation at that Time; but if we do not by our own Wiſdom and our own Conduct prevent it for the future, I muſt ſay, we deſerve the moſt heavy Chains that were ever laid upon any People.

It is not intended, Sir, by the Propoſition, to give the Officers a Freehold in their Commiſſions, but if it were, can it be ſaid, it would be unjuſt? Have not many of them purchaſed their Commiſſions at a very high Price? Perhaps with the Whole of what they had in the World; and would it not be the Height of Injuſtice, that ſuch Gentlemen ſhould be turned a-driſt, at the Pleaſure of a Miniſter of State? Have not many of them bought their Commiſſions by long Services, by much Blood, and many Wounds? Is not this a Purchaſe much more honourable, than that of giving a few Guineas for a Piece of Land? And muſt the Officer be turned out of his only Subſiſtence to pleaſe a peeviſh Miniſter, whilſt the Land-Purchaſer, who perhaps robbed his Country in order to purchaſe that Land, is protected by the Laws in the Poſſeſſion of his ill-gotten Purchaſe? Is this Juſtice, Sir? Or is it a ſhewing due Reſpect to thoſe who have boldly and faithfully ſerved their Country? But there is this further Hardſhip, Sir, the Officer who is turned out, not only loſes his Bread, but his Honour may ſuffer into the Bargain; for if it is not very publickly known for what he was turned out, the malicious World may be apt to ſuſpect, he was diſcarded for ſome very heinous and diſhonourable Crime.

Some Gentlemen have already taken Notice, that there are a great many Officers of the Army who have now Seats in Parliament, and while they are allowed to ſit in this, or in either Houſe of Parliament, it is to be wiſhed, that they were put upon the ſame independent Footing with other Gentlemen: I do not in the leaſt ſuſpect the Virtue of thoſe who at preſent ſit in either Houſe: Their Virtue is, I find, what thoſe who oppoſe the Queſtion would gladly lug into the Debate; but as neither their Virtue nor Honour has any Thing to do in the Queſtion, I may freely ſay, that when Gentlemen either now or hereafter have their Whole at Stake, and ſee by the Example of others the Danger of contradicting an inſolent Miniſter in any the moſt wicked of his Meaſures, it is putting their Virtue to too great a Tryal, it is more than human Frailty can well ſupport; and I am ſure he muſt be very little acquainted with the Nature of Mankind, who thinks that the Conſtitution, and the Happineſs of his Country, may ſafely depend on the Event of ſuch a Tryal.

The Hon. Gentleman over the Way, who is in the Army, and who, I am ſure, has acted with as much Honour in this Houſe as any Gentleman in it, has given us one of the moſt unanſwerable Arguments that the Art of Man could invent, in Favour of the Propoſition now before us: He has told us, that when he oppoſed a Scheme which he thought a moſt pernicious one, and which afterwards moſt effectually proved ſo, he was ſent to, and threatned with the Loſs of all his Employments in the Army, becauſe that Scheme was brought in and ſupported by a Miniſter: He had, 'tis true, Virtue to withſtand thoſe Threats, but it cannot be ſuppoſed that every Man has the ſame Virtue; and what he has now told us is an evident Demonſtration, that this pretended Prerogative of removing Officers, at Pleaſure, may by a Miniſter be made uſe of to obtain the Approbation of Parliament to the moſt deſtructive Schemes he can invent.

We know, Sir, that the late King *William* was once applied to by ſome of the Miniſters, to remove an Officer of his Army, becauſe of a Vote he had given in this Houſe: But that Prince, like a great and a wiſe King, anſwered, I ſuppoſe the Gentleman voted according to what appeared juſt and right to him at

the Time; I know him to be a brave and a good Officer, and one who has always done his Duty in his military Capacity; I have nothing to do with his Behaviour in Parliament, and therefore I will not remove him. His late Majesty was so sensible of the Necessity of what is now proposed, that he approved of a Bill of this very Nature; the Bill was actually drawn up, and was to have been brought into the other House by the late Earl of *Stanhope*: This I know to be true, I do not know how it was prevented, but I know that his late Majesty chearfully gave his Consent for the bringing it into Parliament.

The Hon. Gentleman who spoke last said, that those who are for the present Question used the Officers ill, but I leave it to the impartial World, I leave it to the Officers themselves, to judge, which Side uses them worst: Those who say they ought to be secured against the Resentment of a tyrannical Minister, or those who tell us, you are to expect no Justice from Officers sitting in a Court-Martial, notwithstanding their being sworn to do the same Justice, and to try with the same Impartiality, that Judges and Juries ought, and are supposed to do: You are not to trust to Officers, they will certainly combine together, and destroy your Constitution; there is nothing can keep them honest or faithful to their Country, but keeping them in a slavish Dependence upon the Crown. Has not this, Sir, been the whole Language of those who have hitherto opposed this Question? and I do not doubt but the Officers of the Army will judge of the Argument as they ought to do.

I have spoke, Sir, much earlier in this Debate than I intended, and I must say, that I had but very little Room from any Thing that has been said against the Proposition, to have taken up so much of your Time; but I find some Gentlemen do not incline to speak to the Question; however, if they do not, if no better Reasons be given against it, than what have been already given, I am perswaded the Fate of the Question must be very different from what they expect.

[*The Rest of this Debate, and the other Proceedings in Parliament to be continued, in our Next.*]

A View of the Weekly ESSAYS *and* DISPUTES *in this Month.*

Craftsman, July 6. N° 418.

Farther Remarks on the late Elections, *and the* Sense of the People. *(See p. 310.)*

WHENEVER the *Court-Writers* are defeated in an Argument, they resort to the *facular Arm*; and, having sous'd themselves over Head and Ears in Absurdities, they call upon their *Patron* to defend them. This is a very odd Way of deciding Controversies, and was intirely unknown to the antient Logicians. I can compare it to nothing but a Man's challenging out another to fight him, and taking Care to have a Friend behind an Hedge with a Blunderbuss in his Hand, to secure him against all Events.

We have an Example of this now before our Eyes; for these *modest Scribes* having begun to triumph on their Success in the *late Elections*, and asserted very dogmatically that the *Sense of the People* had declared itself on their Side; we thought it incumbent on us (says *D'Anvers*) to examine that Matter; and have, I think, proved the contrary. Nay, our Arguments have had so much Force on *these Gentlemen* themselves, that they are manifestly sick of the Enquiry, and endeavour to get rid of it, by roaring out again for *Prosecutions*. But we shall pursue our Design, in Contempt of all such mean Arts, and compleat the Explanation of a Subject, which is of the utmost Importance to the whole Nation at this Time.

I shall not however throw away any Remarks on that numerous Fry of Scribblers, who are quartered in most of the common Papers; and are very scurrilous for no other Reason than because they find themselves beneath our Notice. Let them rail on, without Interruption; for I fly at a much nobler Game, and have the Honour to be engaged, at present, with *two famous Champions in the same Cause*, who are not only in the Pay, but the Confidence of their *Patron*. Every Body will perceive that I mean the learned Madam *Osborne*, and the polite *Francis Walsingham*, Esq; *This illustrious Pair of Writers*, to whom I shall always pay the greatest Deference, are pleased to be very angry with me for my late Discourses, and even to call me very *hard Names*. As for my *good old Granny*, I am not much surprized at her; because I know *old Women* are apt to be froward, and impatient of Contradiction; especially, when they happen to be in the Wrong. But the *young 'Squire* is known to be so fine and well-bred a Gentleman, that I cannot help wondering at some Expressions, which have lately fallen from his Pen, without any Provocation; for I will leave the World to judge whether I did not treat him with the utmost Decency and Respect even in that very Paper, which hath put him into so much Wrath. (See p. 312.) I have observed, indeed, that all

all our *great Men* are grown very tender and touchy of late. Perhaps, ſomething may gall them more than ordinary. If ſo, I can only pity them, and promiſe that whenever I find myſelf obliged to differ from them in Sentiments, I ſhall do it in ſuch a Manner as becomes a *private Man* towards his *Superiors*.

This muſt be my Apology for the following Remarks on the *two great Writers*. I ſhall therefore proceed to the Point; and, for the Sake of good Manners, will begin with the *Lady*.

When this Diſpute was firſt ſtarted, the Queſtion was, *on which Side the* Senſe of the People *had declared itſelf at the late Elections*; that is, for the *Court*, or the *Country Party*. Mrs. *Oſborne* and her *Confederates* aſcribed it to the *former*, from a Computation of the *Returns*; which would have been proper enough, if the Point in Debate had turn'd upon the *Majority within Doors*; but it is very little to the Purpoſe in our preſent Diſpute, concerning the *Senſe of the People without*. To ſet this Affair in a clear Light, I made a Diſtinction between the *Members for little Boroughs*, and the *Knights of the Shires*; for tho' our Conſtitution hath given the *former* as good a Right to ſit in Parliament as the *latter*, it does not follow that they are equally *Repreſentatives of the* People; or, to ſpeak more exactly, the *Senſe of the People* cannot be ſo truly collected from the *Perſons*, whom they chuſe. Will any Man, for Inſtance, pretend to affirm that we may form as good a Judgment of the *Senſe of the People of* Wiltſhire, from the Choice of Members for *Old Sarum*, and ſeveral other Boroughs in *that County*, as from the Election of *Knights of the Shire?* The ſame Queſtion may be aſked, with Reſpect to moſt other Counties, which abound with *little Boroughs*; eſpecially on the Sea-Coaſts. Mrs. *Oſborne* therefore had nothing to do, in this Caſe, but to abuſe the *Freeholders of England* in a Lump; which ſhe hath done very liberally, as well as the *Country Gentlemen* and *Clergymen*, with but very little Diſcrimination; for ſhe compliments the *firſt* with the Appellation of *gaping, Country-Fellows, who are almoſt as ignorant of all political Knowledge as the* Beaſts *they ride on*; *nor are their* ſeveral Leaders, ſays ſhe, *very much above them*. In another Place, they are called *the Mob, with oaken Boughs in their Hats, and* no Ideas *in their Heads*; and juſt afterwards they are called *a Parcel of ignorant Fellows, drunk with* Sounds, Brandy, *and* old Beer.—What a fine Character hath our Authoreſs here drawn of the *Country Gentlemen, Clergymen*, and *Britiſh Freeholders*; and how exactly doth it agree with the late pathetick Addreſſes to them, from the ſame Quarter, in Favour of the *Salt-Tax* and the *Exciſe?* But of all theſe candid Reflections on the *Freeholders*, I wonder how Mrs. *Oſborne* came to think of charging them with *Want of* Ideas; ſince ſhe cannot forget that a *certain old Gentlewoman* of her Acquaintance lies under the ſame Imputation herſelf; and that her whole Stock of *Ideas* never amounted to above the Number *Fifteen*; (Vol. II. p. 8.) tho' ſhe hath had the Advantage of enlightening her Mind in this *learned Town*, for ſeveral Years, and *improving her natural Underſtanding by* Reading *and* general Converſation; which have render'd her, according to her own modeſt Account, ſo *agreeable a Companion*. (See Vol. I. p. 70 B.)

Having thus proved the Incapacity of all People in the *Country* to judge of Politicks, ſhe draws the following Inference. *'Tis no Wonder therefore that the* gaping Country Fellows, *whoſe Minds are a* meer Blank, *or* abſolute Void, *ſhould greedily ſwallow all the political Scandal, retail'd to them by their* Jacobite Leaders *from the* Craftſman *and other Papers.*— This is an home Thruſt upon us, and hardly to be parry'd. I ſhall only obſerve that ſince Mrs. *Oſborne* hath diſcovered ſuch an *abſolute Vacuum* in all *rural Minds*, it ſeems very aſtoniſhing that they ſhould not be as ſuſceptible of thoſe wholeſome Doctrines, which are ſo regularly convey'd to them by *miniſterial Authority*, as of the *political Scandal retailed to them in the* Craftſman *and other Papers.*— But to proceed;

If the *Senſe of the People* is to be determin'd only by *Men of Senſe*, according to Mrs. *Oſborne*'s identical Way of Reaſoning, I am afraid this will occaſion new Diſputes; for tho' every Man is apt to be *wiſe in his own Conceit*, very few are ſo in the Opinion of others; ſo that I cannot ſee how this Point can be decided, without a *general Scrutiny* into *the Intellects of the Nation*; which would, I dare ſay, take up more Time than even the *Yorkſhire Scrutiny* itſelf, and perhaps leave us in the Dark at laſt.

Our *good Mother*, indeed, hath pointed out a Method, which would ſoon put an End to this Diſpute, and may be properly called *a ſhort Way with the* Malecontents; for ſhe hath not only excluded all the *Bumkinly Country Gentlemen, Clergy and Freeholders* out of her Commonwealth, but likewiſe all *Papiſts, Jacobites, Tories*, and *Whigs run mad*; that is, all *Whigs*, who have not the Grace to diſcover and applaud the excellent Conduct of her *Patron*; ſo that no Perſons ought to determine the *Senſe of the People*, but *Placemen, Penſioners, Hopers*, and other Dependents, of what Kind ſoever, on *Men in Power*.

This is new Doctrine to me; for I always thought the Word *People* comprehended every Individual in the whole Kingdom, from the higheſt to the loweſt; and tho' the Wiſdom of the Legiſlature have thought fit to confine the Election of Parliament Men to the *Freeholders, Citizens* and *Burgeſſes*, for the Sake of

of Convenience and publick Quiet, I never apprehended that the reſt of the Nation were excluded from all Concern about publick Affairs. There are Multitudes of People, who have large Properties in the *Funds*, or *other Securities*, which give them no Right to vote for any *County*, *City*, or *Borough*; but will Mrs. *Oſborne* pretend to ſay that they have nothing to do in Matters of Government, or that their Sentiments ought not to be regarded? Q. *Elizabeth*'s *Miniſter* was of another Opinion, if we may give Credit to the *Spectator*, who tells us, *that he had all Manner of* Books *and* Ballads *brought to him, and took great Notice how they were received by the People; upon which he would, and certainly very well might, judge of their preſent Diſpoſitions, and the moſt proper Way of applying them according to his own Purpoſes.*

Mr. *Rapin* ſeems to be of the ſame Opinion with this *old-faſhioned Miniſter*; for, in his Account of the Reign of *Richard* II. he makes the following Obſervation, which I verily believe he did not intend for a Libel on the preſent Times. *For ſome Time*, ſays he, 5 *or* 600 Perſons, *who compoſed the* Parliament, *and* ſome Hundreds of Magiſtrates *in the Towns and Counties may ſeem to make the Body of the Nation, and the* Reſt *be reckoned as nothing; but the Time comes, when* every ſingle Perſon *muſt be taken into the Account; and then the Number of thoſe, who are in* Places, *is infinitely ſmall, in Compariſon of the reſt of the Nation.*

Fog's Journal, July 6. N° 296.

The following Epiſtle (ſays Fog*) comes from my ingenious Friend and Correſpondent* Timothy Scrub *of* Rag-Fair, *Eſq; and is addreſſed to the worthy Electors of the little* Corniſh *and* Devonſhire *Boroughs, &c. and to all thoſe who have been wiſe enough to make Money of their Votes in the late Elections.*

Friends, Brethren, and Countrymen.

HAVING recovered from thoſe enthuſiaſtick Notions, which have long made me run counter to my Intereſt, (ſee p. 251.) tho' I acknowledge I have not the leaſt Concern for any individual *Engliſhman* but myſelf, yet I cannot but congratulate ye upon your laudable and ſteady Contempt for Poſterity, and your prudent Attachment to your preſent private Intereſt, which has been ſo viſible in the late Elections, eſpecially in the Boroughs. It is now with ſingular Pleaſure, that I look upon the Diſappointment of *Fog* and the *Craftſman*, who have vainly ſweated for Years paſt, to introduce the romantick and ſtupid Principles of the Antients among us; but your good Senſe has baffled all their Endeavours; and they have the Mortification to find, that the Number of Converts to publick Spirit, is not equal to that, which Self-Intereſt has drawn off from Patriotiſm. But what Man of cool Reaſon does not perceive, that publick Spirit is the Effect of either Phrenzy or Vanity, or, which is the ſame Thing, egregious Folly? I allow the People have ever been laviſh in their Encomiums on ſuch Fools, who have been knocked on the Head, or have ruined their Fortunes for their Country's Service; but does not every Man of Senſe perceive the Reaſon of this? could any Reward be cheaper? or could they take any Method more effectual to work on the Vanity of weak miſtaken Men, and puſh them on to the moſt imminent Dangers for the Defence of theſe worthy *Paymaſters*? It is plain that this Method of rewarding broken Bones, with *Wind*, had its deſired Effects, and Numbers were fooliſh enough to prefer a *popular Applauſe* to a whole Skin, and the Character of having clean *Hands* to the Advantage of *Peculation*. For and the *Craftſman* have ſo mean an Opinion of you, O my Countrymen, as to imagine that the Examples of a *Regulus*, a *Scævola*, and other Madmen, might work you up to the Imitation of their Follies; but your Judgment is too ſtrong, your Underſtanding too good, not to perceive that Vanity was the Foundation of this Heroiſm, ever attended with ſome Detriment, and very often with the Deſtruction of the Hero. What did *Regulus* get? Why, a Name: And what was he the better? Nothing. Whereas the Man, who inſtead of ſacrificing himſelf for the Publick, makes a Sacrifice of his Country's Intereſt to his own, obtains a ſolid Good, and tho' ſome weak, and ſome diſappointed Men may rail at him, it does not embitter the Pleaſure, which Affluence and the Proſpect of raiſing his Family hourly afford him. *Peculation*, like Virtue, is its own Reward; and Hiſtory proves, that many noble Families, in *France*, *Spain*, &c. at this Day adorned with ſhining Titles, poſſeſſed of princely Fortunes, might have continued in Obſcurity had not the prudent *Peculation* of their Founders reſcued them from Contempt. The Malice of their Oppoſers is bury'd with them, but the Advantage of their Prudence ſurvives to their Families. Who now reproaches any of the Deſcendants or Relations of a *Richelieu*, a *Louvois*, a *Mazarine*, an *Olivarez*, &c. who is not ſtruck with the Splendour of their high Titles and Appearances?

We have among us an old Saying, that who ſerves the Publick, ſerves Nobody: Is it not then a Folly to forego our own Intereſt, to neglect the Opportunity of building up a noble Houſe, of introducing our Children into the State, by making them hereditary Senators, of having it in our Power to raiſe our Friends and Kindred, to ſtrengthen our

reſt, by Alliances with the nobleſt Famies; is it not, I ſay, a Folly to ſpurn from those Advantages for *Nobody*; muſt not hat Man be fit for *Bedlam*, who would loſe ſe Bleſſings for the Applauſe of a giddy oughtleſs Populace, or of an Hiſtorian as in as the Heroes he admires? If any of the ſcendants of *Walſingham* are in Being, are ey diſtinguiſhed by a particular Reſpect paid em on the Score of their abſtemious Anſtor? In what are they the better for his mantick Virtue, which ſunk him into ch Poverty, that he was buried by Stealth, prevent the arreſting of his Corpſe?

I confeſs, I was once ſo far intoxicated th the Rants of theſe Patriots, that I glod in my Wants, was proud of my Rags, d fancy'd that my Garret raiſed me above moſt flouriſhing of my Name in Poſt. I a real Martyr to a publick Spirit, and w'd ſuch a paſſive Courage, that I d out againſt the inceſſant Attacks of d and Hunger; but my compaſſionate s have, by contemplating your Conduct, ſearching into the true Motives of that, Patriotiſm, open'd my Eyes to my own y, and to your Prudence.

What is it to us if the ſpringing Genera is under a limited or deſpotick Governnt? Why ſhould we be the Victims of a we ſhall ſcarcely know? Will a prudent make himſelf miſerable while he lives, he may be talked of with Reſpect when dead; or will he entail the Curſe of Family upon himſelf, for the idle Breath People, who would deny him Bread in Wants? Egregious Vanity! Of what ce will a pompous Inſcription be to our ains? Will it feed our deſtitute Family, ve them from Contempt? On the con, will a Pillar of Infamy, for the Subn of a Nation, make us uneaſy in our es, or will our Families in Poſſeſſion of g Titles and great Eſtates be leſs reſ? Will they not be *Right Honourable*, the Plunder of the Orphan and Widow he Foundation of their Grandeur? will bject on that Account to an Alliance them? and will not the Fruits of our nt Induſtry, in a ſhort Space, drown all ous Reflections?

us, my Countrymen, be anxious for es alone, we are to live but once here; aturity ſhift for itſelf, and if we can a good Bargain of thoſe who are to after, let us not neglect the Opportunity mantick Scruples, and idle Notions of cing obliged to deliver to Poſterity, iberty handed down to, and preſerved by the Blood of our Anceſtors. We ppy, I own, that our Fathers were not r-ſighted as the preſent Generation; auſe my Father was a Fool, I hope ill bring it as an Argument, that I ought to be ſo too. The Wiſdom, however, of your Conduct makes theſe Exhortations needleſs; you have wiſely preferr'd your own preſent Advantage to that of your Poſterity; have ſold S——s *in futuro* for Money *in præſenti*, and no doubt have cautiouſly ſtipulated with the *Purchaſers*, for the Preſervation of your own *Liberties* for Life.

I congratulate you, my Countrymen, who have wiſely raiſed a Fund not only on a Race unborn, but even not begot; I congratulate you on the Stupidity of your Forefathers, which prevented their fore-ſtalling you, and leſt the preſent Generation the Opportunity of ſelling the ſucceeding; I congratulate you on your living under ſo wiſe, ſo great, and ſo liberal a M—— of S——. And, laſtly, I congratulate you on your own Prudence in following his glorious Example, and having no Regard but for your peculiar and preſent Intereſt, which ſhall for the future be diligently copy'd by,

Dear and Judicious Countrymen,
Your humble Servant,
TIMOTHY SCRUBB.

London Journal, July 6. N° 784.

Some Thoughts *on the* Independency *and* Wealth *of the* Parliament, *and the* Senſe *of the* Nation.

NOTWITHSTANDING the *great Majority* in the preſent Parliament on the *Side of their Country*, we are told (ſays *Osborne*) by our *Mock Country-Intereſt*, that the *Senſe* of the Nation is with them, and that the *Property* and *Independency* of the Nation are with them too.

The Senſe of the Nation hath already been ſhewn to be with the Court, if by *Senſe* is underſtood the Opinions of thoſe who have any Knowledge of publick Affairs. (See p. 361.) But even that *Mob-Senſe*, which our *Whig-Patriots* ſay is of their Side, is directly againſt them; for *they* are not *one fourth* of the Members who are againſt the Court; the reſt are all *thorough Tories*, dead at Mark. The *Senſe* of the Nation is ſo far from being with the *Malecontent Whigs*, that they are ſunk, and the *Tory Intereſt* raiſed and encreaſed by their *Faction*. The Oppoſition which *theſe Whigs* have made, and the *ill Things* they have retailed thro' the Kingdom, for ſeveral Years paſt, againſt the *King* and *Government*, have not ſo much broke the *Whig-Intereſt*, as encreas'd the *Tory* and *Jacobite-Intereſt*: For I do affirm, and am able to prove, that near *four Fifths* of the *Minority* are *determined Tories*, and that there is near *one Third* more in Number than were choſen into the Old Houſe. So that *this very Senſe* of the Nation, which the Authors of the *Craftſman* boaſt is *with them*, is only a *Tory* or *Jacobite*

Jacobite Sense; that is, a Sense against the *Government itself*, rais'd and improv'd by Men, who, to their eternal Dishonour, assume the Name of *Whigs* and *Patriots*.

Let us now examine what they have affirmed about *Independency*. All the *Independency*, if we will take their Words, lies entirely on their Side; but, I say, that the *Electors* on the Court Side are full as *independent* as *their Electors*: That there are more Members with the Court in the present House of Commons, who are *independent as to their Seats in Parliament*, than the *whole Number* of Members against the Court; and I also say further, that there are near 200 Court Members, (as they are call'd) who have no *Places* nor *Court Dependencies*.

The *Faction* affirm, indeed, in a late *Craftsman*, that tho' the *Citizens* and *Burgesses* may have more Understanding of publick Affairs, than the *Freeholders* in the Counties; yet that the *Freeholders* are more *free* and *independent*. (See p. 315.) But this is not true: The *general Ignorance* of the small Freeholders constitutes their *Dependency*; for Ignorance naturally produces slavish Subjection. But besides this Want of Knowledge in State Affairs, they are almost all of them *dependent*, as to Interests, upon the neighbouring Gentlemen living amongst them, who have it very much in their Power to use them well or ill according to their Behaviour. But in *Cities*, *Great Towns* and *Boroughs*, where People live together, and subsist by Trade, the Case is very different.

So much for their *Independency*. Now for their *Wealth*. It is well known, that above a *fourth Part* of the Gentlemen, who are called the *Court Interest*, have, one with another, above 4000 *l. per Ann.* and each of them 3000 *l.* a Year: That half of these Court Members have above 2000 *l.* a Year each Man; and the rest, in general, very good Estates in Land and Money. So that 'tis next to impossible, they should ever sacrifice the Liberties of their Country, to a Court; for, a Court hath *no Equivalent* to give them: Nor can it be proved by any History, that a People *free* and *wealthy* ever gave up their Liberties. We are, therefore, *secure* on that Head; for there is more Wealth in Money, and greater Estates in Land, among the Gentlemen who are chosen on the Court Side, than there are among the Anti-Courtiers.

Craftsman, July 13. N° 419.

Conclusion of the former. (See p. 360.)

I Shall now proceed (says *D'Anvers*) to some Remarks on the courtly Mr. *Walsingham*, whom I have lately provoked beyond all Patience, by explaining a *Character* in one of his Papers, which I apprehended to be drawn for his *Patron*; (see p. 313.) nor hath he, indeed, denied it; but is very angry with me for finding Fault with an Expression or two in that fine Piece of Painting, where he calls the *Gentleman*, whom he was drawing, *Father of the People*, and *Guardian of their Happiness*. I express'd my Opinion that *such Appellations* do not properly belong to any *Subject*, but have always been attributed to the *Sovereign*. Upon this, Mr. *Walsingham* states the Case in very different Terms, and then charges me with *paltry-petty fogging Knavery*, *for logging in the Name of* Majesty *by Violence on this important Occasion*. Now, for my Part, I cannot see any *Violence* in the Case. The Remark was obvious, and immediately occur'd to several Gentlemen, who happen'd to take up his Paper, as well as myself. But, for Godsake, why *petty-fogging Knavery*, of all Expressions in the World? There is some Discretion required even in the Choice of *Epithets*; and, methinks, so judicious a Writer as Mr. *Walsingham* should have run over his whole Vocabulary, on this *important Occasion*, rather than make Use of one so improper; for the Word *Petty fogging* hath the least Effect out of his Mouth as Mrs. *Osborne's* *Want of* Ideas. (See p. 361.)

It is certainly true that the Title of *Father* was always given to the *Roman Senate*; and that *publick Benefactors* were frequently distinguished, in the same Manner, with the Appellation of *Patres Patriæ*, or *Fathers of their Country*. But what is this to the Purpose? Is there no Difference between a *Commonwealth* and a *Monarchy*; even a *limited Monarchy*? I must likewise put this *Gentleman* in Mind that there was not a more common Expression amongst the old *Romans* than the *Majesty of the People*; and yet if I should express apply it to the *British People*, or even by Way of Allusion only, I am confident that he would immediately renew the Cry of *Republicanism*, and gravely undertake to prove that I was stripping the King of the sacred Robes of *Majesty*, and clapping them on the Back of the *People*.

It is likewise true, as Mr. *Walsingham* observes, *that the* Roman Emperors *never demanded the Appellation of* Fathers *to the Senate*. But if he will consult *Tacitus*, *Machiavil*, or almost any Writer upon the Reigns of those Emperors, he will find that they continued the *Senate* itself for no other Reason than to cheat the People out of their Liberty, and carry on their *new-invented Tyranny* under *old Names*. *Proprium id* Tiberio *fuit*, says *Tacitus*, *sua nuper reperta priscis verbis obtegere*. Since it was therefore their Interest to maintain the *Form of a Senate*, in order to screen and authorize their wicked Practices; who can wonder that they should likewise continue the *old Appellation*, for the same Purpose

it would have been too barefaced in the worſt of *thoſe Monſters* to have called the *Senate* a Parcel of *Tools* and *Bubbles*, as they really were. Nay, it is remarkable that *Tiberius*, as the ſame Hiſtorian informs us, was ſo cautious of diſcovering his Deſigns, and ſtirring up Jealouſy, that he refuſed the Title of *Father of his Country*, tho' often preſſed by the People to accept of it. *Nomen* Patris Patriæ *Tiberius, a Populo ſæpius ingeſtum, repudiavit.*

But a King of *Great Britain* is, properly ſpeaking, the *Father of his People*, being intended as ſuch by our Conſtitution; and it being one of his moſt endearing Appellations, we are often addreſs'd in this Style from the Throne itſelf. I muſt therefore leave the World to judge whether Mr. *Walſingham*'s Application of it was not improper, at leaſt; and whether he might not as well have complimented his *Patron* with the Title of *Defender of the Faith*.

Thus much concerning our *miniſterial Step-Father*; for I am ſtill willing to give him that Title, and ſhall always pay him the Duty, which belongs to it. Let us now proceed to his *Advocate*'s Obſervations on the *late Elections* and *Senſe of the People*.

Mr. *W.* ſeems to prevaricate a little on this Subject; for in his late Satire againſt *Popularity*, he plainly gave up the *Senſe of the People*, by acknowledging, without any Reſerve, *that it is not the Loſs of a* ſingle Conteſt, *which is to be conſidered as the real Grievance. The Example*, ſaid he, *is of a* general Nature. But finding this Conceſſion turn'd ſtrongly againſt him, and having, perhaps, received a gentle Reprimand for it, he began to draw back again, and imitate his old Siſter *Oſborne*, by diſtinguiſhing between the *Voice of the People* and the *Senſe of the People*; *one* of which he calls *popular Witchraft* and the *Hallo of the Mob*; whereas he tells us that the *other* reſides in the Head, and never breaks forth into any publick Manifeſtations. He likewiſe concurs with the *ſame learned Lady* in Opinion that theſe Men of *ſilent Senſe* are all on the *Court Side*, and from thence concludes that it is ridiculous for us to inſiſt on the noiſy *Voice of the People*. In ſhort, they have bandy'd theſe plain Words backwards and forwards ſo long, in order to cover the late Diſgrace of their *Patron*, that I verily believe they don't know what they mean themſelves by the *Senſe of the People*, unleſs it be the *Senſe of People in* Places.

As for the *Counties* and *great trading Towns*, which have proved very undutiful to our *miniſterial Pupa*, they have nothing elſe to ſay but that *theſe Elections* have been carried by *popular Violence*, *bad Pollers*, and *other illegal Practices*. For this Reaſon Mr. *W.* hath ſeconded his Invective againſt *Popularity* with a learned Apology for *Weeding*, and modeſtly aſſures us that all the *corrupt Influence* at the late Elections, as well as *falſe Returns*, will appear on the *Country Side*.

Now I will venture to affirm, as to the firſt Part of this Charge, that there never was a *general Election* in this Kingdom attended with leſs *Rioting* than that, which is lately over. We have ſcarcely heard of ſo much as a broken Head upon this Occaſion, or of any Attempts towards *popular Violence*; tho' there was ſufficient Provocation given for it, on the *Court Side*, in ſeveral Places; but the People happened to be apprized of their *Deſigns*, and therefore very wiſely reſtrained themſelves.

As to *Corruption* and *undue Influence*, it ſeems very extraordinary that thoſe ſhould be moſt culpable in this Reſpect, who are leaſt able to ſupport the Expence; and that thoſe, who are ſo liberally endowed with *Confidence* and *Credit*, ſhould keep their Fingers intirely undefiled. But Mr. *W.* ſeems to be aware that this Charge will not hold good, upon Enquiry, and therefore endeavours to confound the *natural, honeſt Influence of Country Gentlemen*, which hath never been called in Queſtion, with that *corrupt, miniſterial Influence*, which hath occaſioned ſo many Complaints, in all Ages, and is made puniſhable by ſo many Laws. Whatever Mr. *W.* may apprehend, there is a very wide Difference between the ordinary Struggles of *private Gentlemen* againſt each other, (even ſuppoſing ſome *undue Influence* ſhould be uſed,) and the corrupt Application of *publick Money*; for, in one Caſe, Gentlemen of the beſt Eſtates and Intereſt in their Country, would be generally choſen; but, in the other, a Parcel of *little Upſtarts* might be ſent down, to browbeat and exclude the worthieſt Families in the Kingdom.

As to *bad Pollers* and *falſe Returns*, I heartily wiſh that they may be all ſet aſide, without any Regard to *Parties*, or *Perſons* whatſoever; for I cannot agree with Mr. *W.* that the bare Name of a *Tory* is a ſufficient Reaſon to thruſt a Man out of his Seat in Parliament; or that even their *Numbers* ought to paſs for a Proof of their *falſe, corrupt*, and *illegal Elections*.

Upon the Whole, I believe the *Country Party* have no Reaſon to be afraid of a *fair Enquiry*, and deſire nothing more than an impartial Determination of all their Diſputes with the *other Side*. This may be juſtly expected from our *preſent Repreſentatives*, notwithſtanding Mr. *W*'s Inſinuations to the contrary; and if the *Senſe of Parliament*, in other Reſpects, ſhould appear on *his Side*, as he ſeems to promiſe himſelf, it will be a plain Sign that the *Court* does not want any new Acceſſion of Power, to ſtrengthen its Hands againſt the *Country Intereſt*.

As to the Complaints of ſetting up a *Country Party*, in Oppoſition to the *Court*; my Anſwer is, that it was not originally ſet up by *Us*, but by *Theſe*, whoſe Conduct for ſeveral Years paſt made it abſolutely neceſſary. To this it is replyed, *that the Intereſt of* Court

and Country *is the same.* I say so too; but *Ministers* are apt to be of another Opinion, and when they have created the *Difference*, grow angry with the *Distinction.* Lastly, it is added, *that such Distinctions tend to alienate the* People's *Affections from their* Prince, *and render them uneasy under his Government.* There may, perhaps, be some Truth in this; and I am ready to allow that it is a very wicked Thing to rob a good Prince of his strongest Support. But if the best King upon Earth should happen to be cursed with a *desperate Minister*, who is driving every Thing to Ruin, what is to be done? Besides, I must put *these worthy Writers* and their *Patron* in Mind, that there is another Practice as wicked as the former; I mean *alienating the* Prince's *Affections from his* People, for whose Good all Government was originally founded.

POSTSCRIPT.

MY dear old Friend Mrs. *Osborne*, having tryed all Ways to prove that the *Sense of the Nation*, or the *electing Part* of it, is on her Side, hath at last turn'd her Argument to the *Elected*, and advanced some Positions upon that Subject, which have surprized the whole Town.

These Positions are, *that not only the* Sense of the People, *but even the* Independency *and* Wealth *of the Parliament are on the* Court-Side. (See p. 363.)

In the first Place, the *good old Lady* asserts *that there are near* 200 *of the* Court-Members, *(as they are called) who have no* Places, *nor* Court-Dependencies. —— I am glad to hear it with all my Heart; for I will defy her to prove that this was the Case of the *last Parliament*; and therefore it confirms our Argument that the *late Elections* have done some Service to the Nation. Besides, if Mrs. *Osborne* can prove her Assertion, that there is so large a Number of Gentlemen, on whom her *Patron* depends, without any Influence of *Places*, or *Court Dependencies*, I shall be very far from giving them up entirely as *Court-Members*, whatever they may be *called.*

So far as to their *Independency.* She then proceeds to their *Wealth*; and having given us a general Calculation of their Estates, concludes *that there is more Wealth in* Money *and greater Estates in* Land *among the Gentlemen who are chosen on the* Court Side, *than there are among the* Anti-Courtiers. What *Money* they may have God only knows; for *Money* hath no Ear-Mark, and is generally concealed, But I was quite startled to see Madam *Osborne* claim the Superiority in *Land*; for, to confess the Truth, I was just going to challenge her on that very Account, and thought myself able to prove, from a Computation, which I had made, that the *Country Members* had, at least, *double the Wealth in landed Estates*; especially if she would give me Leave to except *two* or *three of her Acquaintance*, who have lately squeezed immense Treasures out of the Blood and Bowels of the Kingdom. However, if she includes *the* 200 *Court Members (as they are called) who have no Places, nor Court Dependencies*, in this Account, I will readily give up the Point, and say no more of it.

Fog's *Journal*, July 13. N° 297.

Extract from the Writings of the late unfortunate Duke of Wharton.

THE first essential Ingredient necessary to form a Patriot, is, *Impartiality*; for if a Person shall think himself bound by any other Rules but those of his own Reason and Judgment, or obliged to follow the Dictates of others, who shall appear the Heads of the Party he is ingaged in, he sinks below the Dignity of a human Creature.

This is but too much the Misfortune of the Country we live in; for let either *Whig* or *Tory*, when in Power, grow wanton in the Abuse of it, or endeavour to maintain themselves in it, by illegal and unwarrantable Measures; those amongst them, who, by the Influence of their Consciences, shall be prevailed on to oppose such Steps as they judge wicked and dangerous, are stiled by the leading Men of the Party they were ingaged in, (and, consequently, reputed by their numerous Train of *Sycophants* and *Followers*) *Deserters of their Friends*, because such honest Men refuse to be, what they esteem, *Betrayers of their Country.*

The Coldness, and sometimes Disdain, which a Man governed thus by the Principles of Honour, generally meets with on such Occasion, from the Friends he has ever acted in Concert with for the former Part of his Life, are Considerations which but too often subdue the best inclined Spirits, and prevail with them to be passive and obedient, rather than active and resolute. But if such could but once feel the Pleasure of having done their Duty, they would meet with a sufficient Reward within themselves, to overbalance the *Loss* of their *Friends*, or the *Malice* of their *Enemies.*

Ambition and *Avarice* are directly opposite to the Character of a *True Briton*; for that an Increase of Power, or of Riches, may be the proper Reward of Merit, and the most honest Statesman may, with Justice, accept of either: Yet, when the Mind is infected with a *Thirst* after them, all Notions of Truth, Principle and Independency, are lost in such Minds, and, by growing Slaves to their own Passions, they become naturally subservient to those who can indulge and gratify them.

In obscure Persons, these monstrous Vices frequently lead those that are possessed of them into Mischiefs and Villainy. But wherever

for the Curſe of a Government, the greateſt Statesmen are endowed with theſe Springs of Corruption and Knavery, the unfortunate Subjects who live under their Influence, muſt fall Victims to ſatisfy their gluttonous Appetites, and the State they preſide in, will be treated by them, as if it were given by Providence into their Hands, to gratify their cruel and deſtructive Paſſions,

Theſe Vices, when they are not ſtrong enough to work the Mind to publick Villainy, frequently throw Shackles on the Hearts of Men, who would otherwiſe act uprightly, and reſtrain them from doing that which is warranted by Juſtice and Honeſty. How many Perſons has this Country produced, in former Times, who, convinced of the true Intereſt of *Great Britain*, have declined to purſue it, for fear of loſing a little inconſiderable Imployment, no Way ſuitable to their Ranks or Fortunes? Can there be a more melancholy Proſpect, than to ſee Men of the greateſt Abilities, Quality and Eſtates, make it their utmoſt Deſire, to be admitted *Tools* to a *Court*, where they ought to *preſide*, and make no other Uſe of the Advantages Heaven has given them, than to ſupport thoſe at the Helm in their Attempts to deſtroy the State?

Our Age affords no living Inſtance of this Nature, ſuch is the Care, Juſtice and Reputation of our Governors, and the Independency of both Houſes of Parliament.

In publick Affairs, it is the Duty of every Man to be free from *Perſonal Prejudices*; neither ought we to oppoſe any Step that is taking for the Good of our Country, purely becauſe thoſe that are the Contrivers and Adviſers of it, are obnoxious to us.

Intrepidity and *Firmneſs* are two Virtues which every *True Briton* muſt be Maſter of, or elſe all the other Talents he is poſſeſs'd of, are uſeleſs and barren.

A Man may be honeſt and righteous, but if he is fearful and timorous, he will ſtagger when theſe great Qualities are needful to be exerted for the Good of his Country, and he ſinks into a *lukewarm Patriot*. Some Men of Integrity have been prevailed on to remain quiet and unactive, to avoid the Reflections caſt upon them by *vulgar Tongues*, and the *hackney Scriblers* of each Party.

We have heard of conſiderable Men, in late Reigns, who have retired into the Country, and left the Power of Government in the Hands of others, for fear, if they oppoſed the Meaſures then purſuing, they ſhould be branded with odious Names of *Jacobites*, and *diſaffected Perſons*. Such Men as theſe, who, tho' honeſt in *Theory*, yet fear to be ſo in *Practice*, ſhould conſider, that of all the Duties which Nature firſt required, and reveal'd Religion has ſince confirmed, non is more ſtrong or more neceſſary than that we owe to our Country.

In *England* this Puſillanimity is more to be warded againſt, than in moſt other Countries; for whenever there has appeared an ill-deſigning Miniſtry, one of their chief Views has been to traduce and terrify thoſe who have had the Courage to adhere inviolably to the Liberties of the Subject. This Method has been generally purſued, and the Situation of Affairs here has always furniſhed the *Tools* of a Government with Means to oblige their *Maſters*, and obey their Commands in this Particular. When the *Tories* have been in Power, thoſe who did not give Supplies, or anſwer their Intentions, were inſtantly called *Foes to the Church*, and *Republicans*: And the *Whigs* never fail to ſtile their Antagoniſts *Foes to the State*, and *Jacobites*. But a bold and daring *Patriot* will ſcorn theſe little Slanders, nor ſuffer them to obſtruct his *Loyalty* and *Integrity*. Such a *Patriot* will propoſe no other Proſpect but the publick Good of the Commonwealth; and if, in the attaining of that great End, by the Villainy of the Times, he ſhould fall a Martyr to his Country, he will, with Comfort, conſider, that he has anſwered the Will of his Maker, who ſent him into the World to do Good, or die, rather than not oppoſe Evil.

Here might we go back into Hiſtory, and ſee with what great Luſtre the Names of ſuch Heroes are delivered down to Poſterity; and how much more *they* are eſteemed who periſh in a good Cauſe, than *thoſe* who *triumph* in a bad one. But this is unneceſſary at preſent: For our Co-Temporaries, eſpecially the chief amongſt us, are all Friends to Juſtice; and no Man is injured in his *Liberty* or *Fortune*: Such is the Wiſdom and Integrity of the preſent Miniſters!

It is incumbent on every Perſon who lives in a Commonwealth, to promote the Welfare of it, as much as his Situation of Life will permit him; and, therefore, thoſe who act in a little Sphere, ought to exert their Zeal with as much Sincerity as thoſe of greater Figure or Power. Such as can have no other Opportunies of publiſhing their Thoughts, but by communicating them to the World in Print, would be wanting in their Duty, ſhould they neglect taking that Method of informing their Fellow-Subjects of Matters, which perhaps, otherwiſe, might eſcape their Knowledge, tho' neceſſary for them to be acquainted with.

The *Liberty of Speech*, in Parliament, is the greateſt Jewel that adorns our Government, and frequently has put a Stop to the Deſigns of bad Men, when they were attempting the Subverſion of the Conſtitution. It has, indeed, frequently been dangerous, and often deſtructive, to *Patriots* who have made the beſt Uſe of it; but yet there have always been, and I hope ever will be, in both Houſes, Men of Honour, Honeſty and Intre-

pidity, to imploy the Talents God has endowed them with, in the Service of their Country; and whom neither Hopes can tempt, or Fear deter from purſuing the publick Good.

The *Freedom of the Preſs*, is another Bulwark of our Liberty; and there needs no greater Argument to prove it, than the frequent Attempts that have been made to deſtroy it, under Pretence of reſtraining of it. Wicked Men muſt naturally labour to have their Actions conceal'd, or, at leaſt, ſo publiſhed, that every Perſon ſhould credit the Gloſſes which they themſelves throw upon them; but the judicious Part of Mankind will be inform'd of every Circumſtance before they peremptorily give an Opinion on any Matter whatſoever.

A Perſon who writes on *political Subjects*, ought to be free from *Partiality*, and every other Vice which may ſway his Sentiments, or induce him to repreſent Matters in falſe Lights; and, I hope, my Behaviour in the Sequel of this Work will convince the World, that my only Intention in publiſhing theſe Sheets, is, to lay Truth open; and in ſuch a Manner, as becomes one who determines to live and die a TRUE BRITON.

London Journal, July 13. N° 785.

The Nature of the preſent Oppoſition.

THE preſent Oppoſition (ſays *Oſborne*) is not *national*, but *perſonal*; which, if the People of *England* would conſider, they would find, that they had nothing to do with the Conteſt. The Contention is not, now, between the *Government* and the *People*, or between the *King* and the *Nation*, nor between the Miniſtry and the People; but between the Gentlemen *in Power*, and certain Gentlemen *out of Power*; and the Striſe is, *Who ſhall be greateſt?* This, and this only is the Caſe. The Perſons in *the Oppoſition* are not contending for any Good to the Nation: They are not labouring how to make the People happy, but how to be at the Head of Power. They have, as it were, inſolently ſurrounded and attacked the Throne; they have, in *Action* at leaſt, told his Majeſty, that he ſhall not keep his Miniſtry, but they will be his Miniſtry; in order to which, they are endeavouring, by all the Ways that *Diſappointment* and *Malice* can invent, to diſtreſs the King's Government; they mingle with *Jacobites* and *Traitors* at Home; they betray our Counſels to foreign Agents; and repreſent Things ſo much to the Diſadvantage of their own Country, as to hinder the Succeſs of Negotiations Abroad: And they alſo ſet the People againſt the Miniſtry by vile Calumny, monſtrous Tales, and impudent Falſhoods; and then gravely ſay, *the Senſe* of the People is againſt them, and demands their Removal. Whereas, in Truth, there is no Senſe of the People againſt them, but what they have put into them; nor would the People have imagined any *publick Evil*, had not their Papers, ſent thro' the Kingdom, ſet their Imaginations at work, and made them dream and talk of Evils which they never felt.

Grubſtreet Journal, July 18. N° 238.

In Praiſe of the MORNING.

Mr. BAVIUS,

THE agreeable Entertainment I met with this Morning, would loſe Part of its Reliſh, if not communicated. I have the good Fortune to be ſo pleaſantly lodged, as to have a Proſpect of a neighbouring Grove, where the Eye receives the moſt delicious Refreſhment from the lively Verdure of the Greens, and the wild Regularity by which the Scene ſhifts off, and diſparts itſelf into a beautiful Chequer. The Commodiouſneſs of the Place has tempted ſuch a tuneful Throng of Inhabitants, that the pretty little Warblers, while they jointly improve the Harmony, ſeem yet to make their Strains ſo ſpirited, as if they contended, which ſhould be moſt heard. I have often lent my Ear to theſe natural Concerts, with an affectionate Kind of Pleaſure; but never ſo much to my Satisfaction as this Morning. To ſtart out of a moſt troubleſome Dream, and immediately to find my tortured Senſes regaled with ſuch innocent Harmony, was certainly a very ſeaſonable Relief. For ſome Time, I gratefully liſtened to theſe Reſtorers of my Quiet; but thought I could not better improve the Opportunity, than by turning my Attention in upon itſelf, and ſeriouſly reflecting upon the Deſign of Providence, in organizing this Part of the animal World into ſo much Melody. One while, I conſidered theſe early Warblers, as the Choriſters of Nature, and looked upon their matin Chants, as a Tribute of Praiſe exacted upon them by the Author of their Being. Another while, I looked upon them as acting the Part of Bell-men to the human Species; and took their early Serenades for ſo many gentle Summons to call us to our reſpective Duties.

This Notion, however trifling it may ſeem, may yet be of great Uſe, eſpecially in ſtudious Life. Whenever we reflect upon the agreeable Viciſſitude of the Seaſons, we are always ſure to ſingle Spring out as moſt worthy our Admiration. 'Tis then that Nature recovers herſelf, as it were, from her Winter Ague; and diffuſes an univerſal Sprightlineſs thro' the Animal, as well as Vegetable World. 'Tis then too, that the Faculties of Man receive a briſker Movement, and his Imagination ſeems to teem with Fertility of Thought.

If

If then we are ſpeculatively poſſeſſed of ſo great Advantages, Practice would quickly make them real. When the whole Creation has rouſed itſelf, and the little feathered People are chearfully inviting us to partake of the Benefits of the Morning, we ought to reſcue ourſelves from a captivating Indolence, and put ourſelves upon the Exertion of thoſe Faculties, which a moderate Refreſhment has rendered fit for Action, and which would be ſo much brightened and aſſiſted by the Temperature and Fragrance of the Morning. By this we ſhould have the Seaſon we pretend to be ſo enamour'd with, continued to us the better Part of the Year; and a ſultry inactive Day, ſucceeded by a cool enlivening Morning.

Among all the celebrated Poets, we generally find the Morning complimented with the moſt beautiful Epithet their Invention can furniſh. *Homer*'s Ῥοδοδάκτυλος has always had its Admirers and Imitators; and I think the *Roſy-finger'd Morn* ſhould have ſomething ſo ſweet and agreeable, as would make every one deſirous of ſhaking Hands with her. One would imagine, that this pretty Nymph *Aurora* ſhould be careſſed in the moſt tender Manner, in the Seats of the Muſes. But, inſtead of being courted, as ſhe might expect, ſhe too often finds, that the Inhabitants ſhut her out and exclude her their Company; and tho' ſhe now and then can ſteal a Glance in at the Window, and peep thro' the Curtains, yet even then ſhe ſees her Civility repayed by their turning their Backſides upon her, and giving her no other Anſwer but a Snore. I will be ſo ingenuous as to own, Mr. *Bavius*, that I myſelf have been very hard-hearted to her, and uſed her with too much Coyneſs: But at preſent ſhe meets with more favourable Returns; for ſhe makes Court to me in ſo ſincere and diſintereſted a Manner, that I ſhould be an Obſtacle to my own Happineſs, by reſiſting the Enjoyment of ſo many Charms.

Oxon, June 20, 1734. *I am*, &c.
ACADEMICUS.

Free Briton, July 18. N° 245.

Of the antient Britiſh *Legiſlative Power.*

THE *antient Britiſh Government* was a *military Government*. The Iſland was divided into *many* independent *States*, and each Diviſion of the Country governed by a *Military Power*, from a Neceſſity of being always upon their Defence againſt the Encroachments of their Neighbours. Hence the People were trained up in Arms, and the *Leaders* or *their Troops* were their *ſtanding Council*, as well in *Peace* as in *War*. To theſe were aſſociated the Heads of their *religious Orders*. The Prince or chief Magiſtrate called ſuch Perſons to his Aſſiſtance, as had the greateſt Power and Credit amongſt the People. Theſe gave him their Advice, and ſupported him in ſuch Acts as were the Conſequences of their own Approbation. But the People themſelves, till the more modern Times, cannot be found to have had any Share in theſe Councils.

The Authority of theſe Aſſemblies, where the Chiefs and the Prieſts ſat in Council, extended itſelf without Bounds, and was the ordinary legiſlative Power. The Acts of ſuch Aſſemblies were every where treated as the Acts of the Publick, tho' the People ſeem to have had no Sort of Buſineſs in framing or paſſing them. Even under the *Saxon* Government, the *Wittenagemote*, or *Aſſembly of wiſe Men*, was only ſuch a Convention of *military* and *religious* Men.

Rapin obſerves, that the *Druids* among the *Britons* were held in ſo great a Veneration, that publick Matters were never tranſacted without their Approbation. Sir *William Temple* ſays, no Laws were inſtituted without ſuch Approbation, either by Princes or common Aſſemblies. Their Religion was their Pretence for aſſuming the Management of private and publick Affairs. And as Men, who are truſted with any Kind of Influence, will employ it to ſelfiſh, intereſted Ends, theſe *Druids*, in due Conformity to this Spirit of Ambition, aſſumed a Power to exclude from their Sacrifices all who diſputed their Determinations.

It is a Truth of the ſureſt, as well as of the ſaddeſt Experience, that in whatever Hands a Prince ſhall truſt the *Conſciences* of his Subjects, in thoſe very Hands does he truſt the *Allegiance* of his Subjects. It is not therefore to be doubted, that in the various Governments of *ancient Britain*, the Princes were forced to throw themſelves on the *religious* Men as well as on the *military*. That both had their Share in the *Wittenagemote* of the *Saxons* is certain, for the *King's Thanes*, or *Barons*, were *ſpiritual*, as well as *temporal*. And when the *Chriſtian Religion* obtained among us, in the Place of *Paganiſm*, the *Chriſtian* Prieſthood ſeem to have made an eaſy *Slide* into all the *ſecular Offices*, and *temporal Inſtitutions*, which were known under the *Pagan*.

The *Convention of the Counties* by *Alfred*, ſeems to have been the *firſt* of any Note in this Kingdom. He died in the Year 900. *Edward* the Elder, his Son and Succeſſor, is ſaid to have aſſembled *the Biſhops*, *the Abbots*, the faithful Subjects, *the great Men*, and the People *in the Kingdom of Weſſex*. And *Athelſtan*, who ſucceeded *Edward*, granted his Charter, 931, in the Preſence of the *Patriæ Procuratores*. That theſe *Procuratores* were a *Convention of the Counties* is further confirmed by a Paſſage, which *Rapin* hath cited from the *Mirror of Juſtices*, one of the moſt antient Books in the Law, where

where it is ſaid to be an old *Law*, that the King could not change the Money, or make other Coin than that of Silver, *without the Conſent of the Counties*. And that King *Alfred firſt aſſembled the Counties* by their *Procuratores*, or *Repreſentatives*, is confirmed by this Circumſtance, that *he aſcertained the Number and Limits* of the *Counties*.

When and on what Occaſions the Counties were firſt called to aſſiſt in the *Wittenagemote*, or *legiſlative Bodies*, does not appear. It ſeems moſt probable to have happened after the Union of many Counties under one Head: For *Alfred*'s Convention of *all* the Counties, was in Conſequence of his having united the whole Kingdom under his own Government. It is ſufficient to make our Title to Parliaments indubitable, that ever ſince we have been a Kingdom, we have had a Repreſentative: But it muſt be allowed, that this general Aſſembly, in its Beginnings, was the meer Shadow of that Structure which the Wiſdom of many ſucceeding Ages raiſed and improved, till it became the Glory and Strength of the People.

Craftſman, July 20. N° 402.

Some Obſervations on the late Election of ſixteen Peers *to repreſent the Peerage of* Scotland.

MY Remarks (ſays *D'Anvers*) on the *Engliſh Elections* have been extended farther than I propoſed at firſt, or perhaps was neceſſary, in order to ſee what the *miniſterial Writers* would ſay to the Charge exhibited againſt their *Patron*, concerning the late Election of Peers in *Scotland*. About five Weeks ago, I gave the Publick a true Copy of the *Proteſts* entered by ſeveral *noble Lords*, upon that Occaſion, (which ſee, page 316.) with only two or three curſory Remarks, by Way of Explanation; and choſe to defer any farther Obſervations on them, till the *Court-Advocates* had given us their Sentiments on ſo important a Subject. But they have hitherto contented themſelves with ſome general Reflections on the *Proteſters*, and ſeem to have induſtriouſly avoided any particular Diſquiſition of the Matter itſelf. The Day-Labourers in the *Courant* have, indeed, obliged us with ſeveral Diſſertations upon this Subject; but I did not imagine *thoſe Papers* intended as the Cue of the Party, and was every Week in Hopes of ſeeing the Diſcuſſion of ſo material a Point undertaken by the learned Madam *Oſborne*, or the courtly Mr. *Walſingham*; to whoſe Writings I ſhall always pay the profoundeſt Regard, as coming from Authority, and *licenſed according to Order*. However, as *theſe premier Advocates* have thought fit to decline the Conteſt, and perhaps they may think it a Place too ſore to be touch'd, I will condeſcend ſo far as to take ſome Notice of what the *minor Politicians* have advanced upon the *Scottiſh Elections* and *Proteſts*. I am the more inclined to do this, becauſe I have obſerved that the *Patron of theſe Writers* ſometimes chuſes to throw out his firſt Hints in obſcure Papers, that he may afterwards have an Opportunity of juſtifying, or diſowning them, as he ſees Occaſion.

I thought at firſt that *theſe Gentlemen* intended to be waggiſh, and turn the Subject into Ridicule, by undertaking to prove that the *Proteſts* were not genuine; but by dwelling upon the ſame Subject thro' ſeveral Papers, and gravely calling upon the *noble Lords* to reſent ſuch an Injury to their Names, they appear to be in downright Earneſt, and would have the World believe that *theſe Papers* were only ſome of the ordinary Libels of our *Malecontents*, under the ſolemn Form of *Proteſts*; tho' there were many authentick Copies of the *Minutes of Election* then in Town; and a *certain Perſon* is ſince arrived from thoſe Parts, who is fully able to convince them that ſuch *Inſtruments* were actually enter'd and ſign'd at *Edinburgh* by the *noble Lords*, to whom they are aſcrib'd.

The firſt Argument to prove *theſe Proteſts* fictitious is, that the *Perſons* charged with making uſe of ſuch *undue Influence* are not ſpecifically mentioned, but only pointed out under the general Character of *Miniſters* and *People in Power*. Now this Objection, as I apprehend, will hold equally ſtrong againſt all our *Engliſh Proteſts*; for I do not remember that I ever ſaw one, in which the Name of any *Miniſter* was expreſly mention'd; tho' I have read many full of very plain and ſtrong Alluſions to him.

Another Reaſon for ſuppoſing *theſe Papers* not to be genuine is, that they do not contain any particular and explicit Proofs of the *undue Influence*, with which *ſome Gentlemen* ſtand charged. This is a notable Argument truly; and the *Proteſters* muſt have been as wiſe as *theſe Writers*, or their *Director*, if they had thus forearm'd the *Perſons accuſed*, and given them an Opportunity of defeating the Evidence by ſome ingenious Contrivance, for which Men in their Station and Circumſtances are ſeldom at a Loſs.

But the beſt Reaſon of all comes laſt; for they add, that ſuppoſing the Charge could be proved, the Matters alledg'd in the *Proteſts* are not contrary to any *Law*, and therefore not *criminal*; from whence it is inferr'd that the *noble Lords*, whoſe Names are affix'd to them, could not be guilty of ſo frivolous a Charge. I don't know what *theſe Gentlemen* may incur by ſaying that *Corruption*, in the Election of *Scottiſh Peers*, *is not contrary to any Law*. they mean that it is not expreſly prohibited by any *Statute Law*, they may perhaps be in the Right; but ſurely they cannot want to be informʼd that *all Actions in themſelves*

what we may call in Latin *Mala in ſe*, e contrary to the *common Law of the Land*; r it is an eſtabliſh'd Maxim *that the* Law *ith a Remedy for every Evil, and that want* Right *and want of* Remedy *are the ſame ing*. Beſides, I apprehend that the Clauſe the *Bill of Rights*, which provides that *all lections ſhall be free*, includes a Condemna- on of all *undue Influence*, or *Corruption*; for ho' the *Union of the two Kingdoms* happened nce; yet all the Laws of *England* being con- rmed and recognized by the *Act of Union*, nleſs in ſome particular Points there ſpecify'd, is now become the general Law of the nited Kingdom. But there is ſtill ſomething rther to be ſaid upon this Subject; for ſup- ſing with theſe *worthy Writers* that there is no expreſs Law now in being againſt *Corruption*, the Election of *Scottiſh* Peers, it ſhews at aſt the Expediency of ſuch a Law, or Reſo- tion as was moved for, the laſt Seſſion of arliament, by a *noble Duke* (which ſee, page 71 A.)

A previous Queſtion was, indeed, put upon is Motion, whether it ſhould be then put, d it was reſolved in the Negative; which as ſuppoſed to be owing, in a great Meaſure, the Arguments of a *learned Lord*, very juſtly vanced to the Head of the Law; who ob- rved that the Practices, deſign'd to be pre- nted by the Motion, being undoubtedly con- ary to *Law*, the Motion itſelf was needleſs. owever, many Peers had ſuch particular eaſons for reinforcing the Law, at that Junc- re, that they thought fit to enter the Reaſons their Diſſent; (which ſee, page 171 D.)

I ſhall cloſe my Obſervations on this Part the Subject with taking Notice that the pology itſelf is a tacit Confeſſion of Guilt; r it does not contain any Denial of the Fact harged upon *People in Power*, but an avow- Juſtification of it, as *contrary to no Law*, ppoſing it to be true.

The laſt *Courant* I have ſeen upon this bject is ſigned *R. Freeman*, whom I take, his Manner of Writing, to be the ſame eat Genius, that diſtinguiſhed itſelf laſt ear under the Name of *Carus*. This *nota- Author* ſeems to think that he hath given full Anſwer to the *Proteſt*, concerning the attalion under Arms during the Time of E- ction, by obſerving that the *Scots Peerage* ving always been remarkable for their Cou- ge, and never more ſo than at preſent, it is dicu'ous to ſuppoſe that they ſhould be over- e'd by a Body of Men, who did not exceed the umber of themſelves and their own Servants. ut as we have been told from the ſame uarter that the *Court-Liſt* carried their Elec- n by almoſt two to one, and it is reaſona- e to ſuppoſe that they were enabled to ap- ar with as good an Equipage as the others, ere does not ſeem to have been any Occaſi- for calling in the *military Power* to their ſiſtance. Beſides, I muſt acquaint *this Gentleman* with another Point, which may perhaps have eſcaped his Knowledge; I mean that the Legiſlature hath taken particular Care to prevent any tumultuary, or ſeditious Practices, upon theſe Occaſions, by reſtrain- ing any *Scots Peer* from coming to ſuch Meet- ings with any more than his *ordinary Atten- dants*.

It appears, upon a View of the *Proteſts*, that the *noble Lords*, who ſigned them, pro- ceeded in a regular Manner; it hath been ob- ſerved, indeed, that the *Court Lords* have as much Right to aſſociate themſelves into a Liſt, and ſupport each other's Intereſt as the *Country Lords*. This is very true; nor does the Charge conſiſt in any ſuch voluntary As- ſociation, but in the arbitrary Nomination of the *Miniſter*, and the *undue Means* employed to procure the Election of *his Liſt*.

It muſt likewiſe be confeſt that *this Charge* remains to be proved; but if it ſhould happen to be made good; and if any of the *Proteſt- ing Peers* ſhould be able to name the *Perſons* who attempted them, as well as the *particu- lar Sums*, or *Employments*, which they were offered; I hope it will not be denyed that this is a very high Offence againſt the Con- ſtitution, and ought to be ſeverely puniſhed; for if any *Miniſter* ſhould be allowed to thruſt Members into the *Houſe of Lords* by ſuch Means, the Independency of Parliament would be entirely loſt; and tho' I can never agree with Mr. *Walſingham* in calling him *Father of the People*, he might be properly enough ſtyled *Father of the Senate*.

A *Miniſter*, who gets ſuch an Aſcendency over the Legiſlature, may ſafely defy his Enemies, and laugh at all Accuſations. It is juſt like a *certain Prelate*'s Method of playing at Whiſk, with the Liberty of conſulting his *Partner*'s Hand, and naming *Trumps*.

I cannot conclude without obſerving that *wicked Miniſters* have generally been moſt bold and undiſguiſed in oppreſſing *Scotland*, as the weakeſt Part of the Iſland; well knowing that a total Reduction of *England* would ſoon follow; but by the antient Spirit and Reſolu- tion of that brave People, they have often proved our Deliverers, inſtead of being made the Inſtruments of our Slavery. This was our Caſe in the Reign of King *Charles* I. And in that of his Son, *Charles* IId, the profeſs'd Deſign of the Court was to procure the abſolute Submiſſion of *Scotland* to the Royal Power, ſo that *England* might be the more eaſily managed. For this Purpoſe, the whole Power of *Scotland* was put into the Hands of *Lauderdale*; who, from being a *rigid Preſbyterian* and a *zealous Covenanter*, became one of the moſt abject Tools of arbi- trary Power, and a violent Perſecutor of his Party. We are told that he had a general Knowledge of *Languages* and the *Law*, but neither

neither true Wiſdom, nor a Grain of common Honeſty; for he even promoted a *Rebellion* in that Kingdom to juſtify the Violences of his Adminiſtration. The Duke of *Buckingham* call'd him a Man of a *blundering Underſtanding*; and as to his Integrity, we have the Teſtimony of King *Charles* himſelf; who being aſked *what he thought of Lauderdale*, after ſome Complaints againſt him had been heard in Privy-Council, anſwer'd, *That they had objected many damn'd Things, which he had done againſt the* Country, *but none againſt* his Service.

Fog's Journal, July 20. N° 298.

'*Squire* Scrubb's *Addreſs to* Fog.

Maſter Fog,

EXAMINE the Practice of the Moderns and you'll find, by comparing it with that of ancient Times, that the Populace have ever been the ſame: Unſteady, Ungrateful, Petulant; and either imperious Tyrants or moſt abject Slaves: They are ſo charmed with Novelty, that, as *Oliver Cromwel* ſaid, upon being deſired to remark the Acclamations of the People, the very ſame Mob, which ſhew'd ſo much Joy at the Sight of him, would, with as much Alacrity, huzza him to the Gallows. The Populace was never known to continue long in the ſame Way of Thinking; their Deſires are as variable as the Wind, and ſcarce have they had the Accompliſhment of a Wiſh, but they have repented they ever made it. It is for ſuch as theſe, Mr. *Fog*, that you and I have ſuffered, and for whom you are ſtill anxious.

I ſhould think the little or no Fruits of your Labour, ſhould at Length open your Eyes to the Unworthineſs of your Clients, on the one Hand; and the Generoſity of that *real Patriot*, whoſe Meaſures you have ſtrenuouſly oppoſed, unveil 'em, on the other, to your own Intereſt. I acknowledge to you, that the Diſregard ſhewn me, whom the Zeal of the Publick might (in a literal Senſe) be ſaid to have eaten up, made me reflect on the Nature of my Maſters; and I was not long before I diſcovered that I was ſtarving to purchaſe Soap for the Whitening the *Blackmoor*; that I was endeavouring to cure a Man of a Fever, who would only look on the Medicines, and aſſent to the Excellency of my Preſcriptions, but call for, and ſwallow a Bumper of Brandy.

Let us, for Argument Sake, Maſter *Fog*, ſuppoſe, (not that I can grant one Tittle of it, for I believe that Men in Place cannot err,) but let us ſuppoſe it however, that there was a Country in the World, where the Meaſures taken by ſome upſtart Miniſter were deſtructive of the Conſtitution of his Country; that he had no Way to ſave himſelf, but by introducing a deſpotick Government therein; that he encouraged Irreligion and Luxury to enervate and impoveriſh the People, as Means abſolutely neceſſary to the impoſing the Yoke of Slavery upon them; that he preferr'd none in C—— or S——te, but the moſt profligate; that want of Conſcience was a Recommendation to a B——k, and want of Senſe to a P——t of Profit; that his N——ns in foreign Courts have made the Nation contemptible Abroad, ſubjected it to the Inſults of its Neighbours, by which its Trade was greatly ſunk and impair'd; that he was a blundering, ignorant, pretending, vain Man, as little vers'd in the different Intereſts of Nations, as acquainted with common Honeſty; for that Reaſon, he was apprehenſive of the Clear-ſighted, and bars up every Way that leads to their Preferment; ſuppoſe, that in his Treaties, Tinker-like, in botching one Hole, he made two; ſuppoſe that the Magiſtrates or the Guardians for the Peoples Liberties had been choſen and return'd by corrupt Methods, and that a Committee of theſe had been pick'd out to purge the Aſſembly of all, zealous for the Intereſt of their Country; that the Aſſembly being thus garbled, they might give all that the M——r could aſk, and that the Conſequence of ſuch Complaiſance, was the Downfal of all Liberty, and the Extirpation of P——. Suppoſe again, that all this happened to a brave and ſteady, generous, loyal People, as fond of their Prince as were our Countrymen the *Engliſh*, in the Time of *Edward* IIId, and as tenacious of their Rights as the ſame *Engliſh* in thoſe of *John* and *Richard* IId, but oppreſs'd and kept down by the Hand of Power, and the execrable Arts of low Cunning; ſuppoſe, I ſay, what no Man of Senſe can ſuppoſe, all theſe to be Facts, are they not ſufficient Reaſons to make a private Man deſert the Cauſe of the Publick, without you will allow he muſt have leſs Sagacity than a Rat, which ever leaves a falling Houſe and a leaky Ship?

If Things were as bad with us as is here ſuppoſed of another Nation, which every Body knows is not the Caſe, which yet ſeveral Writers have endeavoured to inſinuate, they only gave a flagrant Mark of Stupidity, by oppoſing themſelves to a Torrent, that is not to be ſtemm'd, and ſeem to ſtruggle with Providence itſelf, in their Efforts to ſave a devoted Nation. I will remind you of a little Story which may not be *mal a propos*, according to your Notion of Affairs.

A Batchelor, who liv'd like a Recluſe in a little Houſe, about two Miles from the Market-Town, had train'd up a Maſtiff Dog to carry a Baſket to the Butcher's, and return with the Meat he wrote for (in a Piece of Paper, which was faſten'd to it.) This Dog in paſſing thro' a Village that lay in his Way was often attacked by the Currs belonging to it; but he, for a long while, proved too hard for

his Aſſailants, and carried home his Meat in Triumph. At length, all the Dogs combin'd to plunder him; and one Day, returning from Market, the whole Poſſe fell upon him; he defended his Truſt long and bravely, but perceiving it impoſſible to get off with his Proviſion, he gave over the Fight, and took his Share of the Plunder.

But, Maſter *Fog*, if you could get the better of Pique and Reſentment, which alone ſteel your Pen; if Diſappointment would ſuffer you to open your Eyes to Truth and Virtue; Gratitude would change your Sarcaſms into Encomiums, and your preſent Invectives would be turn'd to Panegyricks. Your weekly Endeavour, would be to make the People ſenſible of, and thankful for, our preſent happy and flouriſhing Situation, for our extended Trade, eſpecially to the *Levant*, for the Plenty of Money obſervable throughout the Nation; for the Riches which we poſſeſs, for the near Proſpect we have of diminiſhing our Taxes; for the Glory of our naval Expeditions, which ſpeak our Power, and ſtrike a Dread on our Neighbours; for, can any think meanly of a Nation which could at once ſet out three Fleets, to the *Mediterranean*, to the *Baltick*, and to the *Weſt-Indies*, in which *moſt renown'd Expeditions*, indeed, we had the Misfortune to loſe ſome thouſands of Sailors, *by Sickneſs?* Was not our Fleet at *Spithead* a Manifeſtation of our Power? and is not, at preſent, the Fleet in the *Downs* ſufficient (without going farther) to humble the Pride of thoſe, who raſhly have dared to inſult our Merchants?

We may ſay the *Engliſh* Name is now carried to the higheſt Pitch of Glory; the Terror of our Arms, and the Wiſdom of our Counſels, are of equal Efficacy in the Affairs of *Europe*, which is embroiled in a moſt bloody War, while we enjoy all the Bleſſings of Peace, and ſit Arbitrators of the Fate of Nations. And to whom do we owe this advantageous Situation, but to the Man, whom Diſappointment would blacken to Poſterity, but whoſe Virtues, Time will ſet in their juſt Point of Light, and deliver him down to future Ages, as a noble Pattern of publick Spirit?

Yours, &c. T. SCRUB.

Free Briton, July 25. N° 247.

Of the Election of 16 Peers for North Britain, *with ſome Account of the real Character of* Duke Lauderdale. (See p. 371. G.)

I Demand (ſays *Walſingham*) by what Law, either poſitive or conſtructive, any *Privy Counſellor of Great Britain* is incapacitated to adviſe, or confer with the *Peers of North Britain*, in the previous Agreement of a *Liſt of* 16 *Peers* to be propoſed as Candidates in the Election of *Repreſentatives for the Peerage of Scotland?*

I will go ſo far as to ſuppoſe, that any *Privy-Counſellor*, call him the *Miniſter*, or any Thing elſe, actually wrote a Letter to *every Peer* of *North Britain*, repreſenting it as his Opinion, that 16 *noble Lords*, therein ſpecified, were Perſons of undoubted Integrity, Ability, and good Affection to the *united Intereſts* of both Kingdoms, the *Proteſtant Religion*, and *Proteſtant Succeſſion*; and, from Good-will to the common Cauſe, deſiring that every Lord would employ his utmoſt Endeavours, in procuring the ſaid 16 *Peers* to be choſen.

I carry this Suppoſition further than any Man ever ſuggeſted, to ſhew, that if more than they ever ſuggeſted was Fact, and a *Letter from a Miniſter to* every *Lord of North Britain* was read in *Evidence* before the *Houſe of Peers*, it neither would nor ought, by any Conſtruction of Law or Reaſon, to vitiate the Return of 16 *Repreſentatives* choſen by *open Election* and *Plurality of Voices*, according to the *Act for the Union of both Kingdoms*.

Another *Objection* to the Regularity of this Proceeding, is the *old*, *ſtale hackney'd* Topick of *Corruption*, which Mr. *Addiſon*, in his *Freeholder's Anſwer to the Pretender's Declaration*, calls the *thread-bare* Clamour *of every* Minority *within the Memory of Man*. I might put it to the *Conſciences* of every one on the other Side of the Queſtion, that they themſelves do not believe there ever was in *Scotland*, under any Reign or Miniſtry, a *more uncorrupt* Election; or that any former Repreſentative of the Peerage was *more duly choſen*; or that the *Act of Union* itſelf was *more free*, *regular*, and *unbyaſſed*, than this *very Election* of 16 Peers, *Repreſentatives of that Kingdom*.

The *Craſiſman* having mentioned Duke *Lauderdale's* Adminiſtration, *Walſingham* therefore gives the following Account of him, that People may judge, whether any Man living can be *honeſtly* placed in the Light of Similitude with him.

He was, ſays *Burnet*, haughty beyond Expreſſion. He had a Violence of Paſſion that carried him often to Fits like Madneſs. He delivered himſelf up to Luxury and Senſuality, by which Means he run into a vaſt Expence, and ſtuck at nothing that was neceſſary to ſupport it.

It is further ſaid of him, that he was a *great Approver of Aſſaſſinations*. *Burnet* ſays, that when he came down into *Scotland*, in 1672, he took ſuch *Pleaſure in talking of the Butchery* of *John de Wit* and his Brother, that it could not be heard without Horror.

He rejected all Advice in a brutal Manner, ſaying, Men durſt as well be damn'd as oppoſe him; his Way was to govern by Fits, and to paſs from hot to cold ones, always in Extreams. He ſcreened the *Papiſts*; offered the King to bring an Army out of *Scotland*,

to ſeize *Newcaſtle*, and ſupport a moſt wicked and violent Counſel of taking the Members out of both Houſes of Parliament, even by Force of Arms.

In *Scotland* he drew a Letter from the King, wherein, by open Dint of arbitrary Power, he turned out 12 *of the chief Magiſtrates of Edinburgh*, and *declared them incapable of all publick Truſts*. His Behaviour there was ſo violent and illegal, that many, from the ſtrange Adminiſtration they were under, grew weary of their Country, and even of their Lives. If he, or any of his Party, brought a Complaint againſt any Man, how falſe or frivolous ſoever, they were ſummoned before the Council, and upon the ſlighteſt Pretences fined and impriſoned. When very illegal Things were to be done, his Method was this; a Letter was drawn for it to be ſigned by the King, directing it upon ſome Colour of Law or antient Practice: The King ſigned whatever was thus ſent him: And when his Letter was read in Council, if any of the Lawyers or others of the Board objected to it, he was brow-beaten, as a Man that oppoſed the King's Service, and refuſed to obey his Orders.

He required all the Landlords of the *Scottiſh Weſtern Counties*, to enter into Bonds for the Behaviour of themſelves, their Wives, Children, Servants, and all who lived upon their Eſtates, that they ſhould not reſort to Conventicles. Upon their refuſing this, he writ to the King, that the Country was in a State of Rebellion, and that Hoſtilities were neceſſary to reduce them. The King gave him Power to reduce them as he pleaſed. He ſent Cannon, and ordered Troops, even 8000 *to live among them at free Quarter*. And tho' ſuch Bonds were illegal and unjuſt, ſince no Man could be bound for Tenants and Servants, becauſe every Tenant and Servant would thereby have had it in his Power to ruin him, yet he was in ſuch a Phrenſy, that, at the Council-Table, he made his Arms bare above the Elbows, and ſwore by his *God Jehovah*, that he would make them enter into thoſe Bonds.

He ſummoned the chief Men of the Country before a Committee of Council, and, by the Practice of a *Court of Inquiſition*, made them purge themſelves by Oath, of whatever Crimes he was pleaſed to charge them with. He iſſued Writs at the King's Suit againſt the whole Country, obliging the Head of every Houſhold to give Security for the Behaviour of every one therein, and by his own arbitrary Power put in Priſon thoſe who refuſed to give it.

In ſhort, to ſhew what Wickedneſs the Man was capable of doing, I will only mention the *Caſe of Mitchell*, whom, upon a *ſacred Promiſe* of the *King's Pardon*, and a *ſolemn Aſſurance* that nothing he ſaid ſhould ever appear in Evidence againſt his Life, he drew in to make a criminal Confeſſion, which Promiſe and Aſſurance were *recorded in the Council-Books*, and *ſigned by the Lord Preſident*; yet did he proſecute *Mitchell* on this very Confeſſion; gave it on his Oath in the Court of Juſtice, that he never made any ſuch Promiſe and Aſſurance; had the Man condemned to Death; went up after the Trial into the Room over the Court, *ſaw the Promiſe on Record*, which he had *diſclaimed on his Oath of Evidence*; and, after all this aſtoniſhing Wickedneſs, compleated it by *putting the Man to Death*.

This is the Account of that *Duke Lauderdale*, whoſe Practices the *Craftſman* ſuggeſts to be now carried on, and his *perſonal* Qualities to be repreſented by ſomebody in *Scotland*. Let all Men judge of his *Honeſty* and *Veracity* from this *enormous* Inſtance of his Deficiency in both: And when they find any one Act of *Lauderdale*'s *Adminiſtration* to have been revived in *Scotland*, or any one Quality of *Lauderdale*'s *Character* in any of his Majeſty's Miniſters there, they may hold the *Election of the ſixteen Peers* a Nullity.

Craftſman, July 27. N° 421.

Of the Engliſh *Repreſentative.*

THERE is no Part of the Tranſactions in the *Engliſh* Hiſtory (ſays a Correſpondent of *D'Anvers*'s) more univerſally condemn'd than the Uſurpation of *Cromwell*. That it was wicked is undeniable, and as ſuch ought to be abhorred by all juſt Men; yet there is nothing in the Nature of Things, which hinders an *Uſurper* from governing mildly, and ſuffering his illegal Power to be limited by wiſe and good Reſtraints. *Cromwell*, as to his Government, was ſtrict and rigid; but yet he conſented to greater Limitations of Power than every one would have expected from him; for by the *Inſtrument of Government*, made in 1653, which conſtituted him *Protector*, he could not diſſolve any Parliament once met till they had ſate 5 *Months*; and ſuch Bills as ſhould be preſented to him by the Parliament, if they ſhould not be confirm'd by him in 20 Days, were to *paſs without him into Laws*. By the Act, called *the humble Petition and Advice*, paſſed in the Year 1657, he conſented, among other Things, to theſe Reſtrictions, *viz.*

'That he would call a *Parliament* once in
'a *Year* at fartheſt, to be legally choſen by a
'*free Election*.

'That none ſhou'd be added, or admitted
'to be of the *Privy Council*, without the
'Conſent of the reſt of the *Council*, and who
'ſhould afterwards be approved of by both
'*Houſes of Parliament*.

'That the Members of the *Council* ſhould
'not be removed but by Conſent of *Parlia-*
'*ment*; (except that, in the *Intervals* of
'*Parliament*, a Member of the *Council* might
'be ſuſpended from the Exerciſe of his Place
'for *juſt Cauſe*.)

'That

'That the *ſtanding Forces* ſhould be diſpos'd 'of by the *chief Magiſtrate*, with the Con- 'ſent of *both Houſes of Parliament*, (except 'in the *Intervals of Parliament*, by the *chief* 'Magiſtrate, with the Advice of the *Council.*)

'That the Chancellor, Keeper of the 'Great Seal, Treaſurer, or Commiſſioner of 'Treaſury, Admiral, chief Governor of *Ire-* 'land, the Chancellor and Commiſſioner of 'the Great Seal in *Ireland*, chief Juſtices of 'both Benches, chief Baron in *England* and 'Ireland, Commander in chief of the Forces 'in *Scotland*, and the Judges in *Scotland* 'ſhould be approved of by *both Houſes of* 'Parliament.'

And by the *explanatory Petition and Advice*, paſſed in the *ſame Parliament*, Part of the Oath, which every Member was to take, ran in theſe Words, 'That he would endeavour, 'as much as in him lay, the Preſervation of 'the *Rights and Liberties of the* People.'

Theſe Limitations, I ſay, were more than could be expected from a Man, who had uſurp'd the ſovereign Authority by ſuch Means; and the punctual Obſervation of them would have made his Government tolerable; but the Misfortune was, as it too often happens, that when he had ſecur'd himſelf in the Poſſeſſion of Power, he forgot the Conditions, on which he had ſolemnly promis'd to exerciſe it.

There was another Regulation made in thoſe Times, as to the *Elections of Parliament*, which our noble Hiſtorian, L. *Clarendon*, ſeems to approve. Take it in his own Words; (Vol. III. p. 386.) 'Tho' he, [i. e. *Crom-* 'well] did not obſerve the old Courſe, in ſend- 'ing Writs out to all the *little Boroughs* 'throughout *England*, which uſed to ſend 'Burgeſſes, (by which Method ſome *ſingle* 'Counties ſend more Members than *ſix other* 'Counties do) he thought he took a more equal 'Way by appointing *more Knights for every* 'Shire to be choſen, and *fewer Burgeſſes*; 'whereby the Number of the whole was 'leſſened; and yet the People being left to 'their *own Election*, it was not by him 'thought an ill Temperament, and was gene- 'rally look'd on as an Alteration fit to be 'more *warrantably made*, and in a *better Time.*'

Mr. *Rapin* agrees with L. *Clarendon* in this; for he tells us *that this Regulation, which was juſt in itſelf, met with a general Approbation*; and his *Tranſlator* obſerves, in a marginal Note, 'that it would have been well for *Eng-* 'land had this Regulation been always kept to; the *little inſignificant Boroughs* being omitted, and the Number of the *Knights of* 'the Shire increas'd from 4 to 12, according to the Extent of the County.'

I have no other Deſign in theſe Quotations than to ſhew the Opinion of *three indifferent Writers*, concerning the *Senſe of the People*, and to amuſe myſelf in computing what the Share of *each County* would be in the *Repre-* ſentative, did they ſend Members in Proportion to their *Wealth*. Upon this, I have formed a Table, *one Column* ſhewing the Number of Members each County does *now ſend*, *another Column* ſhewing the Number each County *would ſend*, if they ſent in Proportion to the *Land Tax* they pay; but as the *Land Tax* is very unequal, ſo a Proportion formed by that Rule would ſtill be unequal; for which Reaſon, I have formed a *third Column*, moderating the Difference between the *other two*, not meerly by Gueſs, but by a Rule, that certainly abates the Error in every Inſtance; but, for Want of a true Rental of *England*, it is impoſſible to make it exact, nor is a ſtrict Exactneſs of Importance.

	Names of the Counties.	*Numbers each County now ſends.*	*Numbers in Proportion to the Land Tax.*	*Numbers as by a moderated Eſtimate.*
B	Bedf.	4	7	6
B	Berks	9	10	9
	Bucks	14	12	12
	Cambr.	6	8	6
	Cheſhire	4	7	6
	Cornwall	44	8	21
	Cumberl.	6	1	3
C	Derbyſh.	4	6	6
C	Devonſh.	26	21 ¼	24
	Dorſetſh.	20	9	12
	Durham	4	2 ¾	3
	Eſſex	8	23	18
	Glouceſt.	8	12	9
	Hampſh.	26	14	18
	Hereford.	8	5 ½	6
	Hertford.	6	11	9
D	Hunting.	4	3 ½	3
	Kent	18	21	18
	Lancaſhire	14	5 ½	9
	Leiceſter.	4	9	6
	Lincolnſh.	12	18	15
	London	4	31	21
	Inns of Court, White-Hall and St. James's	8	8	6
E	Weſtmin.	2	16	9
	Middleſex	2	27	18
	Monm.	3	2 ½	3
	Norfolk	12	21	18
	Northam.	9	12	12
	Northum.	8	3 ¾	6
	Nottingh.	8	7	7
	Oxfordſh.	9	10	9
	Rutland.	2	2 ¼	3
F	Shropſhire	12	7 ½	9
	Somerſet.	18	18 ½	18
	Staffordſh.	10	7	9
	Suffolk	16	19	18
	Surrey	14	16 ½	15
	Suſſex	28	15 ½	18
	Warwick.	6	10	9
	Worceſt.	9	8 ½	9
G	Wiltſhire	34	13 ½	24
	Weſtmor.	4	1	3
	Yorkſhire	30	24 ¾	27
	Wales	24	18	23
		513		513

From this Computation it appears how very unequally the Election of Members to ſerve the Commons in Parliament is at preſent proportioned to the *Wealth* of different Counties, and the *Taxes* they pay. But to prevent all captious Exceptions and little Cavils, I muſt repeat my Declaration that I have no other View in this Letter than to evince the Reaſonableneſs of your late Diſtinction between the *Members for thoſe little Boroughs*, which Bp. *Burnet* calls *the rotten Part of our Conſtitution*, and the *Knights of the Shires*, or *Repreſentatives of great trading Towns*; for tho' I may be allowed to agree with L. *Clarendon*, Mr. *Rapin* and other Writers, in wiſhing that ſome Regulation of this Kind had been continued at the *Reſtoration*, or renewed at the *Revolution*, when the People were under a Neceſſity of reſorting to the firſt Principles of Government, and had a Right to the Redreſs of all their Grievances; I ſay, tho' we may be allowed to wiſh this, I am very far from deſigning to propoſe any ſuch Alteration at preſent, when the Power of the People is not in their own Hands, and the very Attempt might give our Enemies an Advantage over us. It would now be called a Deſign to remove *Foundations*, to ſubvert the *Conſtitution*, and introduce a *new Form of Government*; as we have lately ſeen in ſome other Attempts, of the ſame Kind, to ſecure the *Freedom and Independency of Parliament*, both within Doors and without.

Fog's Journal, July 27. Nº 299.

A Precedent for Miniſters, with a Caution to Fog.

SIR,

I Have heard that the Judgments in our Courts of Law, are very often, or for the moſt Part, determined by *prior* Judgments in ſimilar Caſes; which are collected in the Law Books, called Reports, and that, theſe Reports, are ſtudied, by thoſe, who deſign for the Bar, as containing in a great Meaſure the whole Body of the Law. In a Word, that the Judges and Lawyers are guided by Precedents, the Opinions of able Judges and Lawyers, who have gone before them, and no Judgment can be cenſured, which is ſupported by ſuch Precedents.

Now, Maſter *Fog*, why ſhould not a Miniſter of State be allowed the ſame Advantage? Why ſhould not his Conduct be juſtified by Precedents; if ſuch Precedents are of wiſe and great Men, whether Princes or Miniſters, who have either kept themſelves, or entruſted others with the Helm of Government? It is very hard, Maſter *Fog*, that a Judge, who is to decide between private Parties, ſhall have a Rule to walk by, which, if obſerved, ſhall ſet him above Danger, and out of the Reach of Cenſure: And that he, who has the Management of the Intereſt of the whole collective Body of the People, notwithſtanding he can prove his Conduct conſonant with that of the great Men, who have in former Times, filled the ſame Poſts, ſhall be expoſed to the Sarcaſms and invidious Reflections of ſuch inveterate Pens as yours and the *Craftſman*, and be compelled to give a weekly Account for his Conduct. In this Point, I myſelf cannot but blame the great Man for too great a Condeſcenſion, his beſt Way of anſwering your Invectives would be by Contempt; indeed he partly ſhews how mean an Opinion he has of you, by employing the moſt wretched Tools, the moſt deſpicable Writers that could be found for Love or Money to enter the Liſt againſt you and the *Craftſman*, and I apprehend, for this Reaſon, I ſhall prove a Voluntier without Pay.

But to return; is there any one Particular in all the Time of a certain great Man's A—n, for which he cannot ſhew Precedents enough to juſtify himſelf, and ſatisfy the Publick? This I acknowledge he is not obliged to do, the diffus'd Publick is too much below a great Man's Notice, and he, as are the Judges, is accountable to Parliament only, before which, you, the *Craftſman*, your Aiders and Abettors, have been often dared to lay the pretended Grievances of the People: But, let us look back into the Actions of former M——rs, let us examine their Views; their Conduct; let us look into our political Reports, I mean Hiſtory, and I don't queſtion but you will find the great Man ſo well ſupported by Precedents, that if you have any Shame left, you will for the future give over your pretended Zeal for the Publick, and make the ſame Uſe of it, as all wiſe Men have done, and ever will do; for between you and me, Maſter *Fog*, the Publick is no more than a Beaſt of Burthen, which is dangerous only when not loaded; like the Mind of Man, if not employ'd, it will turn to Miſchief, rather than lie idle. This was perfectly well underſtood, by *Henry* IV. whoſe Crown they put on with Joy, and would have pulled off again with the ſame Alacrity; but were ſoon convinc'd they had not a *Richard* the Second to deal with.

Having mentioned this Prince, I think the preſent Situation of Affairs (which you and ſome others will have to be entirely owing to the conſummate Wiſdom of the P—e M——r) cannot be better illuſtrated than by a Retroſpection into his Reign; and I rather chuſe to do it, as he (*Henry* IV.) was his own Miniſter, as it is a Maxim in our Law, that the King can do no Wrong; and if we find the Conduct of the *preſent great Man* juſtified by the Precedents of that *Quondam great Prince*, I think it will be needleſs for the future to ſay any Thing in Defence of the former.

The

The first Act of Power in the Reign of *Henry* IV. stops the Mouths of all who grumble at the Septennial Act. For *he*, by his own Authority, empowered the Representatives in Parliament, who met by Virtue of the Writs issued by *Richard* II. together with the House of Lords, to be a new Parliament. Forbearance and long Suffering were distinguishable in *Henry* IV. yet no Prince was braver in his Person, by the unanimous Testimony of Historians; but he, for the most Part, chain'd up the Lyon, and let loose the Fox. He was too politick a Prince, to knock his Subjects o' th' Head, when he could, *viâ Negotiationis*, do his Business quietly; he weighed Things with Deliberation, proceeded with Calmness, and acted prudently according to the Situation of Affairs. Of this there are several Instances, for Example, the *Scots* seizing upon *Werck* Castle was a greater Affront than the *Spaniards* taking our Merchants Ships, yet he prudently left all Differences to a Negotiation; another Precedent which has been wisely followed by the great Man at the Helm, and which will, by the Success of the Commissioners empowered to demand, adjust, and receive Satisfaction, add new Lustre to his Name, for he knew the *Spaniards* too haughty a Nation to admit of such an *Inquisition*, did they not dread the Consequences of our M——r's Resentment.

Now, my Quondam Friend, can you give a Precedent of any one Man of Sense, continuing as you do, to hazard your Ears or Neck to no Manner of Purpose; for you must be convinced, that five Pieces of Gold is of greater Efficacy than fifty Sheets of *Rhetorick*? Take Advice, and seize old *Chronos* by the Fore-Lock, dine now and then with me on the fresh Air by the *Temple* Fountain, meditate on the Advice given by the Dial, *Nunc est Tempus acceptabile, festina & salvare*, recover from your romantick Notions; chew the Cud of Understanding, and take Care of one; for if you really believe your own Writings you must be as mad as the Man, who, in a Shipwreck, would needs drown for Company, tho' he might have escaped, and have got more of the Merchant's Goods than he lost of his own. What can be your Views in continuing your Weekly Animadversions on the Conduct of not only the wisest, but the *greatest Man* of the Age? Take Care his Lenity does not prove fatal to you and your Party —— it is not impossible it may be all Grimace: that he intends to make a Tool of you, and you are labouring to raise his Character as a Politician, while you think you are fixing on him that of a Blunderer. Depend upon it, he either despises your Rage, or hopes to catch you napping.

TIMOTHY SCRUBB.

Weekly Miscellany, July 27. N° 85.

A grand Argument for Infidelity answer'd.

AS I was musing the other Day on the late Writings of the Infidels, I observed, that the Argument against Christianity, which they mightily insist upon, is this; that it is A a *needless* and *useless* Institution, and for that Reason cannot proceed from God, who does nothing in vain: In Support of which they say thus; 'That if it were at all *necessary* and 'useful, it was *equally so* in all Ages, and 'would therefore have been *equally communi-* 'cated to all Men alike; and not have been 'deferred for 4000 Years to the Time of B 'Tiberius, or have been revealed to a small 'Part of Men only, exclusively of the rest: 'This is inconsistent with God's *impartial* 'and *universal* Goodness.'

This is the Argument, Mr. *Hooker*, which I observed to reign in the Writings of the Infidels. It is a favourite Topick, which they harangue upon, often, and much. There is C something plausible and popular in it, which has taken perhaps with some unwary Readers, who don't examine Things to the Bottom; but it is in Reality nothing more, than a Composition of *false Fact*, and *false Logick*. These are the two Ingredients of which it consists, as will plainly appear from the following Considerations.

1*st*, The Light of the Gospel was not *to-* D *tally* with-held from Men for 4000 Years, or its Publication *absolutely* deferred to the Time of *Tiberius*; but it was all along *gradually revealed* quite down from the Fall of Man.

2*dly*, The Benefits of it extend to all the Sons of *Adam*; to those who lived before the Time of *Tiberius*, as well as to those who have lived since. This is plainly asserted in E Scripture. We read, that *as in* Adam *all die, even so in* Christ *shall all be made alive*: That is, as all Men are subject to Death thro' *Adam*'s Disobedience, so all Men shall be raised from the Dead thro' the Merits of Christ.

3*dly*, Hence it is plain, that the Gospel, considered as a Covenant, has been *equally communicated to all Men alike*; and that the F Publication of it, at the Time, and in the Manner in which it was done, has put no other Difference or Inequality among Men, but only this, that they, to whom it has been revealed, are placed in a higher Order of Service, and in a Capacity for a higher Reward than other Men.

4*thly*, This *Difference* or *Inequality* among G Men, is none other than what arises proportionably from the *different* natural Endowments, and the *different* Opportunities of improving them, which God distributes to them. It is evident, that he does not grant *equally to all Men* the same Advantages, or make them *equally*

equally capable of the ſame Degree of Perfection and Happineſs, but deals *variouſly with them*, according to his good Pleaſure. Some do as much exceed others in Senſe aud Underſtanding, as they are themſelves ſurpaſſed by the Angels; and the firſt Rate of Men are as much ſuperior to the loweſt in natural Abilities, as theſe are to the Brute Creation: So likewiſe there is a vaſt Difference in the Opportunities that Men ſeverally have of improving their natural Powers. Now this Inequality among Men, is a Means of *different Degrees* of moral Perfection, and therefore of *Happineſs ſuitable to them.*

A

It indeed it were ſaid, that Chriſtians only could be ſaved, or that thoſe, who never heard of *Chriſt*, whether *Pagans*, or *Jews*, ſhould be damned, I know not how it could be reconciled with God's *impartial* and *univerſal* Goodneſs, that he ſhould reveal the Goſpel in the Manner he has done. But to ſay that Chriſtians are ſo far diſtinguiſhed from other Men, as to be capable of a *higher Reward*, thro' a *higher Service*, is to ſay only, that God hath acted in this Caſe, as he does in others.

B

C

Laſtly, It may be conſidered, that the Advantages which ſome Men enjoy above others, by Virtue either of their *natural Endowments* or of *ſupernatural Light*, are ſo many Talents for which they are accountable. *Much will be required of thoſe, to whom much is given.* Where the Advantages are greater, there the *Obligations* and *Danger* are greater in Proportion; and where the Advantages are ſmaller, there ſo much the leſs is required, and the leſs alſo is the Hazard.

D

Thus it appears, Mr. *Hooker*, that the Argument againſt Chriſtianity, ſo often urged by the Infidels, has no Weight at all. It is more weak, if poſſible, than their Prejudice is ſtrong, or their Confidence great. The Goſpel has not been equally communicated to all Men; therefore it is not all needful or uſeful; therefore it cannot proceed from God. That is to ſay, internal or external Advantages are not equally communicated to all Men; therefore they are not all needful or uſeful; therefore they cannot proceed from God.

E

Univerſal Spectator, July 27. N° 303.

Of knowing one's ſelf.

THE chief Knowledge we ſhould have an Ambition to attain, ſhould be the *Knowledge* of *Ourſelves*, which, tho' it is the moſt neceſſary, is the leaſt ſtudied, for that is neglected as too trifling, tho' without it we cannot know what is good or evil for us, with Reſpect to our Condition, our Age, and the Perſons with whom we live, nor be able to perform the Duties we owe them.

Men generally think that they are too well acquainted with their own Hearts, to be Strangers to them: They are generally acquainted with nothing leſs: They are in nothing more frequently miſtaken than in the Judgment they make of their own Way of Thinking: They flatter themſelves with good Senſe, good Humour, and Impartiality, but are ignorant of their real Levity, their moroſe Humours, and unjuſt Diſguſts.

To come at this Knowledge, we ſhould, from the Examples of the World, draw parallel Inſtances to ourſelves, and gain that by Reflection which without communing with our Hearts, we ſhall never poſſeſs. When we ſee *Drances*, who almoſt from the Dregs of the People is grown conſiderable, is grown alſo proud, inſolent, diſdainful, we ſhould ſearch ourſelves, if a proportionable Alteration in our Fortunes might not give us a great Share in that Pride which in *Drances* we now ſo much condemn; and whether, with that good Humour we now think ourſelves Maſters of, we might ſtill pleaſe all Perſons, and in a State of Proſperity, ſtill preſerve a Decency and Complaiſance.

To arrive at Impartiality enough to make ſuch Sort of Scrutiny, requires ſome *Thinking*; for the World is full of People, who in making a Compariſon of themſelves with others, always decide in Favour of their *own Merit*, and act accordingly. *Harry Triſle* would be a Wit, therefore imitated *Eugenio* to be one; he thinks he now has rival'd him; he compares every ſmart Thing *Eugenio* ſays with ſomething he himſelf has ſaid on the ſame Subject, but never determines in Prejudice to his *own Parts*: Every one laughs at *Triſle* for a *Coxcomb*, and he ſtill takes Care to be laugh'd at.

F

There is one Set of Men whom one would think *knew themſelves* perfectly, at the ſame Time they are intirely ignorant; who frankly confeſs their Imperfections tho' they do not once imagine that in Reality they have any. *Foppington* will often cry out, *Well, Rat me, if I am not one of the dulleſt, ignoranteſt Puppies.*——He is ſo.——*Drybones* laughs, and tells his Friends, he may be ſafely truſted with their Wives, for he's *paſt it.*——*Drybones* for the World would not be thought ſo, but judge if he ſpeaks not true——He is *paſt Threeſcore*. *Niger* calls himſelf *Poor*, and *Witwou'd* terms himſelf a *Blockhead*.—Every Body knows them ſo.

G

On

On a celebrated young Lady at *Leeds*.

SHE who has ſeen the world, and thinks it vain,
Is of a ſpirit humble, but not mean;
Whoſe beauty, ſuch as my own taſte admires,
From me no other character requires;
Whoſe tongue (ſweet muſick!) charms the nicest ear
With wit that's fine and lively, not ſevere;
Who in the elegance of breeding ſhines,
And every other female charm refines;
In whom theſe characters, ſo pleaſing, meet,
Softly majeſtick, and genteely ſweet;
Chearful, not light; and courteous, tho' ſincere;
And not too prone, too much to wiſh, or fear;
Whoſe paſſions all in even currents flow,
And neither ſwell too high, nor ſink too low;
Who would afford as much connubial bliſs,
As thought can fancy, or the heart can wiſh:
Let her be mine, if ſuch a one there be;
And ſuch a one there is——and ———'s ſhe.

Verſes on a young Lady, grown vain and conceited of her Beauty, and complaining of the Loſs of her Admirers.

THAT, once the pleaſing ſight of every eye,
You now, dear Lucia, paſs unheeded by,
Complain not, do not wonder; we're the ſame;
In you's the change, in you alone the blame;
The change in that dear beauteous face we find
Is wrought by an unhappy change of mind.
'Tis there that vain, conceited thoughts within,
Stamp their dire image on the lovely mien,
And put out all the charms ſo oft with rapture ſeen.
See then the cauſe your charms are fled away;
With affectation beauty will not ſtay.
If you wou'd charm us, as you charm'd before,
Aim not at charming, and be vain no more.
The unaffected fair one charms with eaſe,
And pleaſes moſt, when ſhe forgets to pleaſe.

To the Right Hon. *Henry Bromley*, Eſq; An Epiſtle, in Praiſe of *Cambridge*.

WITH candour deign, O Bromley, to peruſe
This triflle of his too advent'rous muſe,
Who firſt upon the banks of winding Cam
Catch'd but a ſpark of that celeſtial flame,
Which in her Milton's breaſt once burnt ſo pure
That its remains through ages ſhall endure:
Near venerable elms here Cowley ſtray'd,
Courting the nine beneath their pleaſing ſhade:
Here Dryden, who on ev'ry ſubject ſhone,
Was firſt inſpir'd, and firſt eulogiums won:
Here he whoſe Alma and the Nutbrown Maid
Procur'd him laurels which can never fade:
Here Garth, in diff'rent arts to Phœbus dear,
His numbers poliſh'd, and made ſcience clear:
Here firſt the noble Montague, when young,
Of Charles's death and Anna's nuptials ſung;
But after on a theme more lofty try'd,
Gallau in arms, and Boyn all crimſon dy'd;
Then threw aſide the lyre, with bays thus crown'd,
In ſcenes of buſ'neſs ſince not leſs renown'd,
When he that * project form'd, of ſo much weight,
Which in its utmoſt peril ſav'd the ſtate:
When theſe examples I revolve in mind,
My want of energy I quickly find;
Tho' emulation riſes in my breaſt,
By cares my genius is too much depreſt;
Elſe would I celebrate each awful ſeat
To learning ſacred, and each cloſe retreat
For contemplation fit, fair Granta's pride,
Where ſtudious ſome, ſome argue, ſome decide:
Where knowledge is acquir'd--where firſt the plan
In youth is laid, which dignifies the man.
That † ſtructure firſt my notice would invite,
When diſtant far conſpicuous by its height.
Beneath its roof ſtupendous when I paſs,
See its ſtrong walls, and beauteous tinctur'd glaſs,
When on its conſecrated ground I tread,
Hear anthems ſung, or ſolemn ſervice read,
Such extaſies, as I can ſcarce controul,
Quickly invade and captivate my ſoul.
This royal building, rear'd by ‡ Henry's zeal,
Ere civil diſcord rent the commonweal,
Muſt ſurely cauſe the Muſes to regret
His dire misfortunes, and lament his fate;
Yet let them not too much indulge their grief,
Since what muſt joy afford, affords relief.
To him this college has a rightful claim,
Diſtinguiſh'd moſt in the white liſts of fame,
Applauded man! who in the higheſt truſt
His ſovereign ſerves, is to his country juſt;
He when impending ſtorms Britannia fear'd,
While low'ring clouds diſmal all round appear'd,
And traitors, by their machinations vile,
Had near to ruin brought this pow'rful iſle,
In ſenates oft', with eloquence moſt rare,
Rais'd ſanguine hope from depths of black deſpair:
For this, when Brunſwick firſt the throne obtain'd,
Rewards and honours merited he gain'd:
For this the ſilver ſtar ſhines on his breaſt,
Of worth and gratitude at once the teſt.
A neighb'ring edifice next ſtrikes my view,
Which boaſts of Hervey, Newcaſtle, and you;
All like Mæcenas bleſt with lib'ral hearts,
Like him all prone to cheriſh fineſt arts:
Much could I here expatiate in your praiſe,
But ſuch efforts your modeſty gainſays:
How as a ſenator, with reaſ'ning ſtrong,
In nice debates you ſep'rate right from wrong;
Or how that ſhire you guard, and moſt adorn,
In which I, meaneſt of her ſons, was born;
To tell while I'm by inclination led,
Your anger here, and only here I dread.
But I muſt ſpeak your elegance of taſte,
And how the claſſicks oft are your repaſt:
In Hoſſet's verdant park whene'er you roam,
With ſuch companions as are § Smyth and Soame,
Enraptur'd all with Virgil's ſublime thought,
Or ſweeteſt odes which charming Horace wrote.
But hold!—from Granta I have wander'd quite,
Where other domes encomiums will excite:

* The Recoinage. † *King*'s College Chapel. ‡ *Henry* VI. § Sir *Robert Smyth*.

Its

Its theatre demands the foremoſt place,
In which we may unnumber'd beauties trace;
Princes and nobles here vy'd in expence,
Who moſt ſhou'd add to its magnificence:
Near this the publick library contains
Of antient Greece *and* Rome *the rich remains,*
And whate'er modern hiſtory ſupplies,
Recording actions of the brave and wiſe:
This large collection, once a prelate's care,
A monarch's bounty will no leſs declare,
And whoe'er ſees the waſt donation here,
His memory ought always to revere.
Saint John's *moſt ſpacious and extenſive courts,*
To which th' enquiring traveller reſorts;
While Marg'ret Tudor's *piety they ſhew,*
At the ſame time delight in every view.
Not far from hence, near to the river's ſide
Whoſe cryſtal ſtreams through vales enamel'd glide,
Magd'len *appears, greatly by time impair'd,*
Its drooping tow'rs claim therefore leſs regard;
Yet by the kind bequeſt of Pepys, *within*
Ineſtimable lit'rature is ſeen,
Volumes collected with the utmoſt ſkill
In various languages ſhelves various fill.
Here too chalcography preſents to ſight
A thouſand forms,—ſome rough, ſome ſweet and bright;
Reſemblances exact of young and old,
Whom tombs encloſe the opening leaves unfold;
Stern warriors, blooming belles, and ſages learn'd,
Thus from oblivion reſcu'd are diſcern'd.
Retiring hence, Emanuel *will impart*
Equal ſurprize from Amiconi's *art.*
Near to its holy altar ſee how ſhine
The ſeveral parts of his well judg'd deſign,
Colours ſo blended from his pencil flow,
A groupe of figures ſeems with life to glow;
See in the prodigal, on his reclaim,
For conduct paſt, how bluſh his cheeks with ſhame.
See in the parent fond, when he returns,
His eyes how ſparkling, how with joy he burns.
Not ſo the elder ſon, he looks ſedate,
As if he thought the favours ſhewn too great.
In all their features finely is expreſt
What diff'rent paſſions reign in every breaſt;
Having thus amply gratify'd deſire,
Away I range, and view each glitt'ring ſpire,
Obſerve new fabricks riſe with every grace,
And yearly add new luſtre to the place.
Columns with decorations fit aſcend,
While arches wide with due proportion bend.
Bear me, O bear me to adjacent fields,
There boundleſs tranſport the full proſpect yields;
Or let me only walk from ſtreet to ſtreet,
Still what's auguſt, or delicate I meet.
Here Trinity *can never be ſurvey'd,*
But our Eighth Henry's *grandeur is diſplay'd:*
While its fair chapel, quadrangle, and hall,
For each ſpectator's admiration call:
They thro' a viſta here which charms the eye,
That ſumptuous gate, which you beſtow'd, deſcry;
Or elſe they gaze with wonder on that pile,
Which was Wren's *exquiſite and curious toil:*
Theſe walls in his firſt years a Newton *grac'd,*
Who nature thro' her ſecret mazes trac'd;
And while his works o'er Europe *this make known,*
Has high rais'd England's *glory with his own.*
Other foundations here in ſplendour ſtand,
From which have ris'n the worthies of the land.
Sidney *may well exult, that he who ſhew*
Nature's religion in a light ſo true,
By his delineation juſt and fair,
Commenc'd his ſtudies, and firſt flouriſh'd there.
Since Reynolds *happily expounds our laws,*
And in the court preſides with all applauſe;
Since with ſuch equity he frames decrees
As ſcarcely can the loſers ſelves diſpleaſe;
By Queen's *it is the higheſt honour deem'd,*
He there was bred, who's every where eſteem'd.
In Cath'rine-Hall *inſtructed firſt was he,*
Who with much luſtre now fills Sarum's *ſee,*
Whoſe oratory fine, and nervous ſenſe,
Exerted oft in liberty's defence,
For welfare of mankind, give him a place
With Sidney, Lock, *and all the patriot race.*
Oh! that the Muſe knew how with eaſe to ſoar,
Your lov'd Clare-Hall *ſhe'd mention then one more.*
Then Tillotſon *wou'd be her fav'rite choice,*
Of him ſhe wou'd attempt to raiſe her voice;
But his deſert ſhe'd try to ſing in vain,
Too faint her words, too low her loftieſt ſtrain.
Of Caius *ſhou'd we only this remark,*
Can praiſe be greater? -- it produc'd a Clarke;
Search where we will, few, very few we meet,
In life ſo ſtrict, in learning ſo compleat;
The ſacred oracles he well explor'd,
Doctrines abſtruſe explain'd, loſt truths reſtor'd;
By full conviction made the atheiſt yield,
And from diſputing ſcepticks won the field:
With veneration therefore he is nam'd,
By his immortal labours ever fam'd.
If we look back to a preceding age,
When martyrs fell by bigotry and rage,
Our Alma Mater *confeſſors ſupply'd,*
Whoſe conſtancy in all degrees was try'd;
Cranmer *and* Ridley *ſuffer'd in the flame,*
Which was, and e'er will be Maria's *ſhame;*
Lights of the reformation firſt they ſtood,
Then ſeal'd its truth both with their dying blood;
Thoſe colleges to which they once were dear,
Jeſus *and* Pembroke, *owe them every tear.*
Some other ſtructures, and illuſtrious men,
Might here exact juſt tribute from my pen;
But chiefly thoſe who piles vouchſaf'd to raiſe,
From * Hugo Balſham's *down to theſe our days,*
Had not I too much treſpaſs'd on your time,
In ſpiritleſs and diſproportion'd rhyme.

* The Founder of *Peter-Houſe*, the oldeſt College in the Univerſity.

On a Lady patching herſelf.

THE conſcious fair-one knowing well
The many charms that with her dwell,
How they, intolerably bright,
Do dazzle and confound our ſight;

In duty to our weaker ſenſe
Preſs'd with too ſtrong an influence,
Corrects their power, abates their rays,
Herſelf in milder light diſplays;
And there, and there in the fair face,
A charm eclipſes, hides a grace.
Thanks to the fair-one. Now our eye,
When charms are hid, can charms eſpy.
A little darkneſs helps our ſight,
Who were made blind by too much light.
Thus 'tis we ſee not happineſs
In a continu'd flow of bleſs,
That we life's pleaſures ſeldom taſte
Till clouds the lovely ſcene o'ercaſt;
Till ſpotted ills in the fair mirrour riſe,
And teach us, by our pains, to know our joys.

On the Ladies bathing in the Sea at *Scarborough*.
By a Gentleman of *Oxford*.

THAT from the ſea, the bards of old have ſung,
Venus, *the queen of* love *and* beauty, *ſprung,*
That on its curling waves the am'rous tide,
Safe wafted her to ſhore in all its pride;
Soft pleaſure revell'd thro' the Cyprian grove,
And gladden'd nature hail'd the queen *of* love:
Knowing it falſe, *charm'd with the pleaſing tale,*
We praiſe the fiction being told ſo well.
But when on Scarb'rough's *ſands the* Britiſh *fair,*
Safe in the flood *the curling ſurges* dare;
When here *ſo* many queens *of* love *we ſee*
Bath in the waves, and wanton *in the* ſea,
We juſtly, Scarb'rough, *bleſs thy* happier *ſhore,*
And bid the fabling poets *lye no more;*
In madneſs *they their* fancy'd Venus *drew,*
Of theſe *we feel the* pow'r, *and know it* true.
No more then, poets, *in* romantick *ſtrain,*
One Venus *call, when here ſo* many *reign;*
No more invoke her from her Cyprian grove,
But henceforth Scarb'rough *be the* ſeat *of* love.

From —— of —— College, *Cambridge*, to *E. B.* of the *Inner Temple*, Eſq; A familiar Epiſtle.

AS freſhmen, *who are not ſo pat in*
Their Heereboord *and* logic latin,
Yet wou'd of reaſon *be* definers,
Begin *with* majors *and with* minors;
But *then in* them *ſpend ſo much ſenſe,*
They quite *forget the* conſequence:
Or (leſt you *think me quite grown frantic,*
To lugg *in ſimile pedantic*)
As on a Sunday *rambling* cit
The baſe beſtrides *his* hackney tit,
But *when* he's mounted *on his horſe,*
Knows not *which way to ſteer his courſe;*
At laſt he kicks *with armed heel,*
And lets nag *take which* road *he will,*
So that he rides, *and ſtill* ſpurs *on,*
For how, or where, *to him's all one.*

Thus *I* begin *in haſte to write,*
Tho' know not what next to indite;
But having raſhly got aſtride
My Pegaſus, *I needs muſt ride;*
And ſpurring on in jingling chime,
Jog in the dogg'rel road of rhime:
That is in Engliſh, *plain and better,*
As I've begun, *muſt* end *my letter.*
But leſt you think all this is farce,
And I'm * roſſmatt'ring *you in verſe,*
I'll curb the airy ſteed *awhile,*
And thus go on in formal *ſtyle:*
Dear Ned, *yours I receiv'd, whoſe date*
Was of laſt June *the* twenty eight,
Which brought me ſervices by dozens
From all my loving aunts *and* cozens,
In which you wiſh by way of hint,
And vow there is no danger in't,
I'd let you know what life *I lead,*
What are my principles *and* creed.
Returning then my love to all
Friends round the dome of good St. Paul;
And not forgetting out o' ſcorn, Sir,
My friend Trunkmaker *at the corner;*
As few rhimes as I can to waſte,
I gladly to the buſ'neſs haſte.
Imprimis *then, when chapel bell*
Wakes me at ſix, *with dreary knell;*
When Kitty *at my bedſide cries,*
Sir,---Sir,---*it rings to pray'rs,*-- d'ye riſe?
I ſtart up in my bed amain,
Then--calmly lay me down again,
And ſleep -and doze--and dream till ten;
Not thoſe your mad poetic dreams,
Of bubbling brooks and purling ſtreams;
Not thro' the flow'ry meads to rove,
As poets fancy when they love;
But with a cuſtom better boaſted,
Dream of the girls *I laſt night toaſted:*
And let theſe dreams *continue ſtill,*
Chloe, *coquet as you will.*
At ten *I wake, ſlip on my* gown,
And to my breakfaſt *ſit me down,*
Where, o'er my elemental tea,
I dip into philoſophy;
And while the lines *and* curves *I mangle,*
Juſt learn a circle's *not an* angle:
Oftner *in* Flaccus' *odes divine,*
I read of joys, *of* love *and* wine;
But ne'er look at emending notes,
Which † B--tl--y *at* his peril *quotes;*
For maugre all that B--tl--y's *writ,*
I ſtill think Horace *has moſt wit.*
——*My barber tapping at my door,*
I give my books *and* ſtudy *o'er:*
I dreſs, and huddle on my things,
By then the bell for dinner *rings;*
——*I* dine, *if dinner you may call*
Our ſlender commons *in the* hall,
Our hall, *which well may repreſent*
A prieſtcraft popiſh ſacrament,

* A *Cambridge* Term for playing the Fool.

† *Sic lege meo periculo. Bentley's Horace.*

In which we ſcholars laity *are,*
The fellows *to the* prieſts *compare,*
For while they *eat,* we *only* ſtare.
Such dinner o'er,---and over ſoon,
I lounge away the afternoon,
The ſmarts at * Paris's *among,*
Or ſipping tea with ſober ———,
Who can with ſpark'ling wit alarm,
And give ſound ſenſe a double charm.
The dwind'ling day to ev'ning runs,
I, to my ev'ning ſtage, the † Tuns;
Bottles and glaſſes all plac'd by one;
——Here's to the members of the *Lion.*——
Where our wine's good, and wit is ſuch,
'Tis ſometimes little, ſometimes much:
The ſmall and the great vulgar ſcorning,
We pay,-- and juſt get home 'fore morning:
By one *undreſs'd, to bed I creep,*
And learn'dly read myſelf to ſleep;
——*At* ſix *am* call'd,——*I* riſe *at* ten,——
Then play the ſame farce *o'er again.*
To lay my principles *before ye,*
I'm neither rigid Whig *nor* Tory;
But with a ſoul ſincere and hearty,
Deſpiſe the canting name of party;
I'd have my thoughts from virtue *ſpring,*
True to my country *and my* king.
As to my tenets *in* religion,
Tho' I'm not bound, Sir, to confeſſion,
I'll tell you what they are I've got,
By telling firſt what I have not;
I have no doubtful ſtrange ſuppoſes
About the antient books of Moſes,
Nor follow whimſies M--dd--tonian,
Nor niceties of ſpace C--rk--ſonian;
No faſhionable Tindaliſt,
But dully dare believe in Chriſt;
Yet not without my reaſon *free,*
With ſcripture *making it agree;*
And may I never deviate odd,
Or from my king, or from my God;
May I—*But hark! There's ſome one come*—
——*'Tis* H—, *and* Y—, *broke in my room.*—
They ſwear that I no more ſhall write,
I've only time this wiſh t'indite;
Health, wit, and ſoul ſincere and true,
Still be your fate —— *and ſo* Adieu.

The A B C Repreſentatives: Or, an Alphabetical Touch on the Times.

CHRIST—— *Paſs that black mark, tho' the firſt in the band,*
For now-a-days Chriſt's Croſs *for* nothing *muſt* ſtand:
But begin with great A, *you ſilly dull drone,*
For A *ſtands for* army, *which* ſtands *and* ſtands *on:*
B *ſtands for a* blunder *in or out of the* ſtate,
And C *ſtands for* Counſel, *which oft comes too* late;
To ſtand for the Devil *the* D *makes pretenſion,*
And the E *for* Exciſe — *the devil's invention;*
F *ſtands for a* fiddleſtick,—fleet—*and a fart,*
And G *ſtands for* going—*whene'er they depart:*
H *ſtands for a* Horace, *for his wit, whom we love,* [above:
And J *ſtands for* judgment, *which a* wit *is*
K *ſtands for a* knave, *and in that noble ſtation*
Has the honour to ſtand *for beſt part of the Nation:*
L *may ſtand for* legal *on an* election *liſt,*
But M *the* majority *none can reſiſt;*
Let N *ſtand for* nothing, *which nothing ſhall be,*
Sage grandmother Oſborne, *an* emblem *of ther;*
O *ſtands for a* cypher, *and as ſuch repreſents*
The yea *and* nay *ſpeakers in ſome* p--rl----t;
P *ſtands for a* P--lt--y, *a* plot *and a* pope,
Q *for a* quandary, *for them who're* paſt hope,
And R *for a* Robin, *a* ribband, *a* rope:
S *repreſents* ſomebody, *for which ſomebody,* T
Is the firſt type *of* Tyburn *that fam'd* triple tree:
V *ſtands for a* vote, *(and a moral to ſhow)*
W *for ſome* wiſdom *that* vote *to beſtow;*
For as X *ſtands for* ten, — *ten pounds let it be,*
It oft buys *a* vote — *not as* bribe, *but as* fee:
Y *ſtands for the man whoſe* ſweet flowing *tongue*
Is as noted as any the ſenate among:
Z *ſtands for* — z--ns — *a d-mn'd letter of no worth,*
And And per ſe and, *juſt to end it,*—*and*—ſo forth.
Then on theſe *letters* let no cenſure fall,
They're *knights* of th' *ſhires,* and *repreſent* you *all.*

In Praiſe of Mrs. Anne —— *of* —— *in* Eſſex. *By the Author of* Kirby-Hill. (*See p.* 324.)

NANCY, each youth's diſtinguiſh'd care,
Envied by every *Eſſex* fair,
Such various charms compoſe, wou'd move
A *Scythian* heart to ſofteſt love;
Her bluſhing cheeks with crimſon dy'd
Where everlaſting ſmiles reſide;
Her dimpled chin, her ſparkling eyes,
Serene and bright as ſummer ſkies:
And lips ſuch grateful fragrance ſhed,
They all *Ambroſia* far exceed;
Each pretty ſnow-white riſing breaſt,
More lovely ſtill the nymph confeſt;
Innocence and truth with theſe combine,
Juſtly to render her divine;
Virtue that men to heav'n endears,
In native luſtre here appears:
What charms her latent features boaſt,
Are to my muſe entirely loſt;
But doubtleſs nature boon diſplay'd
The utmoſt art to form this maid,
And to ſurpaſs *Europa* ſtrove,
When ſhe enamour'd mighty *Jove*;
Or gods in ſynod jointly met,
This great *Pandora* to compleat,
Such airs and lineaments deſign'd,
To bleſs and curſe at once mankind:

* A noted Coffee-Houſe. † A Tavern.

Me-

Methinks the pleasing thoughts excite
The greatest pleasure and delight;
That recollect each ev'ning song
Which broke sweet accents from her tongue;
When I by her side admiring sat,
And now and then with gentle pat,
Reprov'd her modest embryon love,
Witness'd alone by th' nodding grove;
Whilst she return'd a smiling look,
And brillant eyes her passion spoke.
Sure *Nancy*'s dread attractive pow'r,
Were *Paris* now, he would adore;
And darling *Helen* thence disdain,
For *Nancy*'s less destructive reign.
This is my wish, this my request,
With such a damsel to be blest:
Wou'd heav'n comply, I'd strait dismiss,
All hopes of other earthly bliss:
Well-pleas'd my beauteous she I'd prize,
And even regal pomp despise.

E. C.

The VIII. *Ode of* Anacreon. *Upon his Dream.*

ON purple tapestry, brisk and gay
With wine, at night I sleeping lay.
Midst virgins, sporting on the plain
A swift long course I seem'd to strain.
Some boys more swift than *Bacchus* near,
Envying my pastime with the fair,
In laughter loud, and bitter jest,
The malice of their hearts expreſt.
The girls I strove to kiss, but they,
With sleep, fled from me all away.
Thus left alone, and sad, I fain
Would close my eyes to sleep again.

The two following stand not amiss together.

HYMN to HEALTH.

O *Health*, thou parent of untainted joys,
Whose favour never surfeits, never cloys,
Without whose aid all blessings are but vain:
For who can taste unless devoid of pain?
Possest of thee, the beggar dwells at ease;
If absent thou, O what can give us peace?
Solace of life! bright nymph by all ador'd!
Say how thou'rt gain'd, or how thou art restor'd.
When thro' the bones the *rheumatism* flies,
And the poor wretch in racking torment lies;
When hands, or feet, or stomach, are oppress
With gouty pains, fell enemies to rest;
When thro' each limb, each muscle, and each vein,
The *scurvy* boasts its foul tyrannick reign;
Say by what art, what *Esculapian* hand,
Can'st thou be reinstated in command.
Great queen of bliss! thy vot'ries suit attend;
And to his earnest pray'r with ear propitious bend,
See! from yon purple cloud the chariot broke;
Hither with vig'rous step and ruddy look
The goddess moves —— and now she silence breaks: [speaks.
Be all things hush'd, while *Health* her answer
'If me with such a passion you desire,
'Few words will tell you all that you require:
'Be temp'rate, and thro' life be sure of me,
'From *rheumatisms*, *gouts*, and *scurvy* free.
'Thro' folly if I'm lost —— to *Ward* apply;
'His drop shall make those stubborn evils fly.
'Thus I, propitious, have, as you implor'd,
'Taught how I may be held, and how restor'd.

GUTTULA WARDIANA; *or* W——d's *Drops.*

EGregious *Ward*, you boast with success sure,
That your *one drop* can *all* distempers cure:
When it in *S——n cures* ambition's *pain*,
Or ends the *megrims* of Sir *Janus*' brain,
Of *wounded conscience* when it *heals* the *smart*,
And on *reflection* glads the statesman's heart;
When it to women *palls* old *M—ar—*'s *gust*,
And *cools* 'fore death the *fever* of his *lust*;
When *F——d* it can give of *wit* a *taste*,
Make *Harriot* pious, or *Corinna* chaste;
Make scribbling *B--dg--l deviate* into *sense*,
Or give to *Pope* more wit and excellence;
Then will I think that your *one drop* will save,
Ten thousand dying patients from the *grave.*

The IXth *Ode of* Anacreon. *Upon a Dove.*

THIS rapid flight through realms above,
Whence, whence tak'st thou, O lovely dove?
Whence so much fragrance from thy bill
Do'st breathe, or from thy wings distil;
Perfuming all the air around?
And pr'y-thee whither art thou bound?
To *Venus* once I did belong,
Who sold me for a pretty song:
And now my office is in brief,
Anacreon's messenger in chief.
Here from my neck, expos'd to view,
Depend thou seest his billet doux.
He said, when I set out, that he,
At my return would set me free:
But should he then dismiss me strait,
Yet I will still upon him wait.
For what wou'd it avail that I
O'er mountains and o'er fields shou'd flie;
And, on thick trees sublimely plac'd,
Take daily some poor wild repast?
Since now, by fond *Anacreon* fed,
From his own hand I peck the bread;
And of that wine delicious sip,
Which just before had wet his lip.
My thirst then quench'd, my wings I spread,
And cover all my master's head:
And, when soft sleep my eyes has clos'd,
Upon his lyre I perch repos'd.
I've told thee all —— be gone —— I vow,
Thou'st made me prattle like a chough.

The GENTLEMAN's

Monthly Intelligencer.

JULY, 1734.

THE Truſtees for eſtabliſhing the Colony of *Georgia* in *America* having deputed *James Oglethorpe*, *John Laroche* and *Richard Chandler*, Eſqs; and Mr. *Harman Vereſt*, to wait on, and bring up from *Graveſend* in a Barge, *Tomo Chachi*, an *Indian* Chief, with *Senauchi* his Wife, and *Tooanakowi* his Nephew, *Hilliſpilli* a War Captain, and *Apakowtſki*, *Stimaleechi*, *Sintoulchi*, *Stingwykkti*, and *Umpychi*, five other *Indians*, who came over with *James Oglethorpe*, Eſq; in the *Aldborough* Man of War, they arrived on *June* 28, at the ſaid Truſtees Office in *Weſtminſter*.

TUESDAY, July 2.

Her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs of *Orange* embark'd at *Helvoetſluys* on Saturday Night laſt, about Ten o'Clock, on board the *Fubbs* Yacht; and at Ten on Monday Morning, the Wind being ſtrong at Weſt, and the ſaid Yacht oppoſite to the *Kentiſh* Shore, her Royal Highneſs order'd the Captain to make the firſt Place where ſhe could land, which he did accordingly, and her Royal Highneſs came on Shore at a little Village called *Broad-Steps*, near the *North-Foreland*, from whence ſhe ſoon after proceeded for the Court at *Kenſington*. Her Royal Highneſs croſs'd the Ferry at *Weſtminſter* about Three this Morning, in good Health, but greatly fatigued; about Eight ſhe waited on their Majeſties, and was received with an inexpreſſible Satisfaction.

George Mertin, Eſq; and *William Pate*, Eſq; who were elected laſt *Midſummer-Day* Sheriffs of this City and County of *Middleſex*, for the Year enſuing, were diſcharged from the ſaid Office, by ſwearing they were not worth 10,000l. at the Time of their Election.

One *Pollard*, a *Frenchman*, the Captain's Swabber of the *Ipſwich* Man of War, was hanged at the Yard-Arm, in the Preſence of the whole Ship's Crew, purſuant to his Sentence at a general Court Martial, for the Murder of his own Son, a Youth of about 15 Years of Age, on board the ſaid Ship.

WEDNESDAY, 3.

It was notified at Court, that her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs of *Orange* was with Child.

TUESDAY, 9.

The five following Malefactors were executed at *Tyburn*, viz. *William Ray*, for the Murder of his Wife; *Roger Brew*, for the Murder of the Butcher's Boy in *Hungerford-Market*; *Thomas Taverner*, for a Robbery on the Highway; *Peter Maſſoe*, for a Street-Robbery; and *Richard Stevens*, alias *Evans*, for ſtealing Goods to the Value of 10l. *William Ray* broke his Halter juſt as the Cart drew from them, and by the Fall broke his Head; but was immediately tied up again, and ſuffered with the others. (See p. 218, 326.)

WEDNESDAY, 10.

Came on a Tryal in the Court of *Common-Pleas* at *Weſtminſter*, between Mr. *James Jervaiſe*, Plaintiff, and Mr. *Alexander Blackwell*, Defendant; the Cauſe of Action was, that the Defendant exerciſed the Art and Myſtery of a Printer, not having ſerved a regular Apprenticeſhip to the Trade: The Action was brought upon the Statute of 5 *Eliz.* and after being learnedly argued by Counſel on both Sides, the Jury gave a Verdict for the Plaintiff, and 40s. Damage, for exerciſing the ſaid Trade for the Space of one Month.

A general Court of the *Charitable Corporation* was held, for taking the Ballot upon the following Queſtion, *viz.*

'That this Court highly approve the filing 'the Bill againſt the late Committee-Men 'and Aſſiſtants, and others whoſe Names 'have been now read, and of the other Steps 'taken by the Court of Committee, for the 'Recovery of the Money and Effects due to 'this Corporation:' When there appeared for the Queſtion 394, and 77 againſt it.

FRIDAY,

FRIDAY, 12.

The Seſſions ended at the *Old Baily*, when the ſix following Malefactors received Sentence of Death, *viz. Nicholas Baldwin*, for robbing his Maſters Meſſ. *Chaſe* and Company, to the Value of 40l. *Joſeph Remington*, for the Murder of *William Wells* with a Dung-Fork, at his Houſe the *Windmil* at *Wheiſton*; and *Mary Haycock*, *Anne Knight*, *Elizabeth Tracy*, and *Katharine Tracy*, alias *Bogie*, two Siſters, all four for Coining. The two firſt received Sentence to be hanged, and the four Women to be drawn on Hurdles to *Tyburn*, and there burnt to Aſhes at Stakes. Three were burnt in the Hand, five ordered to be whipt, and 24 to be tranſported.

An Expreſs arriv'd at Court, which brought an Account of the ſafe Arrival of his Highneſs the Prince of *Orange* at Prince *Eugene*'s Camp on the *Rhine*. His Retinue conſiſted of 40 Perſons, and his Horſes for Uſe and State were 96. His Highneſs a few Days before his Departure from the *Hague*, notify'd his Intention to their High-Mightineſſes the States-General in a Letter to this Effect, That he had taken the Reſolution of repairing forthwith as a Volunteer to the Emperor's Army, in order to take a Leſſon under that conſummate General P. *Eugene*, whoſe great Abilities were well known to their High-Mightineſſes, and whoſe important Services to the Republick had juſtly endear'd him to it, that he might form himſelf after the Example of ſo great a Maſter, and at length become uſeful to his Country, as his Anceſtors had always been, *&c.* Whereupon the States-General ſent his Highneſs their Compliments, wiſhing him a good Journey and ſafe Return.

His Majeſty ordered the Parliament, which ſtood prorogued to the 16th Inſt. to be farther prorogued to *Aug.* 13.

TUESDAY, 23.

This Morning, about Two o'Clock, a Fire broke out at Mr. *Tebbs*, a Grocer's, near the *Ship* Tavern at *Temple-Bar*, which burnt with ſuch Fury, that in four Hours Time the ſaid Houſe, with Mr. *Bird*'s a Fiſhmonger, Mr. *Brown*'s the Horſe-ſhoe Alehouſe, Mr. *Weldin*'s an Oilman, Mr. *Dobbs*'s a Poulterer, Mr. *Duncomb*'s a Diſtiller, Mr. *Fraiſer*'s a Grocer, Mr. *Bullin*'s an Oilman, and the Ship Alehouſe in *Ship-Yard*, were burnt down; beſides very much damaging the Ship Tavern, Mr. *Atkinſon*'s an Oilman, Mr. *Jennings*'s a Druggiſt, the back Part of *John*'s Coffee-houſe in *Sheer-Lane*, and ſeveral other Houſes.

Was held a General Court of the *South-Sea* Company, when the Court declared a Dividend of One and a Half *per Cent.* on the Trading Stock of the ſaid Company, for the half Year ending at *Midſummer* laſt.

WEDNESDAY, 24.

The Coroner's Jury ſat again at the *Rummer* Tavern in *Albemarle-ſtreet*, and finiſh'd their Enquiry concerning the Death of the late Mr. *Cantillon*, and brought in their Verdict, That he was *ſuppos'd to have been murder'd* (by ſome of his Servants) and the two Men and the Maid-Servant that have been confin'd ever ſince the Fire, are ordered to be try'd, on Suſpicion of the ſaid Murder, at the next Seſſions at the *Old Baily*. (ſee p. 265.)

THURSDAY, 25.

The Number of Gentlemen who had been nominated by the ſeveral Lord Mayors, as proper Perſons to ſerve the Office of Sheriffs, was on *Midſummer-Day* laſt no leſs than 50, four of whom have been ſince elected and ſworn off, and 35 have paid their Fines of 400l. each, one is abroad, and another not free of the City, two were elected this Day, and ſeven remain on the Liſt, *viz. Argil Eyons*, Painter-Stainer, *Robert Atwood*, Draper, *Thomas Ward*, Stationer, *William Powell*, Cutler, *Seth Gibſon*, Mercer, *Thomas Royle*, Stationer, and *Percival Lewis*, Draper.

Complaints having been made to the King, that ſeveral of the Turnpikes in the Counties of *Glouceſter* and *Hereford* have been pull'd down, and the reſt threaten'd; and that the Keepers of the Turnpikes, and even the Commiſſioners themſelves, had been menac'd with having their Houſes pull'd over their Heads, if they attempted to ſet up new Turnpikes in their ſtead; his Majeſty has been pleaſed to iſſue a Proclamation for apprehending the Perſons concern'd therein, and to promiſe a Reward of 50 l. for every one that ſhall be convicted accordingly.

It having been alſo repreſented to his Majeſty, that *Jeremiah Bruford*, of *Taunton St. James* in the County of *Somerſet*, receiv'd on the 14th of *March* laſt, a Letter ſigned *Thomas Reſolved*, *John Reſolved*, and *George Reſolved*, threatning to burn his Corn and Hay, and to knock out his Brains, if he went to *Maiden-Brook*, an Eſtate he had lately taken: And on the 16th of the ſaid Month he receiv'd another Letter to the ſame Effect; as alſo one on the 27th, threatening to treat him in the Manner above-mention'd, unleſs he put 20 Guineas in the Place deſcrib'd in the ſaid Letter: And farther, that on Sunday the 17th of the ſaid Month, the ſaid *Jeremiah Bruford* was aſſaulted near his Dwelling-Houſe by a Perſon unknown, who gave him a violent Blow on the Arm; and on the Wedneſday following was again attack'd by three Perſons diſguis'd, who knock'd him down, and robb'd him of 5 Guineas and 14 Shillings; and was alſo aſſaulted on the 8th of *April* laſt by three Perſons in Women's Apparel, but ſuppos'd to be Men, with their Faces black'd, who beat him till they thought he was dead, then robb'd him of 15 Guineas and two Shillings; ſince which, the ſaid *Jeremiah Bruford* has had a Stack of Hay ſet on Fire and an Ox wounded: His Majeſty, for the better diſ-

discovering and bringing to Justice the Persons concern'd in such heinous Crimes, is pleas'd to promise his most gracious Pardon to any one of them, who shall discover his Accomplice or Accomplices, so as he or they may be apprehended and convicted thereof. And as a further Encouragement to any Person who shall make such Discovery, the said *Jeremiah Bruford* has offered a Reward of 20 Guineas.

FRIDAY, 26.

Baron *Stark*, Envoy Extraordinary from the Duke of *Holstein-Gottorp* to this Court, arriv'd here.

MARRIAGES *and* BIRTHS.

Burrington Goldsworthy, Esq; Nephew to Sir *Charles Wager*, married to Miss *Vanbrugh*, Daughter of Capt. *Vanbrugh*, Commander of a Man of War.

George Watson, Esq; a Relation to the Earl of *Rockingham*, to Mrs. *Smallwood*, Relict of the late —— *Smallwood*, of *Dover-street*, Esq;

Mr. *Wright* of *Clifford's-Inn*, to Miss *Price*, Daughter of *John Price*, Esq;

Anthony Kemp, Esq; a Gentleman of a large Estate in *Sussex*, to Miss *Stourton*, Niece to the Lord *Stourton*.

Lord *Edward Herbert*, second Son to the Marquis of *Powis*, to the Lady *Henrietta Waldgrave*, only Daughter to the Earl *Waldegrave*.

His Grace the Duke of *Portland*, to the Lady *Margaret Harley*, only Daughter of the Earl of *Oxford*.

Richard Holford of *Averbury* in the County of *Wilts*, Esq; Grandson to Sir *Richard Holford*, Knt. late one of the Masters in Chancery, to Miss *Lynn*, Daughter of *Samuel Lynn* of *Tidmarsh* in the County of *Berks*, Esq;

John Brown, Esq; Son of Counsellor *Brown*, of *Tooke's-Court*, *Chancery-Lane*, to Miss *Elson*, Grand-Daughter of Sir *John Sheffield* of *Portsmouth*, a 15,000*l.* Fortune.

Sir *Francis Skipwith*, of *Newbold-Hall* in *Warwickshire*, Bart. to Miss *Cartwright*, Daughter of *T. Cartwright*, of *Aynho*, Esq; one of the Knights of the Shire for the County of *Northampton*.

John Bays, of *Market-Harborough* in *Leicestershire*, Esq; to Mrs. *Watts*, Widow of the late Mr. *Watts*, an eminent Merchant of this City.

The Lady of *William Archer*, Esq; Knight of the Shire for the County of *Berks*, was delivered of a Son.

The Right Hon. the Countess of *Pembroke*, of a Son and Heir.

The Lady of Sir *John Frederick*, Bart. of a Son.

The Lady of the Right Hon. the Lord *Baltimore*, Gov. of *Maryland*, of a Daughter.

John Foquier, Esq; married to Miss *Holt*, a Fortune of 5000*l.*

——*Williamson*, Esq; of *Surry*, to Miss *Betty Jenkins*.

DEATHS.

THE Lady of the Lord *James Cavendish*, Uncle to the present Duke of *Devonshire*: She was one of the Daughters and Coheirs to *Elihu Yale*, Esq; some Time Governor of Fort St. *George* in the *East-Indies*.

At *Edinburgh* the Hon. *Harry Maule*, Esq; commonly called Earl of *Panmure*; but his eldest Brother being unhappily concern'd in the late Rebellion at *Preston*, the Titles and Estate of that antient Family were forfeited.

At *Wandsworth* in *Surrey*, *John Shrimpton*, Esq; a Gentleman of a good Fortune: He was Commander of a Man of War in 1718, in that memorable Expedition to *Sicily* against the *Spaniards*.

At *Coventry* the Rev. Dr. *Kimberley*, Canon of *Litchfield*, Vicar of *Trinity* Parish in *Coventry*, and Rector of *Bagginton* in *Warwickshire*.

At *Staines* in *Middlesex*, Mr. *Wheatley*, formerly an eminent Throwster in *Spittlefields*, who lately gave 600*l.* towards a Set of Bells to be put up in the Steeple of *Christ-Church*, *Spittlefields*.

At Sir *William Courtenay's*, *John Stafford*, of *Upton Pine* in *Devon*, Esq; a Gentleman possess'd of near 800*l. per Ann.*

At *Horn-Castle* in *Lincolnshire*, *George Heron*, Esq;

The only surviving Son of the late Major *Hanbury*.

The Lord *William Hamilton*, Brother to his Grace the Duke of *Hamilton* and *Brandon*, who was chosen Member of the present Parliament for the Shire of *Lanerk* in *Scotland*.

At her Seat at *Redbrook* in the County of *Glocester*, Mrs. *Coster*, Mother to *Thomas Coster*, Esq; one of the Representatives in Parliament for *Bristol*.

At his Seat at *Northbrook* in *Oxfordshire*, Sir *Robert Dashwood*, Bart.

At his House at *London-Wall*, Counsellor *Diston*.

Edward Mansell, Esq; an eminent Counsellor at Law belonging to the *Inner-Temple*.

At his Seat at *Stagenhoe* in *Hertfordshire*, *Robert Heysham*, Esq; only Son of *Robert Heysham*, Esq; formerly one of the Representatives in Parliament for this City: He being a Batchelor has left his whole Estate (except 5000*l.* to Mrs. *Robinson*) to his first Cousins, *Giles* and *Robert Thornton*, Brothers.

About Eight at Night, on the 22d, of a Paralytick Disorder, (having been taken Speechless suddenly about Noon that Day) at *Ockham* in *Surrey*, the Right Hon. *Peter* Lord *King*, late Lord High Chancellor: He was created Lord *King* and Baron of *Ockham* May 27, 1725, 11 *Geo.* I. In 1708 he was chose Recorder

Recorder of the City of *London*, and in 1710 was one of the Managers againſt Dr. *Sacheverell*: On the 26th of *Oct.* 1714, he was appointed Lord Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas, in which Station he continued till the 1ſt of *June* 1725, when he was made Lord High Chancellor of *Great Britain*; which Poſt he reſign'd in *November* laſt. His Lordſhip's Father was a Grocer and Oilman at *Exeter*, and bred his Son for ſome Years to his own Buſineſs; many People in *Devonſhire* are ſtill living who have ſeen the late Lord Chancellor with his Coat ſtripped up above his Elbows, and ſtirring a Barrel of Oil; yet in the midſt of this Employment, ſo ſtrong was his Ambition and his Inclination to Learning, that he layed out what Money he could conveniently ſpare in Books, and employed every Moment of his leiſure Time in Study; ſo that he became a good Scholar (and was particularly very well verſed in Church Hiſtory) before the World ſuſpected any ſuch Thing: He was Four or Five and Twenty before he was taken Notice of; when the great Mr. *Lock*, who was related to him, introduc'd him to the World, and perſuaded his Father to let him ſtudy the Law. In which Profeſſion, his Learning and indefatigable Diligence made him ſoon taken Notice of.

Mr. Serjeant *Grove*, an eminent Counſellor and excellent Pleader.

Capt. *Aubery*, Commander of his Majeſty's Ship the *Berwick*.

At his Seat at *Marle* in *North Wales*, Sir *Griffith Williams*, Bart.

John Cole, Eſq; one of his Majeſty's Juſtices of the Peace for *Middleſex*, at his Houſe in *James ſtreet*, *Weſtminſter*.

At *Cheſhunt* in *Hertfordſhire*, *John Delby*, Eſq;

Eccleſiaſtical PREFERMENTS.

MR. *George Stubbs* made Chaplain to the Prince.

Mr. *Joſeph Hall*, made Vicar of *Welham*, *Leiceſterſhire*.

Mr. *John Harris*, Rector of *Beyton*, *Suffolk*.

Mr. *Thomas Clendon*, Vicar of *Sberry*, near *Canterbury*.

Mr. *George Holiwell*, Rector of *Somerby*, *Lincolnſhire*, preſented to a Living in *Eſſex*.

Mr. *Smith* of *Trinity* College, *Cambridge*, made Rector of *Bourn Wallis*, *Yorkſhire*.

Mr. *Iſaac Wilſon*, Vicar of *Campden*, *Cumberland*.

Mr. *Joſeph Speed*, Rector of *Thornbury*, *Wilts*.

Mr. *Thomas Cobb* preſented to the Living of *Fairfield*, *Kent*.

Mr. *Thomas Rawlins* to the Rectory of *Carlton*, *Yorkſhire*.

Dr. *Wintle* appointed by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Warden of *Merton* College, *Oxon*, in the room of Dr. *Holland*.

John Macklen, M. A. to the Vicarage of *Holy Trinity* in the City of *Coventry* and Dioceſe of *Litchfield* and *Coventy*.

PROMOTIONS *Civil* and *Military*.

MR. *Hyde* choſen one of the Bridgmaſters of this City in the room of Mr. *Webb*, deceas'd.

His Grace *Charles* Duke of *Richmond* made Maſter of the Horſe to his Majeſty, in the room of the Earl of *Scarborough*, who reſigned ſome Time ago.

Sir *James Chamberlain*, Knt. ſucceeds the Duke of *Richmond* as Captain of a Troop in his Majeſty's Royal Regiment of Horſe Guards Blue, commanded by the Duke of *Argyll*.

Col. *Hawley*, Col. of the Royal Reg. of Horſe on the *Iriſh* Eſtabliſhment, kiſſed his Majeſty's Hand, for the Command of the Reg. of Dragoons, late Lieutenant General *Evans*'s.

Right Hon. *Horatio Walpole*, Eſq; appointed Ambaſſador extraordinary to the *States General*.

Jonathan Blenman, Eſq; Attorney General of *Barbadoes*, made ſole Judge of the Admiralty there.

Charles Vavazor of *Wiſbech*, Eſq; made Receiver-General of the County of *Cambridge*, and Iſle of *Ely*.

Lieut. *James Draper* of the independent Company of Foot in *Jamaica*, made Capt. of the ſame in the room of the late Gen. *Hunter*.

James Burrington, Eſq; made Capt. in Col. *Paget*'s Reg. of Foot.

Earl of *Leven* made one of the ordinary Lords of Seſſion in *Scotland*, inſtead of the late Lord *Grange*.

Hon. *John Sackville*, Eſq; made Deputy Lieutenant of *Deal-Caſtle*, in the room of *Geo. Furneſe*, Eſq; who has reſigned.

Enſign *Warren* made a Capt. in Col. *Handaſyde*'s Reg. in the room of the late Capt. *Boyle*.

Perſons declared BANKRUPTS.

WILL. *Lediard*, late of *Paynſwicke*, in *Glouceſterſhire*, Clothier. *Alexander Holmes*, late of *Kenſington*, Victualler. *Bryan Weldon*, of *Thames-ſtreet*, *London*, Oil-Cooper and Chapman. *Nathaniel Burton*, *of Oſweſtry*, in *Shropſhire*, Chapman. *Joſeph Waſs*, late of *Bermondſey-ſtreet*, *Southwark*, Chapman. *Francis Sharpe*, late of *Stamford*, in *Lincolnſhire*, Grocer. *Robert Nay*, of the Pariſh of St. *George Bloomſbury*, in *Middleſex*, Victualler and Chapman. *Rich. Bayliſs*, late of *Bath*, Hoſier, Hatter, and Chapman. *John Hill*, of *Fiſhlake*, in *Yorkſhire*, Chapman. *Rich. Southall*, of *Stafford*, Stationer and Bookſeller. *Will. Hutchinſon*, of *Well-Cloſe-Square*, *Middleſex*, Mariner and Merchant. *Peter Beſt*, late of *Dorcheſter*, in *Dorſetſhire*, Grocer. *John Tayler*, late of *Burſledon*, *Hants*, Shipwright. *Tho. Whitehouſe*, late of *Guornall* in *Staffordſhire*, Scythſmith. *David Proſſer*, late of *Kington* in *Herefordſhire*, Mercer.

Prices

Towards the End of the Month.

STOCKS.

S. Sea 79 ½	*Afric.* 20
—*Bonds* 45*s* Prem.	*Royal Aſſ.* 95
—*Annu.* 104 ½	*Lon. ditto* 12
Bank 136 ½	*Y. Build.* 3 ½
—*Circ.* 7 15	3 *p. C. An.* 93 ½
Mil. Bank 107 ½	*Eng Copper* 1*l.* 15*s.*
India 140 a 1	*Welſh* Books ſhut
—*Bonds* 56*s*	

The Courſe of EXCHANGE.

Amſt.	35 9	*Bilboa*	39 ¾
D. Sight	35 7 a 6	*Legborn*	50
Rotter.	35 10	*Genoa*	52 ¼
Hamb.	35 10 a 9	*Venice*	48 ⅜ a ½
P. Sight	31 ⅛	*Lisb.*	5 5 ¼
Bourd ½ *uſ*	31	*Oport.*	5 5
Cadiz	40 ¼ a ⅜	*Antw.*	36 a 35 11
Madrid	40 ¼	*Dublin*	10 ½

Prices of Goods at *Bear-Key*.

Wheat	26 30	*Oates*	11 13
Rye	15 17	*Tares*	18 23
Barley	14 17	*Peaſe*	20 22
H. Beans	16 20	*H. Peaſe*	16 19
P. Malt	17 20	*B. Malt*	16 19

Abſtract of the *London* WEEKLY BILL, from *June* 25 to *July* 23.

Chriſtned	Males	663	1294
	Females	631	
Buried	Males	971	1856
	Females	885	

Died under 2 Years old			789
Between	2	and 5	254
	5	10	96
	10	20	68
	20	30	129
	30	40	145
	40	50	159
	50	60	96
	60	70	62
	70	80	38
	80	90	21
	90	and upwards	1

1856

Prices of Goods, &c. in *London*. Hay 36*s. to* 42*s.* a Load.

Coals per Chaldron 23 *a* 24
New Hops per Hun. 5*l. a* 6*l.* 10
Old Hops 3*l.* 10*s. a* 4*l.*
Rape Seed 10 *a* 11
Lead the Fodder 19 *Hun.* 1 *half on board*, 14 *a* 14*l.* 10*s.*
Tin in Blocks 3*l.* 10
Ditto in Bars 4*l.*
Copper Eng. beſt 5*l.* 5*s.*
Ditto ordinary 4*l.* 16*s. a* 5*l.*
Ditto Barbary 85 *a* 95*l.*
Iron of Bilboa 15*l.* 5*s. per Ton.*
Ditto of Sweden 16*l.* 10*s.*
Tallow 30 *a* 31*s*
Country Tallow 30*s.*
Cochineal 18*s.* 3

Grocery Wares by the C.

Raiſins of the S. new 32*s.*
Ditto Malaga Frailes 17*s.*
Ditto Smirna new 22*s.*
Ditto Alicant 18*s.*
Ditto Lipra new 19*s.*
Ditto Belvedera 29*s.*
Currants 42*s.*
Prunes French none
Figs 20*s.*

Sugar Powder beſt 54 *a* 59*s.*
Ditto ſecond Sort 46*s. a* 50
Loaf Sugar double refi. 8*d. half a* 9*d.*
Ditto ſingle refine 56*s. a* 64*s.*

Grocery Wares by the lb.

Cinamon 7*s.* 8*d.*
Cloves 9*s.* 1*d.*
Mace 15*s.* 0*d.*
Nutmegs 8*s.* 7*d.*
Sugar Candy white 14 *a* 18*d.*
Ditto brown 6*d.*
Pepper for home conſump. 16*d.*
Ditto for Exportation 12*d.* 1 4*th*
Tea Bohea fine 10*s. a* 12*s.*
Ditto ordinary 8 *a* 9*s.*
Ditto Congo 10 *a* 12*s.*
Ditto Pekoe 14 *a* 16*s.*
Ditto Green fine 9 *a* 12*s.*
Ditto Imperial 9 *a* 12*s.*
Ditto Hyſon 20 *a* 25*s.*

Drugs by the lb.

Balſam Peru 14*s.*
Cardamoms 3*s.* 6*d.*
Camphire refin'd 14*s.*
Crabs Eyes 1*s* 8*d.*
Jallop 2*s.* 8*d.*

Manna 2*s.* 6*d. a* 4*s*
Maſtick white 4*s.* 0*d.*
Opium 9*s.*
Quickſilver 4*s.* 3*d.*
Rhubarb 18 *a* 25*s.*
Sarſaparilla 3*s.* 0*d.*
Saffron Engliſh 22*s.* 6*d.*
Wormſeeds none
Balſam Copaiva 3*s.* 0*d*
Balſam of Gilead 20*s.*
Hypocacuanæ 4*s* 6*d. a* 5
Ambergreece per oz. 8*s.*

Wine, Brandy, and Rum.

Oporto red per Pipe 32*l. a* 34*l.*
Ditto white none
Liſbon red 35 *a* 40*l.*
Ditto white 26 *a* 28*l.*
Sherry 26*l.*
Canary new 25 *a* 28*l.*
Ditto old 32 *a* 34*l.*
Florence 3*l.*
French red 30*l. a* 40*l.*
Ditto white 20*l.*
Mountain Malaga old 24*l.*
Ditto new 20*l. a* 21
Brandy Fr. per Gal. 7*s. a* 8*s.*
Rum of Jam. 6 *a* 7*s.*
Ditto Leew. Iſland: 6*s.* 4*d. a* 6*s.*

THIS Month began with an Account of a very extraordinary Battle in *Italy*, which happen'd on *June* 29. Of which we had first this general Account. On *June* 29, happened a very bloody Battle between the *Germans* and Confederates, within a Mile of *Parma*. Both Sides own the Loss of killed and dangerously wounded to amount to 7000 each, at least; and few Officers, even the general ones, escaped Wounds. They fought 7 Hours together, and after so terrible a Slaughter, neither Side pretends to sing *Te Deum*. The Horse of neither Side were engaged, because of the Closeness of the Country.

The following is a more particular Account, *in a Letter from the Camp* near *Parma*, *dated* June 30. There was Yesterday one of the most bloody Battles of Infanty that has ever been known, near the City of *Parma*. The Enemy attack'd us at the *Cassines* of *Bronzel*, a Quarter of a League from *Parma*, and after an obstinate Fight, which lasted ten Hours successively, a Thing without Example, the Enemy at last retired in the Night, marching towards the Mountain. They have lost upwards of 3000 Men, and many general Officers; among them General *Merci* killed, Prince of *Wirtenburg* wounded, Count *Palsi* wounded, *Vinck* kill'd, *Diesbach* mortally wounded, *Schulenburg* killed, Major General *Watchtendonk* wounded, *De la Tour* wounded, *Palsi* the Son killed, and most of the other Generals are much wounded. Our Loss is reckoned near 400 Officers, and many Soldiers; the general Officers are the Marshal *de Coigny* wounded in the Thigh, the Duke de *Crussol* killed, Marquis *de Lisle* killed, *Valence* killed, *d'Offort* wounded in the Hand, and thirty Officers of his Regiment killed, *Firmacon* wounded in the Shoulder, *Cadrieux* had his Shoulder broke, *Savin* wounded, *Rami* killed, Prince of *Montauban* wounded, *Guercbois* wounded, *Montade* the Son wounded, Count *de Biron* wounded, *Lavigne* much bruised, Marquis *de Maisin* killed, *Maillebois* the Son wounded, *la Tremouille* trodden under Foot by Horses, and two of his Ribs broke, *Courville* wounded, *Pilliers* had a considerable Contusion, *Marcere* was wounded by a Musquet Shot, *Prezinsac* killed, *Lacedrean* had three Fingers shot off; besides many others killed and wounded, and the three Brigades of *Picardy*, *Champaigny*, and the King, suffered extreamly; but our Army kept the Field of Battle.

The Marquis *de Coigny*, Son to the Marshal of that Name, arriv'd afterwards at Versailles *with the following Account*, That on the 29th of *June*, N. S. early in the Morning, the *Imperial* Army in *Italy* drew out in *Battalia* and march'd directly towards *Parma*, and that Monsr. *Coigny*, who commanded the Army of the Allies in the Absence of the King of *Sardinia*, seeing the *Imperialists* in full March, retired from before *Parma*, where he was posted, and seem'd by his various Motions to avoid coming to a Battle, till the Van of the *Imperial* Army was advanced to the very Walls of *Parma*, which exposing the *Germans* to a very great Disadvantage, Monsr. *de Coigny* attacked them. The Action began by two Battalions of a Side cannonnading each other across a small Rivulet near the *Lenza*, which in about two Hours became general, and lasted about 11 Hours, when 9000 *Germans* were kill'd, and 5000 *French*, amongst the latter 600 Officers; Count *Mercy*, General *Watchtendonck*, and Count *Palsi*, were kill'd on the Side of the *Imperialists*; and Monsr. *Coigny*, the *French* General, dangerously wounded. The *Imperialists* retreated in the utmost Confusion, leaving their Artillery, Ammunition, and Baggage. The Rear of the *French* during the Night fired on their own Army by Mistake, which was answered with several Volleys, and continued about two Hours in the Dark, by which Means they kill'd a great many of their own People.

These were the *French* Accounts: We shall conclude this Article with the following Account from *Mantua*, dated *July* 10, *viz.* On *June* 27. Count *Merci* pass'd the *Parma* with his Army: The same Day he received Advice, that the Marshal *de Coigny* had likewise ordered his Army to march. The 29th, Count *Merci* advanc'd towards the Village of *Croceta*: He found that the Enemy had already begun to entrench themselves under the Walls of *Parma*, and that they had possessed themselves of two Cassines: That General, at the Head of five Companies of Grenadiers, supported by five or six Battalions, attacked the Enemy, about Eleven o'Clock, with so much Vigour, that he took one of the Cassines and six Pieces of Cannon, which he immediately turned upon the *French*; but he being unfortunately killed soon after with a Cannon-Ball, and our Troops not being timely supported, the Enemy obliged them to abandon the Cassine: The Fight continued nevertheless with a great deal of Vigour till Night, without any considerable Advantage on either Side. The Prince of *Wirtemberg*, who took upon him the Command of the Army as soon as he had heard Count *Merci* was killed, behaved very gallantly: He received two Wounds, and had several Horses shot under him: There was only the right Wing of our Army engaged, that is to say, 18 Battalions, with a Regiment of Horse and another of Dragoons; the left Wing not having fired a Shot. We had about 6000 killed and wounded: The Loss of the *French* and *Piedmontese* was little less.

From the Camp before Dantzick, *July* 7. The Capitulation for *Dantzick* was signed this Day. The City gives a Million of Crowns towards the Expence of the War, and a

Million more to the *Ruſſians* in particular. The Gate of *Oliva* is guarded by 200 *Saxons*. The Primate is ſent to *Elbing*, where a Guard is placed on him; a Guard is alſo ſet on the Marquis *Monti*.

From *Berlin*, *July* 10. We have received Advice, that King *Staniſlaus* being retired from *Dantzick* in the Night between the 28th and 29th paſt, diſguiſed in the Habit of a Peaſant, had paſſed the Inundation in a Bark, and after having wandered and marched ſix Leagues on Foot, he arrived ſafe the 3d Inſtant, in a Chariot at *Marienwarden*, where, making himſelf known to a *Pruſſian* Officer, he was furniſhed with what he had Need of.

From *Paris*, *July* 24. On the 17th, the Governor of *Philipſburg* made a Propoſal to the Marſhal *d'Aſfeldt* by an Officer, that he would permit that Officer to go and conſult Prince *Eugene* what the ſaid Governor ſhould do. The Marſhal *d'Aſfeldt* did not accept of that Propoſal, but ſent the Governor Word, that if he did not ſurrender, but gave Time for the Batteries to be planted upon the Crown-Work, he ſhould have no Capitulation, but be expoſed to the Courage of the Grenadiers, who earneſtly deſired there might be no Capitulation. The Governor, upon this Anſwer, demanded to capitulate. The 18th, Hoſtages were exchanged, and the Articles having been ſigned about Six o'Clock that Evening, the Regiment of *French* Guards took Poſſeſſion of one of the Gates of the Town.

From the *Rhine*. That the *Imperial* Army had carry'd on their Approaches ſo near to the *French* Lines, that a private Soldier of the *Hanover* Troops had been killed by a Muſquet Shot from the *French* Camp; and that a *German* Officer's Horſe, that was leading by a Groom within 30 Paces of Prince *Eugene*'s Perſon, had been ſhot by a Cannon-Ball.

From the *Hague*, *July* 27. *Philipſburg* is at laſt ſurrendered, having held out 7 Weeks after the Opening of the Trenches. It is true, the *Rhine* fought for the *Germans*; but the *Germans* acted their Parts too, and did not leave the *Rhine* to do all. General *Witgenau*, the Governor, for his Share, has gained a Name, which will be tranſmitted down to Poſterity in the Records of the Empire: Prince *Eugene* and all the Generals of the *Imperial* Army have given him great Commendation, and he well deſerved it, his very Enemies having judged ſo rightly of his Worth, as to reward his Merit. The Marſhal *d'Aſfeldt* was pleaſed to give him triumphant Proofs of the Eſteem he had of his Capacity, having granted him every Thing he deſired, and made him a Preſent, beſides, of the fineſt Piece of Cannon, at his own Choice, that was in *Philipſburgh*.

From the Imperial Camp at Bruchſal, *July* 24. On the 21ſt in the Morning the *Imperial* Garriſon march'd out of *Philipſbourg*. A ſtrong Report prevails amongſt us, that the *French* have made ſeveral Detachments, and deſign ſome important Enterprize. This Day the King of *Pruſſia* gave a magnificent Entertainment to the Prince Royal his Son, the Duke of *Bevern*, Prince *Charles* of *Bevern*, and ſeveral other Perſons of Diſtinction. On the 22d, the *Imperial* Army came to encamp here, where we hold our head Quarters. During our March being apprehenſive of the *French* attacking our Rear-Guard, on Account of their Proximity, all poſſible Precautions were taken to cover it from Inſults; for this Purpoſe all the Companies of Foot and Horſe Grenadiers, our Carabineers with 8 Battalions, 30 Squadrons, and 4 Regiments of *Huſſars*, were poſted in the Rear, together with the Troops which had been poſted in the three Redoubts we raiſed before the Enemy's Entrenchments. Count *Seckendorf* was appointed to command them, with the Prince *Maximilian* of *Heſſe*, and Count *de Furſtenbourg*, Lieutenant Generals of Foot, the Prince of *Hohenzollern*, Lieutenant General of Horſe, four Foot and two Horſe Major-Generals: We marched in 8 Columns, and happily without the leaſt Diſturbance from the Enemy. The ſame Day our Army was reinforced with 3 Battalions of the Regiment of Prince *Lewis* of *Wirtemberg*; and Prince *Auguſtus William* of *Beveren* arriv'd in our Camp. On the 23d, ſome Parties of the Enemy appearing in our former Camp of *Wieſenthal*, the *Huſſars* belonging to our left Wing attacked one of them; but following them too warmly, fell into an Ambuſcade, from whence, however, they got off pretty luckily. The *Huſſars* of the right Wing came off much better, they routed another Party, kill'd 30 of them, and took 19 Priſoners. This Day ſome Deſerters reported that the ſame Day our Army left the Camp of *Wieſenthal*, the Enemy cauſed 40 Companies of Grenadiers, with all the Piquets of the Army, to leave their Entrenchments, in order to obſerve our March, but at Night they return'd to their Lines.

Advices from the *Rhine* agree, that the *Imperial* Army conſiſts of 68,000 effective Men, and the *French* Army of about 126,000 Men; but that the latter's Cavalry is but indifferently mounted.

There are at preſent Thirty-ſeven *German* Princes in the *Imperial* Army under Prince *Eugene*.

On the 27th N. S. the Queen of *France* was deliver'd of a Princeſs.

GRAMMATICAL.

1. C. Crispi Sallustii Bellum Catilinarium, & Jugurthinum, cum Versione Libera: Or, the History of the Wars of *Catiline* and *Jugurtha*, by *Salust*; with a free Translation. To which is prefix'd, a large Dissertation upon the Usefulness of Translations of Classick Authors; as also the Life of *Salust*, by Mons. *Le Clerc*. Printed for Mess. *Bettesworth*, and *Hitch*, 8vo. price in Sheep 3*s*. 6*d*. Calf 4*s*.

2. *Phædrus*'s Fables, with the following Improvements, in a Method entirely new, *viz.* The Words of the Author placed according to their Grammatical Construction below every Fable; also the Rhetorical Figures as they occur; and to make the Pronunciation easy, all Words above two Syllables are marked with proper Accents. Also a Collection of Idioms and Phrases in *Phædrus*, and all the proverbial Motto's to the Fables, with the *English* Phrases and Proverbs answerable set over against them. And lastly, an Alphabetical Vocabulary of all the Words in the Author, shewing their Parts of Speech and Signification. To which are added. The Themes of Verbs, with their Government. The Second Edition. By *John Stirling*, M. A. and Master of St. *Andrew*'s School in *Holbourn*, 8vo. Sold by *T. Astley*, price 2*s*.

3. Two Grammatical Treatises, *viz.* I. Animadversions on the *Latin* Grammar lately published by Mr. *Robert Trotter*, School-master of *Dumfries*, by Mr. *John Love*, School-master at *Dumbarton*. II. A Dissertation upon the Way of Teaching that Language. Wherein the Objections rais'd against Mr. *Rudiman*'s and other such like Grammars for being too full, are answered. And the Practice of Teaching *Latin*, by a Grammar written in that Language, is defended. With some Remarks on the new *Latin* Grammar, composed by Mr. *Clarke* of *Hull*. And on the Use he would have to be made of his literal Translations. By another Hand. Sold by *G. Straban*, price 1*s*. 6*d*.

LAW *and* MISCELLANIES.

4. The Statutes at large from *Magna Charta*, to the present Year 1734. In 6 Volumes in Folio, with a Preface by Mr. Serjeant *Hawkins*. Price eleven Guineas in Sheets to Subscribers.

5. The Proceedings at large in the Arches Court of *Canterbury*, between *Jacob Mendes da Costa*, and Mrs. *Catherine da Costa Villa Real*, both of the *Jewish* Religion, and Cousin-Germans; relating to a *Marriage-Contract*. Sold by the Booksellers, 8vo. price 6*d*.

6. A Dialogue in the Manner of *Plato*, on the Superiority of the Pleasures of the Understanding to the Pleasures of the Senses. Sold by *T. Cooper*, price 2*d*.

7. A Poll taken at the City of *Chichester*, on *Thursday* and *Friday* the 9th and 10th Days of *May*, 1734, for the Election of two Knights to serve in this present Parliament for the County of *Sussex*. By *James Montague*, Esq; Sheriff; digested in Alphabetical Order. Printed for *J. Coles*, Stationer, price stitch'd 2*s*. N. B. There are a small Number bound in Vellum, and interleav'd with Writing-Paper, price 4*s*.

PHILOSOPHY *and* SCIENCE.

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THE LONDON MAGAZINE.

AUGUST, 1734.

PROCEEDINGS and DEBATES in the *laſt Seſſion* of PARLIAMENT; continued from Page 360.

Remainder of the DEBATE *on the Motion about the Officers of the Army.*

H——y *P--lh--m*, Eſq; I have attended, Sir, as cloſely as I could, to what has been ſaid both for and againſt the Propoſition now before us, and I think the Debate is now reduced to this ſingle Point, Whether, by what is now propoſed, our Conſtitution may be mended and made better; or whether it may not rather tend to hurt and injure our Conſtitution: The latter, Sir, is my Opinion, and I am convinced it appears in the ſame Light to every one of the Gentlemen who have ſpoken againſt the Motion. I do not approve of hard Names, or any Names that are indecent, to this, or any other Propoſition made in this Houſe; but as thoſe Liberties have often been taken, by the Gentlemen who now find Fault with what has been ſaid, it may be ſuppoſed, that other Gentlemen think they have the ſame Liberty, and may retort thoſe Names, when they think the Propoſition deſerves them; however, on all ſuch Occaſions, at leaſt on the preſent, I am ſure there is nothing meant, perſonally, againſt any of the Gentlemen who have ſpoken in Favour of the Propoſition.

Gentlemen have ſaid, that the Prerogative is a growing Part of our Conſtitution; for my Part, Sir, I cannot ſee, wherein it is greater now, than at any Time ſince the Revolution; nor can I ſee what ſhould give this Alarm, or make it neceſſary now to clip and pare the Prerogative of the Crown, unleſs Gentlemen have ſome Scheme for greatly, or perhaps totally altering our Conſtitution; and if they have, I am ſure they can ſhew us no Manner of Reaſon for our attempting at preſent to make any ſuch dangerous Experiment. Suppoſe his Majeſty has thought fit to remove one or two Gentlemen from their Employments in the Army, can that be looked on as a ſufficient Reaſon for taking from his Majeſty that Power, which he and his Predeceſſors have always enjoyed? The very attempting ſuch a Thing really looks as if Gentlemen thought, that ſome very wrong and wicked Uſe had been lately made of that Part of the Prerogative, which, in the preſent Caſe, they have not the leaſt Ground for; the Worth and Honour of the two noble Perſons, who have been removed, muſt be acknowledged by all; but worthy as they are, it muſt be granted, that they have been ſucceeded by two Gentlemen of equal Worth; and ſurely this cannot be called garbling, or modelling the Army; which can never be the Caſe, but when the moſt worthy and honourable are diſmiſſed, and Creatures of mean Birth, or of no Worth, put into their Places.

It is true, Sir, there were a great many Officers removed, about the Time that the D. of *Marlborough* was removed; and without the Power of removing the inferior Officers, they had not perhaps ventured to have removed that great General from his Command. Such a Law, as what is now propoſed, might have been perhaps of ſome Service at that Time, but it would have been of bad Conſequence ſoon after. We know what were

thought to be the Views and Designs, when the D. of *Marlbrough* was removed; we know, that he was succeeded by a Person, whom I did indeed esteem for his Personal Qualifications, but his political Views had, at that Time, very near ruined our Constitution, and have since, on some Occasions, greatly endanger'd it; and if none of the Officers of the Army, who were on that Occasion put in, or continued in Commission, could have been removed but by the Sentence of a Court-martial, I doubt much, if this House had been now sitting to give their Opinion upon this, or any other Question.

An Hon. Gentleman on the Floor, who spoke some Time ago, happened to drop some Expressions, which I am sure were owing to his Warmth; he spoke of foreign Officers, and insinuated, as if they might happen to be put into the Places of those, who may hereafter be removed. Every Gentleman, Sir, surely knows, that this would be directly contrary to Law: And no Man can say, that there has been any Thing done, or attempted, that can give the least Ground for apprehending any such Thing in Time to come: It was indeed an indecent and an ugly Insinuation: I wish the Gentleman had spared it; but as I am convinced, it was entirely owing to Warmth, I shall take no further Notice of it.

I did not really, Sir, think it necessary to have given you any Trouble in this Debate, since other Gentlemen before me have given very sufficient Reasons for not agreeing to this Motion, and have answered every Thing that has been said in Favour of it; but the Hon. Gentleman who spoke last, seemed so mighty desirous, that Gentlemen would speak against what he and his Friends seem to be for, that I rose up rather to gratify him, than that I thought any Thing necessary to be added to what had before been said against this Proposition; and therefore I shall take up no more of your Time, but leave the Proposition to stand or fall by its own Merits.

Sir *W———m W--nd--m*. The Gentlemen who have spoke against this Proposition, have all of them asserted, I find, Sir, that, should it take Place, it would alter the very Being of our Constitution; from whence we must conclude, that these Gentlemen think, that the very Being of our Constitution consists, not only in having a standing Army, but in having that Army absolutely dependent on the Crown; which is an Opinion so directly contrary to that which every Man ought to have about our Constitution, that I am sorry to hear of its being entertained by any Member of this House. I wish those Gentlemen would consider a little better the Nature, or the Being of our Constitution, and the many Alterations that have, from Time to Time, crept into it; if they do, they will find no greater Novelty, nor can they find one more dangerous, than that of a standing Army. It is not as yet, I hope, a Part of our Constitution, and therefore what is now proposed cannot be an Alteration of our Constitution; it is indeed so far otherwise, that the very Design of it is, to prevent our Constitution's being altered, by a standing Army's being hereafter made a Part of it; or at least to make that Army less dangerous, in case it should become absolutely necessary for us always to keep up a standing Army.

We have likewise been told, Sir, that the Prerogative is a Part of our Constitution, and the lessening the Power of the Crown, or robbing it of its Prerogative (as Gentlemen have been pleased to call it) is an Alteration of our Constitution. For my own Part, Sir, I have no Notion of any legal Power or Prerogative, but what is for the Benefit of the Community; nor do I think, that any Power can be legal, but what is originally derived from the Community; and it is certain, that all the Power that is, or can be given by the People, must be given for their own Protection: Therefore, if the People should afterwards find, that they have given too much; if they should begin to foresee, that the Power they have given may come to be dangerous to themselves; have they not Reason and a Right to take back what Part of it they think necessary for their own Safety? This, Sir, is the proper Footing on which the present Debate ought to be put; and taking it on this Footing, suppose this Power of removing the Officers of the Army were a Part of the antient Prerogative of the Crown; if the Parliament should foresee that this Power might be made a bad Use of; that it might easily be turned towards enslaving the People, would not the People have a Right to take it from the Crown; would it not be their Duty to do so; nay, ought not the Crown willingly and freely to give it up?

Gentlemen have next endeavoured to frighten us with the Effects of this Proposition, should it be passed into a Law; they say we would soon see what such an Independence in the Army would turn to; but, for God's Sake, Sir, is not the Army to be still as much dependent on King and Parliament as ever? If it should be but suspected that any Officer, or Number of Officers, were going to attempt any Thing against King and Parliament, could not the King immediately suspend them, or even put them under Arrest; and could not the Parliament, as soon as they met, address his Majesty to remove them? On this Occasion, I shall beg Leave, Sir, to state the Difference of the two Cases: In the one Case an Army entirely dependent on the Crown, so much at its Mercy, that let the Merit of those Gentlemen in their military

illitary Capacity be never so great; let their Fidelity to their King and Country be never so conspicuous; let their past Services be never so meritorious; yet, if they do not implicitly obey all the Orders they shall receive from the Crown, or rather from the favourite Minister; if they do not submit to propagate the most lavish Schemes of a projecting Minister, they may probably be turned out of their Employments in the Army; and thus, after having wore out their Youth and Vigour in the Service of their Country, they may at last, and in their Old-Age, be turned adrift, and reduced to a starving Condition. In the other Case, an Army under no such servile Dependence, having no Reason to doubt of Preferment according to their Merit, and certain they could not be turned out of the Places they have purchased by their long Services, without being guilty of some Crime, or of some dishonourable Behaviour; and having the Constitution, and the Laws of their Country, as a Security for their enjoying all those Advantages as long as they live; is it not, Sir, an easy Matter to determine, in which of these Cases an Army may be of most Danger, or of most Service to the Constitution?

I will allow all that has been said about the Virtue of the present Officers of our Army; about their being *Englishmen*, and every thing else, that has been said, or can be said in Favour of the Characters of those Gentlemen; but still they are Men, and every body knows, that those who have a Dependence, perhaps for the Whole they have in the World, must be something more than Men, if they act with the same Freedom, that they would do if they were under no such Influence or Dependence: It is certain; I hope the Gentlemen of the other Side of the Question, even those who now stand up so zealously for the Prerogative, will grant, that ours is a limited Monarchy: Our Constitution depends on its not being in the Power of the Crown to break thro' the Limits prescribed by Law, or to manage so, as to render them quite ineffectual; for when either of these comes to be the Case, our Constitution will be at an End; the Monarchy can no longer be said to be limited, any more than a Man can be said to be under any Restraint, who, tho' locked up in a Room, has the Keys in his Pocket, and may open the Doors when he pleases; or has proper Materials at hand, and may break the Doors open, and walk out whenever he has a Mind. We must therefore never to give a Power to the Crown; we ought not to leave the Crown in Possession of a Power, which may enable any future King to shake off all those Limitations, which the Royal Power ought by our Constitution to be subject to: And in this View I leave it to every Gentleman to consider, whether a standing Army, under the present Circumstances, or under the Regulations now proposed, does portend most Danger to our Constitution? For my Part I think the Case so plain, and the Dangers pretended, from what is now proposed, so chimerical, that I am surprized to hear the Motion opposed by any Gentleman who pretends to have the Liberties, or the Happiness of his Country truly at Heart.

But in particular, Sir, I must at present observe, that if no Notice should be taken of what has lately happen'd; if no such Provision, as is intended by the Bill now moved for, should be made, and we should enter into a War, as is now likely we may be obliged to do, what Encouragement can young Gentlemen of noble and antient Families have to go into the Army; when they consider, that after having often ventur'd their Lives in the Service of their Country, after having honourably acquired some Preferment in the Army, and afterwards, by a natural and Family Interest, are come to have Seats in Parliament, they must then be obliged to forfeit all those Preferments, or otherwise to make themselves Prostitutes to an infamous and wicked Administration? After this melancholy Consideration, Sir, can it be presumed that any Gentleman of Honour will engage with that Alacrity in the Army, as he would do if he were assured of preserving whatever Posts he may have in the Army, with the same Honour and Integrity, with which he acquired them? This, Sir, makes it more particularly necessary at present to agree to the Proposition; and as I think it makes no Encroachment on our Constitution, but is, on the contrary, a very necessary Amendment; as I think it for the Honour of Parliament, and no way inconsistent with the Honour or Safety of the Crown, I shall therefore most heartily agree to it.

Sir *W——m Y——ge*. Sir, It is said, I remember, in a printed Paper I read lately, that the Revolution had not brought our Constitution to that Perfection which it ought to have done; but that some Amendments were still wanting, and seemed to be absolutely necessary. I was indeed at some Loss to think what the Amendments were which those reforming Geniuses pointed at, but now the Secret is in some Part out; for the Proposition now in Debate I verily believe to be one of those necessary Amendments they thought of; but the Gentlemen who have spoke before me, have sufficiently proved, that this Amendment would be so far from improving our Constitution, that it would in a great Measure entirely destroy it: And if the other Amendments their Wisdoms have projected, be of the same Nature, I am afraid the People of *England* will not think themselves much obliged to them, for the

Trouble they have taken in projecting ſuch Amendments.

We know, Sir, that the People of this Nation have generally been divided into Parties, and that Party, which I have always been proud to reckon myſelf one of, has generally, tho very wrongfully, been called the Republican Party; but if I, or any other Gentleman in this Houſe, who has had the Honour of being reputed a Whigg, ſhould come into this Propoſition, we ſhould juſtly deſerve that Name, which thoſe of another Party have always given us by Way of Reproach; for, if this Propoſition ſhould take Place, our chief Magiſtrate could not properly be called a King; he would not have ſo much Power left him, as the Stadtholder of the Republick of *Holland* has always enjoyed.

The Hon. Gentleman, who ſpoke laſt, inſiſted much on the Danger of an Army's depending upon the Crown, and talked of turning Officers adrift, and reducing them to a ſtarving Condition; but let us, Sir, conſult our own Hiſtories, and ſee, whether an Army depending on the Crown, or an Army depending on the Parliament, has done moſt Harm to our Conſtitution: We ſhall there ſee, that an Army of the latter Kind, was ſo far from improving, or doing good to our Conſtitution, that they quickly overturned it; they ſoon brought the King from the Throne to the Scaffold; they turned both Lords and Commons out of Doors, and then ſet up a moſt arbitrary Government of their own: Whereas an Army of the firſt Kind has often preſerv'd the Conſtitution: An Army much more dependent on the Crown than our Army is at preſent, was, we know, ſo far from ſupporting the Crown in Attempts againſt the Liberties of the People, that moſt of the Army joined with the People in vindicating their Liberties, even againſt a King, upon whom they had a moſt abſolute Dependence; and while our Army conſiſts only of our own Countrymen, and is commanded by Gentlemen of good Families and Fortunes in the Kingdom, we may always expect from them the ſame honourable Behaviour.

As for turning Officers adrift, and reducing them to a ſtarving Condition, no ſuch Thing can ever happen to any Officer, that is a Member of this Houſe, let him vote, or behave in this Houſe in what Manner he will; for his very Qualification, the Eſtate he muſt have in his own Right and Poſſeſſion, in order to qualify him for having a Seat in Parliament, will always be ſufficient to afford him a comfortable Subſiſtence; ſo that if he has any Honour, or any Regard to his Country, the Fear of being turn'd out of his Poſt in the Army can never prevail on him to give a Vote contrary to what he thinks right. And if we can ſuppoſe that any Officer, who is now, or ever may be in this Houſe, has neither Honour, nor Regard to his Country, with ſuch a Man the Hopes of Preferment will work as effectually, as the Fears of extreme Neceſſity can be ſuppoſed to work with any Man of common Honour; but as no ſuch Thing can, in my Opinion, be ſuppoſed, we have no Occaſion to give ourſelves any Trouble, much leſs to run ourſelves into evident Dangers, in order to provide againſt it.

In ſhort, Sir, I can ſee no Neceſſity for our making ſuch an Alteration in our Conſtitution; I can ſee no Cauſe for our making ſuch an Attack upon the Prerogative; it may be productive of great Miſchiefs, but cannot produce any Good. And as for uſing the Officers ill, the Gentlemen of the Army, who are now in the Houſe, are themſelves the beſt Judges, by which Side of the Queſtion they are worſt uſed; and their Way of Voting on this Queſtion will be the beſt Proof of their Judgment in that Particular: As for my own Part, I really think the Propoſition ſo unreaſonable, and ſo inconſiſtent with the Principles, even of thoſe Gentlemen who ſupport it, that I did not at firſt believe it could have bore ſo long a Debate.

Sir *T*——*s S*——*n* ſpoke next in Favour of the Propoſition; L—d *G*——*by* againſt it; Sir *J*——*n B*——*d* for it; C——l *M*——*nt* and *D*——*n F*——, Eſq; againſt it; and then

Mr. C——r of the E——r ſpoke as follows, *viz.* When I firſt heard, Sir, that ſuch a Motion was to be made to this Houſe, I conſider'd with myſelf, what it was that had given Occaſion for Gentlemens thinking of making ſuch an Innovation in our Conſtitution, what View or Deſign they had, and what Form of Government they aimed at: As to all which Particulars I found myſelf entirely at a Loſs. We have heard, Sir, of Monarchies, Ariſtocracies, Democracies, or Oligarchies and Anarchies; but ſhould this Propoſition take Place, I am perſuaded, the Government of this Country would ſoon become what may be called a Stratocracy, an Army-Government, which is a Sort of Government was never yet, I believe, eſtabliſh'd in any Country, and ſuch a Government as I believe, no Man in this Nation would be fond of: I ſhall not run out in Compliment to the Gentlemen of the Army, but, I hope they will not take it amiſs if I ſay that I do not deſire to give up our preſent Form of Government, in order to come under their Government.

As for Trials, Sir, by martial Law, I believe no Gentleman will diſpute, but that they have hitherto been very juſt and impartial; but if the Officers ſhould be once made independent of all other Power, we do not know what thoſe Trials might turn to:

neither can, nor ſhall ſay any Thing to reflect upon the Gentlemen who are Judges in ſuch Trials; but we muſt all allow, that the Nature of Mankind is ſuch, that every one has an Attachment to, and a Byaſs in Favour of thoſe he looks on to be of the ſame Body with himſelf; Merchants, Lawyers, even the meaneſt Sort of Tradeſmen ſhew a Partiality in Favour of one another; and why we ſhould look on the Officers of the Army to be leſs liable to thoſe natural Partialities, than any other Set of Men, I cannot ſee any Reaſon for; therefore I am apt to believe, that if this Propoſition ſhould be once paſſed into a Law, it would not be poſſible to remove any Officer by the Sentence of a Court-Martial, as long as he preſerved a Character and an Intereſt in the Army, which of Courſe would encourage them in the boldeſt Attempts againſt the Conſtitution and the Government of their Country.

Gentlemen have told us, Sir, that Generals are ſtill to be removeable by the King at Pleaſure, and that all other Officers are ſtill to be removeable by his Majeſty and the Parliament; but I believe it will be granted, that tho' the King ſhould moſt evidently ſee a very juſt Cauſe for removing a General Officer, he might not find it ſafe to do ſo without removing at the ſame Time a great Number of inferior Officers, whom he knew to be Dependers upon that General, and perhaps aſſociated with him in the ſame wicked Deſigns: And if Officers were made ſecure of their Commiſſions for Life, it would add ſo much Weight to their Intereſt thro' the Kingdom, that they might ſoon get ſuch an Influence in both Houſes of Parliament, as would make it impoſſible to procure an Addreſs from either Houſe, for the Removal of any of them; beſides, the very calling of the Parliament together, which cannot be done ſuddenly, would give the Alarm to thoſe Officers who might be engaged in a Conſpiracy for ſeizing the Government, whereby they would have an Opportunity of carrying their Deſigns into Execution, before the Government could by any Means prevent them.

Thus, Sir, we would be in continual Danger of falling entirely under the Government of our Army; and I am ſure nothing has of late happened that can give Occaſion for our running ourſelves into any ſuch Danger. What tho' his Majeſty has lately thought fit to remove two Gentlemen from their Commands; can the removing of two Gentlemen only, in a Courſe of ſo many Years, be called modelling or garbling the Army? Can it be ſaid, that the Gentlemen who have ſucceeded them are not Men of as good Families, of as great Eſtates, and of as untainted Characters as any Gentlemen in the Kingdom? Surely, Sir, this cannot be called garbling, which, as has been already ſaid, muſt imply the Removal of the moſt Worthy, and the putting of the moſt Unworthy into their Places; and this, I am convinced, the angryeſt Man in this Houſe will not pretend to be the Caſe at preſent.

It is certain, there never were any Removals made, but what occaſioned various Speculations, when the Reaſons why they were made were not publickly known: In ſuch Caſes, every Man who is ignorant of the true Reaſon, is apt to aſſign ſome Reaſon of his own Invention; but of all the Removals I ever heard of, whatever Talk they might occaſion without Doors, never any of them occaſioned any Propoſition or Motion in this Houſe; no Pretence was ever taken from any ſuch to rob the Crown of its Prerogative, or to alter our Conſtitution in any Part. Even when the great D. of *Marlbrough* was removed, there was no ſuch Propoſition as this ever thought on: The Removal of that great Man I remember well; and I remember too the Arts uſed by his Enemies firſt to procure, and then to juſtify his Removal. What Gentlemen would do by the Bill now propoſed, was the very Crime pretended to be laid to his Charge: It was pretended he was contriving how to get himſelf made General for Life, that he was become too great for his Miſtreſs; and had thrown off all Dependence upon the Crown: That he aimed at being made perpetual Dictator; and to give ſome Sort of Colour for the ſpreading of this Calumny, I remember, that a certain zealous Gentleman of thoſe Days, ſent a large Preſent to Mr. *Booth*, and told him it was for the Part he acted in the Tragedy of *Cato*, againſt the perpetual Dictator. This ſhews, Sir, that it was then looked on as a great Crime for an Officer to endeavour to be independent of the Crown; and why it ſhould now appear in a Light ſo different, as to make the People think it neceſſary to make a Law for that very Purpoſe, I cannot imagine.

We know, Sir, that great Endeavours have been of late uſed to make it be believed abroad, that this is a divided Nation, that the People are diſaffected: Hitherto all ſuch Endeavours have had but very little Effect; but if this Propoſition ſhould paſs into a Law, will not Foreigners have Reaſon to believe what they have heard? They cannot imagine, that the removing of two Colonels of Regiments, could have produced ſuch a Law, but will naturally ſay, what we have heard we ſee now to be true, the Parliament has no Confidence in the King, and therefore they have taken from him that Power which all his Predeceſſors enjoyed. Is this, Sir, an Opinion which we ought at any Time to promote among our Neighbours abroad, but eſpecially at preſent, when a juſt Opinion of the Unanimity and Strength of this Nation

tion may be so necessary for preserving a just Balance of Power in *Europe*, and consequently, the very Being of this Nation.

In short, Sir, the Regulation now proposed can produce no Good, it may produce a Multitude of Mischiefs; and therefore I think we should all say, on this Occasion, *Nolumus Leges Angliæ mutare.*

L—d *C*——*gh*. I cannot but say, Sir, that the Officers of the Army are very much obliged to the Gentlemen who are for agreeing to the Proposition; but I look on it as a certain Maxim, that no Man can be a proper Judge in his own Cause; and as I have the Honour to be in the Army, I look upon myself as a Party concerned, and therefore, I think, I can neither in Honour nor Conscience offer to give my Vote upon the Question.

After which his L——p withdrew, and then the Question was put, and carried in the Negative, without any Division.

SPEECHES *on the Motion relating to the Duke of* Bolton *and Lord Visc.* Cobham.

After this, *S*——*l S*——*ys*, Esq; got up, and spoke as follows, *viz.* Sir, what gave Rise to the Proposition last before you, I believe most Gentlemen in this House may easily guess: It was often mentioned in the last Debate, and as in the Course of that Debate, no Gentleman pretended to justify what has lately happened, I have a Question in my Hand which I hope will meet with no Opposition, and therefore, Sir, I shall take the Liberty to move, That an humble Address be presented to his Majesty, humbly to desire his Majesty, that he will be graciously pleased to inform this House, by whose Advice it was that his Majesty was pleased to discharge his Grace, *Charles* Duke of *Bolton*, and the Right Hon. *Richard*, Lord Viscount *Cobham*, from the Regiments lately under their several Commands, and what Crimes were alledged against them, which were the Occasion thereof.

W——*m P*——*ney*, Esq; I stand up, Sir, to second the Motion, which, I hope, will meet with much better Success than the last: That, indeed, was called, by some Gentlemen, an Attack upon the Prerogative, an Affront to the Crown, and a great many other hard Names, which I thought it very little deserved; but I am sure there cannot be the least Colour of Reason for making such Objections, or for giving such Names to the Motion now made to you: On the contrary, it is shewing a great Tenderness and a most dutiful Respect to his Majesty: The Removal of those two noble Lords, was what no Gentleman in the late Debate so much as endeavoured to excuse, most seemed rather to condemn, and all the World without-doors had, we know, before condemned it. Since then the Removal of those two noble Lords is look'd on to be a wrong Step, and since his Majesty cannot by Law be supposed to do any Wrong, we ought therefore, in Duty to the Crown, to present such an Address as is now proposed, that his Majesty may be freed from the Suspicion of doing any Thing that is wrong, that the wicked Person who advised it may be pointed out to the World, and that the Reproach of such a Measure may fall where it ought.

If ever it should happen, Sir, to be the Case of this Nation, that a Minister grown insolent in Power, should dare to tell his Master, if you do not dismiss such a Man, or such another, I must abandon you, I can no longer support your Government; and by such Language should prevail on him to dismiss some of his most faithful Servants, only because they had honourably opposed some wicked Attempt upon the Liberties of their Country: I say, Sir, if ever any one Minister, who solely engrossed the Ear of his Master, should arrive at such an Insolence in Power, the King would no longer be the first Man, he would be but the first Slave in the Nation; and in such a Case, would not the Parliament be bound in Duty both to their Country and King, to desire to know who it was that advised such Measures, and what were the Reasons for taking such. This, Sir, is not, I hope, the Case at present; but as the Removing of those two noble Lords has been condemned by the whole Nation, it is sufficient for justifying us in the Application now proposed: Let us know who gave the Advice; it was a wicked one, and the Wickedness of it will be still more apparent, if it shall appear, that those who gave it dare not avow their Reasons for giving it.

After some Time's passing without any Gentleman's rising to speak, but only a Call for the Question,

Sir *W*——*m W*——*nd*——*m* stood up, and spoke as follows, *viz.* Whether or no there are any Gentlemen in the House against the Question, cannot, as yet, be determined; but if there are, I was in Hopes, Sir, they would have stood up, and have given the House some Satisfaction as to their Reasons for being against a Question which seems to be highly approved of by several Gentlemen in this House. What the Cause of their Silence may be, I shall not pretend to guess, but it seems we are to have no other Satisfaction from them, but only a Call for the Question.

In my Opinion, Sir, the Affair now before us deserves a much more decent Treatment, if it were for no other Reason, but because the Names of two noble Lords are mentioned in the Question, both of whom have done great Services to their Country, but one in particular. As I do not mean, Sir, to compli-

pliment the one, neither will I depretiate the Services of the other, and therefore I ſay they have both done great Services, tho' in different Capacities; but whoever remembers the late War, which was carried on ſo much to the Honour of this Nation, muſt remember how often honourable Mention was then made, in our Gazettes, of Sir *Richard Temple*: In moſt of the Accounts tranſmitted to us from *Flanders*, either of Battles or Sieges, his Name generally ſtood among the foremoſt in the Liſt of thoſe gallant Officers, who bravely ventured their Lives in the Service of their Country. And if we look upon his Behaviour in the Senate, it is as much to his Honour as his Service in the Field: In the laſt he has always acted as a good Officer and a brave Soldier, in the Defence of his Country: in the firſt he has always behaved as a faithful Subject and a good Counſellor to his King; and that ſuch a Man ſhould be one of the firſt to fall a Sacrifice to miniſterial Reſentment is what muſt give a juſt Alarm to all the honeſt Part of Mankind: It is what principally gave Riſe to this Day's Debate, and, in particular, to this Motion, which I very much approve of, and if no Gentleman thinks fit to ſay any Thing againſt it, I can hardly doubt of its being unanimouſly agreed to.

No other Gentleman offering to ſpeak, the Queſtion was put, and, upon a Diviſion, carried in the Negative by a conſiderable Majority.

DEBATE *in the H--ſe of L--ds on the Bill relating to the Officers of the Army.*

On the very ſame Day that the laſt-mentioned Debate happened in the H--ſe of ----ns, his G--ce the D--ke of *M----gh* preſented to the H--ſe of L--ds the Bill, intitled, *An Act for the better ſecuring the Conſtitution, by preventing the Officers*, &c. of which we gave a true and full Copy in our MAGAZINE for *April* laſt, pag. 170. His G--ce introduced the Bill with a very handſome Speech, explaining the Nature of the Bill, and the Neceſſity there was for making ſome ſuch Regulations, in a Country which is cried in the Name of Liberty, and where the People were ſo happy as to preſerve that Freedom, after moſt of their Neighbours had loſt theirs by the very Means, which he propoſed to obviate by the Bill.

For ſome Time after the Motion for a ſecond Reading, no Lord ſtood up to ſpeak either for or againſt the Bill, only ſome called for the Queſtion, and when the Queſtion was juſt going to be put,

The E--l of *Ch*——*ld* ſtood up, and ſpoke as follows, *viz.* My Lords, as there ſeems to be ſome of your Lordſhips againſt the ſecond Reading of this Bill, I am ſurprized to hear the Queſtion ſo much inſiſted for before any Lord who ſeems to be againſt a ſecond Reading has ſtood up to give any one Reaſon for his being ſo. If any Motion is made, or Bill preſented, to this Houſe, were it an Affair of no Conſequence, yet it is a Reſpect due to the noble Lord who makes the Motion, or preſents the Bill, not to put a Negative upon it without giving ſome Reaſons for ſo doing; but in the preſent Caſe it cannot be pretended, but that the Bill now preſented is an Affair of the utmoſt Conſequence; it is, in my Opinion, not only a good, but a neceſſary Bill, and the noble Duke has given ſo ſtrong Reaſons for its paſſing, that I hope your Lordſhips will not ſo much as endeavour to put a Negative upon it, without firſt giving ſome Sort of a Reaſon for what you are about to do.

Such a Method of Proceeding, my Lords, is beneath the Dignity of this Houſe, it will really look as if ſomething elſe than Reaſon and Argument prevailed here; and if a ſecond Reading of a Bill of ſuch Conſequence be in ſuch a Manner refuſed, I am ſure the World will conclude, that no good Reaſon could be given for ſo doing, which, of courſe, muſt bring this Houſe into the utmoſt Contempt, in the Opinion of the Generality of the Nation: This is a Conſequence, that, I am convinced, every one of your Lordſhips muſt think yourſelves concerned in, and therefore I hope ſome of thoſe Lords who are to give their Negative to the ſecond Reading of this Bill, will ſtand up and give us their Reaſons for being of that Opinion: At preſent my Opinion happens to be different from theirs, but I now declare to them, that if ſufficient Anſwers are not made to every Objection they ſhall ſtart, I ſhall moſt readily quit the Opinion I am now of, and join with them in putting a Negative upon the Bill.

L—d *H*——*y*. I am, my Lords, one of thoſe, and I believe there are a great many more, who are againſt the ſecond Reading of this Bill. I did not, 'tis true, riſe up immediately after the Motion was made, to give my Reaſons for being againſt a ſecond Reading, becauſe I thought the Bill was of a Nature ſo very extraordinary, and the Objections to it ſo ſtrong and ſo evident, that I thought it unneceſſary for me or any other Lord, to give himſelf or the Houſe the Trouble of explaining them: But ſince the noble Lord, who ſpoke laſt, inſiſts ſo much upon it, in order to ſatisfy him, I ſhall give ſome of thoſe Reaſons which prevail with me to be againſt a ſecond Reading of the Bill; and if either that noble Lord, or any other, can give ſufficient Anſwers to thoſe Reaſons, I ſhall moſt readily give up my preſent Opinion, and join with thoſe noble Lords.

With me, my Lords, one of the principal Objections againſt the Bill is, that I look upon it as an open and a direct Attack upon the Prerogative of the Crown. It is an Attack upon

upon a Prerogative which his Majesty and his Ancestors have enjoyed ever since our Monarchy had a Being; and we all know how nearly connected the Privileges of this House are with the Prerogatives of the Crown; we know, my Lords, that the last open and direct Attack that was made upon the Prerogatives of the Crown, ended in the total Subversion of our Monarchy, and an entire Dissolution of this House; and therefore I cannot but be surprized to see a Bill of this Nature brought first into this House: If such a Bill had passed the other House, and had been sent up to us from thence, I do not doubt but that every one of your Lordships would have easily seen thro' the Design; you would have seen the Snare that was laid against the monarchical Establishment of our Government, upon which the Privileges of every Lord in the Nation absolutely depend; this would have given your Lordships a just Alarm; and this, I doubt not, would have made you receive such a Bill in the Manner it deserved.

I have often heard, my Lords, of a Compact between the King and the People, upon which, it is said, our Constitution and Government depend; if there be any such, the Nature of it must certainly be mutual; upon one Part our Kings are obliged not to encroach upon the Liberties and Privileges of the People; but surely there must be a Counter-part, and by that there must be an Obligation upon the People not to incroach upon the Powers and Prerogatives of the Crown; for it would be a very unjust Compact, if on the one Hand, the King were most strictly tied down, and on the other Hand, the People left at full Liberty to incroach as often, and as far, as they pleased upon the Prerogatives of the Crown. This cannot be the Case; the Compact must be mutual; and as his present Majesty has never once attempted, nor desires, in the least to incroach upon the Liberties or Privileges of the People, it would be very unjust in us to make any Incroachment upon him: Nay, it would be most unwise, and might be attended with the most fatal Consequences; for a Breach of Covenant upon one Side would dissolve all the Covenants upon the other, which would at once unhinge the Whole of our Constitution.

It has been always thought necessary, my Lords, to give our Kings the sole Power of naming, preferring, and removing at Pleasure, the Officers of our Armies, in order to give our Kings that Power and Influence over our Armies, which is necessary for supporting and promoting a proper military Discipline among them, without which they would be of no Use against a foreign Enemy, and might soon become most oppressive to the People, for whose Safety they were raised and maintained. This Power was thought so necessary at the Time of the Revolution, and it was then thought to be of so little Danger to the Freedom of our Constitution, that at that Time when the Liberties of the People were fully considered, there was not the least Mention made of taking this Power from the Crown, or even of laying it under any Restraints, and I do not know any Thing that has since happened, which can give us the least Ground for thinking differently from our Ancestors at that Time.

The Happiness of our Constitution, my Lords, depends upon that equal Division of Power, which is established among the three Branches of our Legislature: The executive Power, and the defending of the People against their Enemies is now, and always has been, entrusted solely with our King; and as long as the Execution of the Laws, or the Defence of the People against their Enemies, foreign or domestick, is entrusted with the King, it must always be necessary to give our King proper Powers for those Purposes: The supreme and ultimate Determination of all Disputes about Property is lodged solely in this House; and the raising of Money for the publick Use, or laying Taxes upon the People, is what now seems to be principally the Province of the other House. Thus the three Branches of our Legislature are a Check upon one another, which prevents it being in the Power of any one of them to oppress the People, or to destroy the other two. Under this Establishment we have been happy for many Ages, under this the Nation has grown up to a very high Pitch of Riches and Power, and while this Establishment continues, it is more than probable, we shall always be happy.

But, my Lords, by the Bill before us, we are to establish a fourth Power, a new Sort of Power, which, I am persuaded, would soon become independent of the other three. This is making a most considerable Alteration in our Constitution, that may be attended with such fatal Consequences that it makes me tremble to think of it: To establish a General for Life at the Head of a well-disciplined Army, commanded by Officers who could not be removed, but by the Consent of one another, would soon put it in the Power of that General to make himself Master both of King and Parliament: The Transition from *Dux* to *Rex* would soon become easy for him, by this the Constitution might be entirely overthrown, and the Nation might be involved in a Multitude of Calamities.

'Tis true, my Lords, that by what is proposed in the Bill now before us, an Officer may still be removed, upon an Address from either House of Parliament; but as the Parliament cannot be kept always sitting, an Address could not often be speedily obtained, and if an Officer should be discovered to be conspiring the Overthrow of the Govern-

and should, notwithstanding, be continued in his Commission, and in the Possession of that Power in the Army which he had, by Virtue of his Commission, till the next Session of Parliament; both Houses might, perhaps, address for turning him out, but his Power in the Army might by that Time be so well established, that it would be out of the Power of both King and Parliament to divest him of his Command; and as for a Tryal by a Court-martial, I believe, it would not be so much as pretended, that a Sentence could be got against such an Officer, or indeed against any Officer, who had a great Influence in the Army: It is not to be presumed that Officers would be ready to condemn one another, unless it was for a Crime which they themselves could no way approve of, especially when they knew that they could not be removed by any other Authority.

Since then, my Lords, I can see no Manner of Occasion for the Regulation now proposed, since I am of Opinion that it would be a great Injury done to his Majesty, that it would tend to destroy all military Discipline in the Army, and would greatly endanger, if not totally subvert our happy Constitution, I cannot therefore agree to the giving it a second Reading.

The E—l of *Or——y* spoke next for the Question, the E—l of *Cb——y* against it, the M——s of *T——le* for it; and then the

D--ke of *N——ſtle* stood up, and spoke as follows, *viz.* My Lords, as I shall certainly give my Vote against the second Reading of this Bill, I must beg Leave to give some of my Reasons for so doing. I must be of Opinion, my Lords, that it will be always proper to leave in his Majesty a Power of removing the Officers of the Army at Pleasure, in order to preserve that Respect and Obedience which is due from them to their King; but I am the more firmly of this Opinion, when I consider, that there is at present a Pretender to the Crown of these Realms; for while there is such a Misfortune hanging over us, we may conclude, that there will be always Plots and Contrivances in this Kingdom against the Person in Possession of the Throne; and while there is a Pretender, he may have, without all doubt, his Agents in the Army, as well as he has every where else: Under such Circumstances it is not to be doubted, but that some of the Officers may, at some time or other, be drawn away from their Duty to their King and Country, they may happen to be misled, and drawn into Engagements against his Majesty's Person and Government; and while his Majesty is in such Danger, shall we put it out of his Power to remove those Officers, tho' he has certain Information of their being in a Plot to overthrow his Government, perhaps even to take away his Life?

This, my Lords, his Majesty may have most certain Information of, the Officers concerned in such Engagements may be made known to him, beyond all Doubt, and yet the Proofs may be such as would not prevail upon a Court-martial to condemn their Brother Officer to Death, or even to be broke; or they may be such as could not properly, at least, at that Time, be laid before a Court-martial; because if they were laid before any such Court, the Informers, and all the other Methods by which the Plot was at first discovered, and the whole Progress of it traced, must then become publickly known, by which all further Discovery would be effectually prevented; and if this Bill should pass into a Law, his Majesty would be under a Necessity of laying all these Proofs immediately before a Court-martial, or of allowing such treacherous Officers, perhaps, even one of his Chief-Generals, to continue in Command, by which they might probably be enabled to render their Conspiracies successful; for which Reason I hope, that none of your Lordships will approve of this Bill, when you consider how dangerous it may prove to our present happy Establishment, and how much it may weaken the Hands of the Government against any Attempts that may hereafter be made in Favour of the Pretender.

Besides this, my Lords, there are many other Cases, wherein his Majesty might have very good Reason to remove an Officer, tho' it would not be at all proper to make that Reason so publick as to lay it before a Court-martial: There are likewise many little Crimes which an Officer may be guilty of, and for which he might highly deserve to be removed, and yet these Crimes may be such as could not well come under the Cognizance of a Court-martial; at least it would not be possible to obtain a Sentence of a Court-martial for the removing of such an Officer; for when Gentlemen sit in Judgment upon a Brother Officer, in order to determine whether he ought to be broke or not, it is to be supposed, that they will not pass Judgment against him, unless some very enormous Crimes be fully proved before them; which would make it impossible to keep up that strict Discipline, and regular Subordination, that must be observed in any Army fit for Service, or that may be depended on for the Defence of a Country.

I must, indeed, say, my Lords, that if any Attempts had ever been made towards modelling the Army, and making it fit for any bad Purpose, there might then have been some Occasion for proposing such a Bill as this; but as no such Attempts have ever been made, or can be so much as apprehended

from his present Majesty, I am therefore surprized to hear such a Bill so much as proposed in this House, at present. I am sure the passing of it, at present, would be a subjecting of the Nation to many great and certain Dangers and Inconveniences, for the Sake of avoiding an Inconvenience that has never been felt by any but in Imagination; and for this Reason I must be against giving the Bill a second Reading.

E—l of *Cb——ld.* I have, my Lords, before declared, that my Opinion was for reading this Bill a second Time; I likewise said, I would alter my Opinion, if any Lord could give me a sufficient Reason for so doing; but, from what has fell from the noble Lords who have spoke against the second Reading, I am so far from altering my Opinion, that I now think a second Reading of the Bill is absolutely necessary, even before we can enter into any Debate upon the Merits of it; for all the Arguments made use of against a second Reading, all the Objections hitherto made to the Bill, are founded upon Suppositions directly contrary to the Contents of the Bill.

It has been said, that the Bill is a direct Attack upon the Prerogative, and that it is designed for destroying, or at least diminishing, the Power of the Crown; but, my Lords, if what is proposed in the Bill be duly considered, it will appear to be neither an Attack upon the Prerogative, nor so much as a Diminution of the Power of the Crown: There is no Power to be taken from the Crown, but that Power which the Crown ought never to make use of: It is certain, that the Crown ought never to take an Officer's Commission from him, but for some very sufficient Reason, and upon a full Proof of the Facts alledged against him; and therefore all that is proposed by this Bill, is only a Method, by which the Crown may get such an Information as to the Facts alledged as may be depended on; whereby the Crown may be secured against Impositions, and the Officers against private Misrepresentations, and false Accusations: It is, my Lords, to prevent the King's being maliciously led into the doing a Piece of the highest Injustice to a faithful Soldier, and to prevent a good and a brave Officer from being whisper'd out of his Commission, and reduced to a starving Condition for no Crime, perhaps for a Piece of Behaviour for which he ought to be highly rewarded. Can this, my Lords, be called a Diminution of the Power of the Crown? Is it not plainly grounded upon that fundamental Maxim of our Constitution, which says, That the King of *England* shall have it in his Power to do as much Good as he pleases, but shall not have it in his Power to do Wrong?

The Objection as to general Officers, is likewise, my Lords, founded on a Mistake; for if the noble Lords had attended to the first Reading of the Bill, they must have known, that with Respect to general Officers, the Power of the Crown is to remain in the very same State it was in before; the Regulation proposed, is to extend no higher than Colonels of Regiments; and surely the continuing of the most designing and the most daring Man, in the Command of a single Regiment, for 2 or 3 Months, after a Discovery of his wicked Designs, can be of no dangerous Consequence; even tho' the continuing him for that Time were, by this Bill, to be made necessary; but that is not the Case, which leads me to consider another Mistake, from which an Argument hath been drawn, and much insisted on by some of the noble Lords who have spoke against the Question.

The Pretender, my Lords, I find, is to be lugg'd into this Question, as he has been into some others, in which he had very little to do, and the Danger the Nation lies exposed to from him is to be made an Argument for our not taking that Care of our Liberties and Constitution which we ought. I hope I am as little suspected of favouring any Designs from that Quarter, as any Lord in this House; if there were the least Ground for that Argument, it would be a most prevailing Argument with me for being not only against the second Reading of this Bill, but for the rejecting of it with the utmost Disdain: But those Lords who make use of this Argument, seem not to take Notice, that the King is still to retain the Power of suspending and putting under an Arrest any Officer, or Number of Officers, he pleases, and at whatever Time or Times he may think proper; and if the least Discovery should be made, that any Officer, or Officers, were drawn into a Plot, in Favour of the Pretender, or any other Plot against his Majesty's Person and Government, could not his Majesty immediately suspend all such Officers from their Commands? Could not he immediately lay them all under an Arrest? Nay, could not he immediately throw them all into a common Prison, or at least into the Hands of Messengers, and detain them there, till it should be found convenient to bring them to a Tryal before a Court-martial, or otherwise; or at least till the Parliament should be called, in order to have an Address from this or the other House for breaking such of them, against whom a legal and full Proof could not be obtained? Is it to be doubted, that either this House or the other, or, indeed, both, would refuse to address his Majesty on such an Occasion? And would not this as effectually disappoint all their Plots and Contrivances, as if his Majesty had immediately broke every one of those Officers who were at first represented to him as concerned in that Plot?

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This Bill has likewiſe been repreſented as if it would deſtroy the Influence his Majeſty ought always to have in the Army, and annihilate the Dependence the Officers ought always to have upon the Crown: But this, my Lords, ſeems likewiſe to be founded upon a Miſtake, or at leaſt an Overſight; for, notwithſtanding any Proviſion in the Bill, the Power of naming and preferring the Officers is to remain abſolute in the Crown; and beſides, there will be many other Ways left, by which the Crown may ſecure the Reſpect and Dependence of all the Officers in the Army; ſo that there is nothing in this Bill, that can poſſibly diminiſh that juſt and due Influence which the Crown ought to have in the Army. The Hopes of Preferment alone are ſufficient for influencing every Officer to do his Duty, and to ſhew that Reſpect which is due both to the Crown, and to his ſuperior Officers: They may not, indeed, be ſufficient for influencing an Officer to act contrary to his Duty, both as to his King and Country, by obeying the private Commands of a wicked Miniſter; but this, my Lords, and this only, is what is by this Bill propoſed to be guarded againſt. All that is propoſed is, only that no Miniſter of State ſhall hereafter have it in his Power to tell an Officer of the Army, in a Caſe that perhaps no Way regards military Diſcipline, Sir, —— you ſhall do ſo or ſo, —— or ſtarve!

Thus, my Lords, I think I have ſhewn, that all the material Objections againſt the ſecond Reading of this Bill are founded upon Miſtakes, as to the Nature of it, which, in my Opinion, is a moſt convincing Argument for giving it at leaſt a ſecond Reading. There has indeed one or two other Arguments been made uſe of, which I am greatly ſurprized at. It has been ſaid, there are ſeveral Crimes an Officer may be guilty of, which cannot properly be brought before a Court-martial; or at leaſt where Juſtice upon the Offender could not well be expected from a Court-martial: Here indeed I am quite at a Loſs, for I know of no military Crimes but what may properly be brought before a Court martial, and unleſs it be ſuch Crimes as are proper for the Cognizance of our ſpiritual Courts, I do not know any other, but where the moſt ſevere and impartial Juſtice has always been given by, and may always be expected from Courts-martial: I am ſure, that if any Officer be guilty of Cowardice, of Neglect of Duty, or of any Action, that is in the leaſt diſhonourable, the moſt ſtrict Juſtice may always be expected from a Court-martial; nay, ſo ſevere have the Officers of our Army always been, in ſuch Caſes, upon one another, that for ſome Failings, which the Crown has overlook'd, which the Generals have ſo far overlook'd, as not to bring them before a Court-martial, yet the Officers themſelves have taken Notice of them, and have refuſed to roll or to ſerve with the Man who has been guilty of them; and therefore to pretend, that martial Diſcipline could not be kept up in the Army, if Officers could not be broke or removed but by a Court-martial, is an Argument founded upon a Suppoſition, directly contrary to Experience.

The other Argument, which ſurprizes me, is founded upon a new Sort of Doctrine; by which we are taught, that the Prerogative is never to be touched in the leaſt; you are never to make any Law for regulating the Prerogative in any Branch; the Compact between King and People muſt be mutual; the People muſt be as much obliged not to incroach on the King's Prerogative, as he is obliged not to incroach on their Privileges. As to the Compact's being mutual, and the Parties equally bound, I ſhall, my Lords, eaſily grant; yet that can be no Bar to our making as many Acts of Parliament as we pleaſe for regulating, or even reſtraining the Prerogative, becauſe to every ſuch Act the King gives his Conſent, and ſurely all the Perſons concerned in a Compact may, by their mutual Conſent, make what Alterations in it they pleaſe: And ſo the Caſe is, we have, by Acts of Parliament, made many Alterations with Regard to the Prerogative; and I believe every one of your Lordſhips will grant, that it is to theſe Alterations, that we owe the Liberty we now enjoy. The Prerogative has been often reſtrained and limited, or at leaſt brought back to its primitive Inſtitution. Was not the *Habeas Corpus* Act a moſt noted and uſeful Limitation of that Prerogative which our Kings then pretended to? Did not our Kings formerly pretend to a Power and Prerogative of removing the Judges at Pleaſure? But this Prerogative was found inconſiſtent with the Liberties of the People, and therefore, by the Claim of Right, an Alteration was made as to that Part of the Prerogative. And as to that Part now inſiſted on, it is well known, that it has grown up of late Ages, for by our primitive Inſtitution, the King could not remove the Officers of the Army: The Nobility and the Barons were the proper Officers, and each of them led out to War, and commanded his own military Tenants, ſo that their Commands in the Army depended upon their Tenures, from neither of which the King could remove them, without their being legally found guilty of a Crime; and from the Writings of the learned Judge *Coke*, who, I believe, will be allowed to have underſtood our antient Conſtitution, we may learn, that in antient Times the Freeholders of each County choſe their Leader in War, as well as they did the Sheriffs and other Officers for Times of Peace. * And there-

* *Coke*, Part II. on the Statute of *Weſtminſter*. 1ſt Chap. 19.

fore what is now proposed must appear so far from being an Attack upon, or a Diminution of, the antient Prerogative of the Crown, that it does not near bring it back to its primitive Institution.

It has been said, that at the Revolution no such Provision was made as is now proposed: Very true, my Lords; but the Reason was, because before that Time we never had such a Thing as a legal standing Army; we had, indeed, a few regular Troops, but they never, I believe, amounted to 4000 Men, which could not properly be called an Army; so that it was impossible we could think of making any Regulation about a Thing not then in Being: And moreover, it cannot be said, that at the very Time of the Revolution, the Liberties of the People were, or indeed, could be, fully considered; it cannot be pretended, that every Thing was then removed that might be of dangerous Consequence to them, for do not we know, that even since that Time some Regulations have been made with Respect to the Prerogative? Even that remarkable Regulation of triennial, or, as we have them now, septennial Parliaments, was not made till some Time after the Revolution; and yet this was not only a great, but a necessary Diminution of the Prerogative, in order to secure the Liberties of the People: It is not in the Power of Man, my Lords, to foresee all the Evils and Inconveniencies that may afterwards arise, and therefore it is impossible for Men to provide proper Remedies against them all; we can provide against them only by Degrees, and as they happen to come under our Observation.

The Evil proposed to be remedied, or at least prevented, by the Bill, is what has been long under the Observation of most Gentlemen in the Kingdom, and therefore, my Lords, I am extreamly surprized to hear it said, that no Examples have happened which could give Occasion for such a Bill. Is it not well known, that we have had several Examples of Officers turned out of their Commissions only for not being submissive to the Ministers for the Time being? Do not we all know, that in the End of the late Queen's Reign Numbers of Gentlemen were turned out of their Commissions, without any Reason, without any Crime so much as alledged against them? Do not we know, that, even in the late King's Reign, there were a great many brave Officers removed, without being guilty of any Crime, at least, I am sure they were not guilty of any military Crime, no not so much as of a Neglect of Duty; they could not even be accused of any Want of Respect to the Crown; the Whole, I believe, of what could possibly be laid to their Charge was, that they were not, perhaps, so submissive to the prime Minister, as he thought he had Reason to expect. These Removes were, at that Time, my Lords, so much taken Notice of, that it occasioned a very great Debate upon the Mutiny-Bill, both in this and the other House: I was then, my Lords, in the other House, and I well remember, it was there strongly insisted on, as an Objection against that Clause of the Bill, by which Officers are made Judges in Cases of Life and Death, that it was very improper they should be Judges in any such Case, as long as their Commissions entirely depended upon the Crown, and might be taken from them whenever a Minister had a Mind.

And, my Lords, tho' his present Majesty's Justice and Prudence be known to the whole World, yet we find, that even he has been prevailed on, by what Means I do not know, to remove two Officers, both Members of this House, neither of whom, in so far as I can hear, has ever yet been accused of any Crime, or of any Want of Respect to the Crown; no not so much as of a Neglect of Duty. What I am now on is, I know, my Lords, a tender Point, I am sorry I am obliged to mention it; and I would avoid it, if I did not know my Heart to be so warmly affected to his Majesty, that I am sure it will not allow my Tongue to say any Thing unbecoming of him. If there is any Fault, I am sure his Majesty is not to blame: If the two noble Lords were removed without a sufficient Cause, it could not proceed from any Thing wrong in his Majesty: It must have proceeded from some Misrepresentation, or private and malicious Accusations which his Majesty has not yet discovered to be false; but when he does, we may depend upon it, he will do Justice to the two noble Lords who have been injured, and will severely punish those who have been guilty of giving him a false and a malicious Information: This, my Lords, we may most certainly expect from his Majesty; but this shews, that even out of that Regard we ought to have for the Crown, we ought to agree to the Bill now before us; because it will, for the future, put it out of the Power of any Person to impose upon the Crown, by any false Surmises, or malicious Misrepresentations.

I think, my Lords, I have now left no Argument against the Bill unanswered, but that most extraordinary one, of its being Time enough to guard against the Evil of modelling an Army for any bad Purpose, after it has once happen'd: I hope it will be granted me, that the modelling of an Army for the private and particular Purposes of a Minister, or Ministry, is as bad a Purpose as any that can be imagined; and I think I have shewn, that such a Modelling was actually set on Foot in the End of the late Queen's Reign, and something like it happen'd even in his late Majesty's Time; and therefore it must be granted, that it is now high Time

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to think of guarding against it; but if it be meant that nothing like it has happen'd in his present Majesty's Time, the Argument will still be more extraordinary, for does not every one know, that before such a Bill can pass into a Law, the King, at that Time upon the Throne, must give his Consent to it; and if any King, by the Advice of an evil Minister, should once actually begin to model his Army, would it not be ridiculous to expect the Consent of that King to a Law for putting a Stop to what he had actually begun; so that his Majesty's never having attempted any such Thing, is one of the strongest Arguments for our passing the Bill; because it is only from such a just and such a gracious King as the present, that the Royal Assent to such a Bill can ever be expected.

I hope, my Lords, I have now fully shewn the Weakness of all the Objections made to the Bill: But as to the Arguments for it, they are strong, they are convincing: I shall only touch upon that one, which I think has the greatest Connexion with the Nature of our Constitution. It is well known, my Lords, that there are many Officers, who have nothing, or, at least, very little to subsist on, but their Commissions; and it is likewise well known, that there are many Gentlemen of the Army now in both Houses of Parliament: There are now, my Lords, more Officers in each House than there were when we had on Foot an Army of above 60000 Men: It is, I do not know how, become, of late Years, a prevailing Opinion, that the only best Way of getting Preferment in the Army, is to have a Seat in this or the other House: This, 'tis true, my Lords, must be an erroneous Opinion: It is impossible that any Man can justly and honourably acquire any Preferment in the Army by his Behaviour in either House of Parliament, and therefore this must be an Opinion for which I hope there never was any Ground: I am sure there can be no Ground for it under his present Majesty; but erroneous as it is, it is become a general Opinion, and we know that Mankind always were, and always will be governed and influenced by general Opinions and Prejudices; and accordingly as the Prevalence of this Opinion increases, we may expect an Increase of the Number of Officers in both Houses of Parliament.

We may expect, my Lords, that, in future Times, as soon as any Gentleman has once got a Commission in the Army, he will not employ all his Money, Credit and Friends, to procure himself a Seat in Parliament; he will, perhaps, pawn the last Shilling's-worth he has in the World, besides his Commission, in order to procure himself a Seat in the other House; and how dangerous may be to our Constitution, to have such a Man depending for the Continuance of that Commission, upon some future enterprizing Minister, I leave to your Lordships to judge. No Man has a better Opinion than I of the present Officers of the Army; but I think it too hard a Tryal, even for their Virtue, especially in this degenerate Age, to leave it in the Power of a desperate Minister, to tell them, on Occasion of an important Question in Parliament, If you do not vote, Sir, as I direct you, you shall starve!

Your Lordships are all convinced, that the Happiness, the Essence of our Constitution does not depend on outward Forms, but Realities. Our Constitution does not depend on our having always a Parliament; but on that Parliament's being independent of the Administration; on its being in the Power of Parliament to examine severely, and judge impartially the Conduct of those in the Administration; to represent the Grievances, and watch over the Liberties and Properties of the People; and to take away evil Counsellors from before the King: But if ever a Majority of both Houses should come to be composed of Gentlemen whose daily Bread, or at least their chief Support, depended intirely upon the Favourites of the Crown, can it be imagined, it would then be in the Power of Parliament to examine freely, or judge impartially, the Conduct of those Favourites; to relieve the People from the Oppressions brought upon them by such Favourites; or to tell their Sovereign any ungrateful Truths about those whom he had thought fit to imploy as his Ministers? Would not an arbitrary Negative be then put upon all such Questions? Would not the best Designs of the uncorrupted and independent Few be baffled by a corrupt and a slavish Majority? And shall any Question which tends towards the preventing of such a Misfortune, have now the ill Fate to be rejected by your Lordships?

The Bill is so far from being an Attack upon the Prerogative, that it is in the very same Terms with a Bill drawn up in the very last Reign, by as able and as honest a Minister as ever served the Crown: He was indeed an honest and a disinterested Minister; for he had the Happiness of his Country so much at Heart, that he neglected his own, and has left little else to his Son, but the Honour of a Seat amongst your Lordships: The Bill, I say, my Lords, was not only drawn up, but even his late Majesty, who never could be accused of allowing of any unjust Encroachments upon the Crown, had, by the Advice of that Minister, agreed to its being brought into Parliament: And if it had been brought in at that Time, which was, I do not know how, prevented, not only the Ministers were ready to have supported it, but the King himself to have given it the Royal Assent, as soon as presented to him. This,

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my Lords, I know to be true, and therefore I am the more surprized to hear the Offering of such a Bill now represented as an Attack upon the Prerogative, an Affront to the King.

We all know, my Lords, there is nothing proposed by this Bill, but what has been done in every Country, where are any Remains of Liberty left. In *Holland*, no Officer was, I believe, ever removed but by a Court-martial; I do not remember ever any was, nor do I know any other Way, by which an Officer can be broke or removed in that Country. In *Sweden*, as soon as they recovered their Liberties, by the Death of their late heroick King, they established this Rule, that no Officer should be removed or broke, but by a Court martial, or by the King, with the Consent of the Senate. And in *Poland*, their late King having made strong and repeated Remonstrances to the States of that Kingdom, to have a Body of regular Troops raised, and kept up, the States at last consented to it: But how did they consent? They agreed indeed to the raising of the Troops, but with this Regulation, that all the Officers should have their Commissions for Life, which was a wise and a necessary Regulation; but whatever Designs the Court of *Poland* had in asking for those Troops, they found, that the raising of them, and keeping them up under that Regulation, would so little answer the Ends they had proposed, that they never put the Ordinance, which they had so strongly solicited, in Execution, nor was there a Man raised on that Foot. In short, my Lords, the Regulation intended by this Bill, is what has been thought necessary in all free Countries; in this I think it absolutely necessary for the Preservation of our Constitution; I can see no reasonable Objection that can be made to it, and therefore I shall still be for a second Reading.

After his Lordship the L—d *W*——*bby*, and the E—l of *Ab*——*n*, spoke both in Favour of the Bill, and then the Question was put, which upon a Division, was carried in the Negative: Lords present 49 Contents, 78 Not Contents; Proxies 13 Contents, and 22 Not Contents; in all 62 Contents, and 100 Not Contents; so that it was carried against the second Reading by a Majority of 38, the spiritual Lords included. (See the PROTEST on this Occasion in our *Magazine* for *April*, p. 168.) Immediately after this,

The E—l of *S*——*gh* stood up, and spoke as follows, *viz.* Before this Question was put, I had not, my Lords, an Opportunity to give my Sentiments upon it, tho' I had fully considered it; and the more fully, because I thought both my own Honour, and the Happiness of my Country were deeply concerned in it: However, I shall now take an Opportunity to declare, that I never gave my Negative to any Question more heartily, or with greater Conviction, than I did to the second Reading of this Bill; which really, in my Opinion, is one of the most extraordinary Bills that ever was brought before this House, and therefore I must think it deserves something more than the putting of a bare Negative upon its being read a second Time.

It has often been endeavoured, by many Lords in this House, to set a regular standing Army in the most terrible Light; and great Art has formerly been used to shew the dangerous Consequences of such an Army; but in all the Debates that have happened upon that Head, there never was any such fatal Consequences pretended, as I should have dreaded from a standing Army under the Regulations prescribed in this Bill. While our Army continues in the State it is now in, while it depends on the Parliament for its very Existence, and the Officers depend on the King for the continuing of them in their Commands, I shall never have any Fears about the Consequences which may from thence ensue; but if this Bill had passed into a Law, our Army had been made independent both of King and Parliament. The Officers would then have depended upon no Power but their own; they would soon have begun to think that they had a legal Right to their Commissions, and consequently to their Pay; and if both King and Parliament had joined in Opinion for reducing any Number of them, they would have looked on it as an Injury done them, and would have been apt to have joined altogether to prevent the Effect of any such Resolution; and if they had, I would be glad to know, how the Resolutions of King and Parliament could have been made effectual against them; whereas, while they remain in the dependent State they are in at present, they know they have no longer any Right, either to their Commissions or to their Pay, than it shall please his Majesty to continue them in their Command, and therefore they readily submit, whenever his Majesty finds it proper to reduce any Number of them.

This, my Lords, would have been the Consequence as to the Publick; but then as to private Persons the most terrible Oppressions might have ensued. The Officers of the Army, like all other Sets of Men, are apt to favour one another; they are likewise apt to favour the common Soldiers, as being of the same Body with themselves: We all know how many little Acts of Oppression may be committed by the Officers and Soldiers in their respective Quarters, and otherwise, which cannot come under the Cognizance of the common Law. If in such Cases the Officer should be guilty of Oppressions, or should connive at the Irregularities committed by the Soldiers under his Command, we may easily judge what would be the Consequence

f the Offender could not be any way pun-
ſhed, but by a Tryal and Sentence of his
Brother Officers in a Court-martial, who
might probably be all guilty of the ſame
Crimes and Irregularities: And if, in ſuch
Caſes, the Officers had nothing to fear, either
rom King or Parliament, our regular Army
would ſoon become intolerably irregular, and
moſt inſupportable Grievance to the People,
all Parts of the Country, thro' which
hey ſhould march, or where they ſhould be
oſted.

This, I find, my Lords, was an Inconve-
ience which the Projectors of this Bill were
ware of; and therefore they have pretended
contrive a Remedy for this Evil, by leav-
g Officers liable to be broke, or removed by
is Majeſty, upon an Addreſs from either
Houſe of Parliament; but I am afraid that
his Remedy would have been ſoon found to
altogether ineffectual. The principal Rea-
n aſſigned for bringing in this Bill was, be-
uſe the Officers of the Army are now be-
me numerous in both Houſes, and may ſoon
come more numerous, ſo as at laſt to be
le to bear too great a Sway there. If this
the Caſe at preſent, would not we have
uch more to fear from their Numbers and
ay in Parliament, if they had a Sort of
reehold in their Commiſſions; which they
uld have had, if this Bill had paſſed
to a Law? Would not the holding of their
mmiſſions for Life have made every one of
em more conſiderable in the Country, than
y can poſſibly be in the precarious Condi-
n they are in at preſent? and if you had
ded to their Weight and Intereſt in the
untry, would not you of Courſe have en-
aſed their Numbers and their Sway in both
uſes of Parliament? This, my Lords, I
k upon as a moſt certain Conſequence;
are we not reaſonably to ſuppoſe, that all
Officers in both Houſes, would have join-
not only in voting, but in making all
Intereſt they could againſt any Motion
ſuch an Addreſs? and I am convinced,
Officers would ſoon have got ſuch an In-
ſt in both Houſes, that it would have
impoſſible to have procured an Addreſs
either Houſe, for the Removal of any
of them. The Officers who had Seats
Parliament, would, upon any ſuch Moti-
naturally have told you, Why this ex-
rdinary Remedy? If the Man is guilty
him to us; we'll try him, and break
by the Sentence of a Court-martial; and
e be not guilty, he ought not to be broke;
ought not to be oppreſſed by a Vote of
er Houſe of Parliament.

t preſent, my Lords, if any of the Of-
s commit any Act of Oppreſſion, or al-
the Soldiers under their Command to
mit any Irregularities upon the poor Peo-
mong whom they are quartered; the ho-
neſt Countryman has a ready Redreſs; he repreſents his Caſe to his Landlord, and his Landlord, either by himſelf, or by ſome Gentleman of his Acquaintance, gets the poor Man's Caſe laid before the Secretary at War, who repreſents it to the King; and if an Officer ſhould be often found guilty of ſuch little Treſpaſſes, to be ſure his Majeſty would caſhier him, which certainly is a Check upon the Behaviour of thoſe Officers whoſe Inclinations may, perhaps, be very ſtrong towards Acts of Oppreſſion: But if this Bill had paſſed, where ſhould the poor Man have gone to complain? If he had got his Caſe repreſented to the Secretary at War, and by that Means to the King, what could his Majeſty have done? He would have had no Power to rectify the Abuſe, or to puniſh the Offender: And if the Officer had been brought before a Court-martial, they could not have enquired into the general Courſe of his Behaviour; they could have enquired only into that particular Fact, which they would not, probably, have found to be of Weight enough to have broke a Brother Officer; and even as to that particular Fact, it might have happened, that the Court-martial was compoſed of Officers who were moſt of them guilty of, and liable to be proſecuted for the ſame ſort of Crime; I believe it will not be ſuppoſed that the poor injured Man would have met with much Redreſs from that Court-martial; who would have been loath to have encouraged ſuch Complaints, by giving a proper Redreſs. This might have been the Caſe as to Courts-martial; and how difficult it would have been for a poor Countryman, perhaps in ſome remote Part of the Iſland, or indeed, for any Man, to have obtained Redreſs by a Complaint in Parliament, I have already ſhewn.

Whether this Difficulty of obtaining Redreſs againſt an oppreſſive and unruly Officer would not have encouraged great Licentiouſneſs in the Army, I leave to every one of your Lordſhips to judge. Even with all the Power the Crown now has over the Officers and Soldiers, it is a difficult Matter to prevent their being ſometimes a little troubleſom in their Quarters, or to keep up that regular and exact Diſcipline which ought to be preſerved in an Army; but if this Bill had paſſed into a Law, it would have been impoſſible to have prevented the one, or enforced the other: Nay, I do not ſee, my Lords, how it would have been poſſible for the Colonel of a Regiment to have commanded that Submiſſion and Reſpect which is due to him by the Officers of his own Regiment: All inferior Officers would have become ſo independent of their Superiors in Command, that it would have been impoſſible to keep them to a ſtrict Obſervance of their Duty: Every little Fault, every little Neglect of Duty, could not have been

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brought before a Court-martial; and if it had, the Officers would have been loath to have broke a Brother Officer for one little Failing, of which they, or moſt of them, perhaps, had been guilty. Whereas, while the Power of Removing remains in the Crown, the whole Tenor of an Officer's Behaviour may be conſidered, and if, upon the whole, it appears to be bad, and without any Hopes of Amendment, his Majeſty may, and certainly would, remove him from his Poſt in the Army.

In ſhort, my Lords, the evil Conſequences of this Bill are ſo numerous, that I hope your Lordſhips will endeavour to prevent any ſuch Bill's being brought in for the future; and therefore I ſhall move, that it may be rejected.

Upon which Motion, the Queſtion was immediately put, and was carried in the Affirmative, without a Diviſion.

DEBATE *in the H--ſe of L--ds on the Motion relating to the D. of* Bolton, *and Lord Viſc.* Cobham.

Then my L--d *C——t* ſtood up, and after a ſhort Speech, moved, that an humble Addreſs ſhould be preſented to his Majeſty, that he would be graciouſly pleaſed to acquaint the Houſe, who adviſed his Majeſty to remove the Duke of *Bolton*, and the Lord Viſcount *Cobham*, from their reſpective Regiments, and what Crimes were laid to their Charge.

Whereupon the E--l of *I----a* ſtood up, and ſpoke as follows, *viz.* My Lords, the Motion the noble Lord has made, is, I think, a very new and a very extraordinary one, and it is the more extraordinary, in that his Lordſhip has made it juſt after he has ſeen the Bill offered by ſome of his Friends rejected by this Houſe; for to me it appears plain, that ſince the Lords who offered that Bill find, that this Houſe will not agree to the Bill, they are reſolved upon endeavouring to obtain by a Motion, the very ſame Thing, which they had endeavoured to obtain by their Bill.

The Deſign of the Bill was, to take away from the Crown the Power of removing the Officers of the Army, and to enact, that for the future no Officer ſhould be removed but by a Court-martial, or by an Addreſs from either Houſe of Parliament. This the Houſe has, I think, for very good Reaſons refuſed to agree to; and therefore now they propoſe to us to demand from his Majeſty the Reaſon why he has removed two Officers from their Commands. Surely every one of your Lordſhips muſt ſee, that ſuch an Addreſs would have the very ſame Effect; for if ſuch a Precedent ſhould once be made, it would ſoon become an uſual Cuſtom: If ever his Majeſty, or any of his Succeſſors, ſhould at any Time hereafter think proper to remove any Officer, there would immediately be an Addreſs from one, perhaps from both Houſes of Parliament, demanding his Majeſty's Reaſons for the Removal of that Officer; and in caſe the Reaſons given ſhould appear to Parliament not to be ſufficient, we need not doubt but that the firſt Addreſs would be followed by a ſecond, for replacing that Officer, which the King would be obliged to comply with, or fall out with his Parliament; ſo that neither his Majeſty, nor any of his Succeſſors, would ever venture to remove an Officer from his Command, but by the Sentence of a Court-martial, or in Purſuance of an Addreſs previouſly obtained from Parliament for that Purpoſe.

Thus, my Lords, it is plain, that the Addreſs now moved for, would make ſuch a Precedent, as would have the ſame Effect with the Bill which your Lordſhips have juſt now rejected. Nay, it is certain, that the Precedent would have a more extenſive Effect, and worſe Conſequences, than the Bill could have had; becauſe the Bill was confined, it went no higher than Colonels of Regiments; but the Precedent introduced by the Addreſs, would be unconfined, it would extend to Generals, even the General in Chief; and therefore it muſt be agreed, that all thoſe Arguments which, moſt juſtly, weighed ſo much with your Lordſhips as to make you reject the Bill, muſt militate more ſtrongly againſt the Addreſs propoſed. Thoſe Arguments have been already ſo clearly and fully ſtated, that I neither need to repeat, nor can I add to them, but ſhall only ſay, that as I was againſt the Bill, ſo I ſhall likewiſe be againſt the Addreſs; and I cannot but believe, that every Lord who join'd with me in Opinion upon the former Queſtion, will do me the Honour to join with me likewiſe in this.

L---d *B-----ſt.* As to the particular Caſe now before us, if it be ſomething new, it is not at all to be wondered at; becauſe it is but lately that we have had a Standing-Army, and, even ſince we have had one, it has been but very ſeldom that any Gentleman has been removed from his Command in the Army, without ſo much as a Pretence for ſo doing, which is the Caſe now before us; there was not, I believe, ſo much as a Pretence for the Removals which have given Occaſion for this Motion; there was, at leaſt, no juſt Pretence that the Publick have ever yet heard of. But as to the Caſe in general, my Lords, it is neither new nor extraordinary; for it is well known, that this Houſe has often addreſſed the King to know, who were his Adviſers as to ſome particular Step that had been taken. This is what appears often upon the Journals of this Houſe, and it is one of the chief Ends of our ſitting here: We are his Majeſty's great Council, and if his Majeſty, or any of his Succeſſors ſhould ever, by wicked Counſellors be prevailed on to do what is publickly and generally complained of, we are obliged, both

Honour and Duty, to enquire into the Affair, and to addreſs his Majeſty to lay before us the Reaſons for his ſo doing, and to inform us who it was that adviſed him to take ſuch Meaſures; that ſo the Meaſures, if right, may be juſtified, and, if wrong, that the Indignation of the People may be removed from the Throne, that their Reſentment may fall, as it ought, upon thoſe that adviſed ſuch Meaſures, and that the evil Counſellors may meet with that Puniſhment which they deſerve. This, my Lords, is really the Caſe now before us, a Meaſure has been taken which has raiſed a general Clamour, and we are the more concerned in it, becauſe the two Officers removed are both Members of this Houſe. I make no Doubt but that very ſufficient Reaſons have been ſhewn to his Majeſty for removing them; but I have ſo good an Opinion of the two noble Lords, that I am convinced, the Reaſons ſhewn to his Majeſty for their Removal, are falſe, and were grounded only upon Miſrepreſentations.

'Tis true, my Lords, I was one of thoſe Lords who voted for the Bill which your Lordſhips have rejected. I have as yet heard nothing that can make me alter my Opinion; and ſince it has been ſaid that the ſame Arguments which prevailed with your Lordſhips to reject that Bill, muſt now prevail with you to reject this Motion, I ſhall beg Leave to take ſome Notice of thoſe Arguments. I was, indeed, a little ſurprized to hear it ſaid, that by the Bill the Officers of the Army were to acquire a Sort of Freehold in their Commiſſions. I believe your Lordſhips would not agree to take any particular Man's Freehold from him, even by an Act of Parliament, without giving him an Equivalent; but notwithſtanding any Proviſion in the Bill, an Officer was to remain liable to have his Commiſſion taken from him by an Addreſs only, without any Cauſe aſſigned, or Equivalent given; nay, by breaking or reducing the Regiment, all the Officers of the Regiment, might have been turned out of their Commands by his Majeſty's ſingle Authority; which ſhews that the Bill would have given them no Manner of Freehold in their Commiſſions: It would in Reality, have given them no further Right to them than they have at preſent; for every Officer has now a Right to his Commiſſion as long as he behaves well, and the Corp to which he belongs is kept entire; no Officer ought, or can, juſtly, be turned out of his Bread, as long as he behaves well; and all that was propoſed by the Bill was, to ſubject the Behaviour of an Officer to the Judgment of a Court-martial, or Houſe of Parliament, inſtead of leaving it ſubject to the Judgment of Miniſters of State or Court-Favourites: The Officers, therefore, if the Bill had paſſed, could not have imagined, that they had any better Right to their Commiſſions or their Pay than they now have; and, conſequently, there could never have been any more Danger or Difficulty in reducing the Whole, or any Part of the Army, than there is at preſent.

But, my Lords, ſuppoſing the Officers were to be rendered, as to the holding of their Commiſſions, entirely independent both of King and Parliament, ſurely, if any Danger were to be apprehended from them, in ſuch a State, in Caſe they ſhould unite againſt King and Parliament, under a General of their own chuſing, the Parliament, and conſequently the People, have much more to fear from them, in their preſent State, in Caſe ſome future King ſhould make uſe of them for the Deſtruction of Parliaments, and for overturning the Liberties of the People; for certainly it would be much more eaſy for the Army to unite together under the King, who is their chief General by Law, than under any one of their own chuſing, which very Choice would be a flying in the Face of the Law; and this Union would be the more eaſily effected by the King's having the Power he has at preſent of turning out and putting in whomſoever he pleaſes: The noble Lords who oppoſe this Motion, may talk of the Dependence of the Army upon Parliament; but if the Caſe be examined ſtrictly, it will appear, that the Army has really no Dependence upon Parliament: The King indeed depends upon Parliament for a legal Power of keeping up a ſtanding Army in Time of Peace, and for enabling him to pay them and diſcipline them according to Law; but if in any future Time the Parliament ſhould think it neceſſary to reduce a Part of the Army, and of Conſequence make no Proviſion for their Pay, the Reſolution of Parliament could not break any one Regiment, or any Part of any one Regiment in the Kingdom; the Officers might all legally continue in their reſpective Commands, and if the King then upon the Throne ſhould not think fit to break any of them, they might, indeed, then very probably think, that they had a good Right to their Pay as long as they continued in Commiſſion; and if they could not get it by Law, they might probably join with the King in raiſing it contrary to Law, eſpecially if he, foreſeeing what would happen, had taken Care to model them for that Purpoſe, which any King might ſoon do, while the Army continues upon the Footing it is on at preſent; and for this Reaſon, my Lords, I muſt be of Opinion, that all thoſe Arguments which have been uſed for ſhewing us the Danger of making an Army independent, are ſo many Arguments for ſhewing the Danger of our Army's being entirely dependent on one Branch only of our Legiſlature, and conſequently are good Arguments for the Bill, which was

designed to make the Army not entirely dependent on any one, but on all the three Branches of our Legislature.

As to the Submission and Obedience of inferior Officers to their Superiors, it is, my Lords, so strongly enforced by the martial Law, and it is so much the Interest of every Officer to see it punctually observed, that no Court-martial could, or would incline, either to avoid or defer giving Sentence, wherever any the least Crime of that Nature should appear; and as to Neglect of Duty, it is generally the other Officers of the Corp that suffer most by it, and therefore we may depend on it, that they would always take Care to see the Laws of War duly executed against all such negligent Persons; and in this we may believe they would be the more exact, the less dependent they were on Ministers of State, or Court-favourites; for it is well known in the Army, that those who are most frequently guilty of such Crimes, and meet with most Indulgence, are the Relations or Favourites of Ministers of State, or such as are supposed to have great Interest at Court; and therefore I think I have good Reason to presume, that this Bill would have greatly conduced to the Observance of the most exact military Discipline among all Degrees of Men in the Army,

I am surprized, my Lords, to hear it pretended, that the making of the Officers in some small Measure only independent of a Secretary at War, or other Minister of State, would tend towards the making Courts-martial connive at the Oppressions or Abuses that might be committed either by Officers or Soldiers, in the Places where they were quartered, or thro' which they happened to march; there is no Ground that I know of for such a Pretence; and as I never yet heard that any Officer was so much as suspended by the Secretary at War for such Practices, I must think that it is the Fear of Punishment from a Court-martial, that has hitherto kept both Officers and Soldiers pretty much within Bounds, in that Respect. It is certain, there is not the least Crime of this Nature, but what may be brought before a Court-martial and be punished by them: In such Cases a Court-martial, as well as the Secretary at War, may consider the general Character of the Offender, and may proportion the Punishment according to it; and I do not doubt, but that they would break any Officer in the Army, if upon Enquiry it should be found that he had often been guilty of oppressing the poor Country People upon whom he was quartered, or had been guilty of but one very heinous Crime of that Nature. But if any poor Country Inn-keeper or Victualler should be refused a proper Redress, by Means of a Tryal before a Court-martial, could not he easily have Access to some of the Lords of this House, or to some of the Members of the other, who could represent his Case to Parliament, where he certainly would meet with a proper Redress, not only against the first Offender, but even against the Officers of the Court-martial who had refused him Justice, in the ordinary Way: Whereas if any Lord of this House, or any Member of the other, should now make any such Complaint, he would probably be told that his Complaint, was irregular; it ought first to have been made to the Secretary at War.

But, my Lords, we have been told, that if every Officer was to have his Commission *Quamdiu se bene gesserit*, their Interest in the Country, and their Numbers in Parliament, would be greater than it is at present, and consequently that they would have so much Influence in Parliament as to prevent the obtaining of an Address from either House, against any of the Officers. My Lords, that their natural Interest in the Country would be greater, and deservedly so, I do not doubt; but that their Number, or Influence in Parliament, would be greater, I very much question; for if they were to expect no private Advantages by their being in Parliament, they would not, I believe, be so very fond of being Members of either House; and if they had no Dependence upon the Court, with Respect to Elections, they would be upon the same Footing with other Gentlemen; whereas, while they have an entire Dependence on the Court, it is to be feared, that, in every Place where an Officer sets up as a Candidate against a Country Gentleman, the Officer will be supported by the Court, and the additional Interest he must have by his being so supported, will generally be greater than any additional Interest he could acquire by his having his Commission *Quamdiu se bene gesserit*: And thus I think it evident, that if the Bill had passed, the Number of Officers in Parliament would not have been so great, as it may probably be if they continue on the Footing they are on at present.

Now, as to their Influence in Parliament, is it to be supposed, that any Set of Men can ever unite so generally, or so firmly in any Case, especially such a dishonourable Case as that of screening a guilty Person? Is it, I say, to be supposed, that they will unite so firmly when there is no Band of Union among them, but that of their being of the same Profession, as they may be supposed to do, when there is not only that Band of Union, but this further Band, of every Man's Commission depending on his uniting with the rest under a ministerial Leader? This is the Influence, my Lords, that we are to be afraid of: It is not the Influence of the Officers only, even supposing them to join together; but it is when their Influence in

Parliament

Parliament is not only directed by the Crown, but added to all the other Influences which the Crown may have, and muſt at all Times have in Parliament. It is by this Union of Influences that our Conſtitution may be overturned; and this is the Danger which by the Bill was propoſed, in Part at leaſt, to be obviated.

It is well known that a Dependence upon the Crown is a Dependence upon the Miniſter; and if ever ſuch a Dependence ſhould come to be abſolute, it is to be feared that the military Sword may come to move always according to the Directions of the miniſterial Sword, that hangs over it; and that the Votes of thoſe Officers, who may hereafter happen to be Members of either Houſe, may be generally directed by the Miniſter, upon whom their Commiſſions depend. It is to be feared, my Lords, that Preferment or Diſgrace in the Army may come to depend, not upon military Virtues, or military Crimes, but upon Obedience or Diſobedience to the moſt unjuſt Commands of a Prime Miniſter: This is what, I think, ought to be prevented, if poſſible. I will admit, nay, I deſire, that the Paths of Preferment may be made like the Paths of Virtue: Let them be rough and rugged, but, for God's Sake, my Lords, do not let us allow them to be miry and dirty.

There is, my Lords, a very great Difference between the Motion now before us, and the Bill your Lordſhips have been pleaſed to reject: By the Addreſs moved for, it cannot ſo much as be pretended, that there is any Attack made upon the Prerogative, or that the Power of the King over the Army is to be any way touched; nor can it juſtly be ſaid, that this would lay a Precedent for addreſſing the King on every Occaſion, when his Majeſty, or any of his Succeſſors, ſhould think proper to remove an Officer; there can never be a Precedent pretended from the Addreſs now propoſed, but when ſuch Removes may occaſion a general Diſcontent and Murmur in the Nation; and in ſuch Caſe, I hope, your Lordſhips will all grant, that ſuch a Precedent would be of great Uſe; and that it is the Duty of this Houſe to addreſs in all ſuch Occaſions; for in ſuch Caſes it will always be of great Service to the King, becauſe it will afford him an Opportunity of ſatisfying the Publick that what he did was right, or of doing Juſtice to thoſe who had ſuffered by Calumnies and Miſrepreſentations; and therefore I make no Doubt, but that many of thoſe Lords who voted againſt the Bill, will join with me in voting for this Addreſs.

The E—l of *Cb———ey*, among other Things, ſaid: I cannot, my Lords, believe, that the Complaints againſt the removing the two noble Lords are ſo great or ſo general as ſome Lords have repreſented; for in all the Companies I have ever been in ſince thoſe two noble Lords were removed, I have not heard ſo much as one Complaint againſt it; and as the Generality of thoſe Complaints is the principal Reaſon given for agreeing to the Addreſs propoſed, I muſt therefore be of Opinion, that there is no Occaſion for any ſuch Addreſs. Then

The E—l of *Ab———n*, among other Things, ſpoke thus: My Lords, a very good Reaſon may be given why the noble Lord, who ſpoke laſt, has heard no Complaint againſt the Removal of the two noble Lords. It would not perhaps be very polite; not even good Manners, in his Lordſhip's Company, to find Fault with thoſe Removals, or with any other Meaſure lately taken; but if every Lord who has heard a Complaint againſt that Meaſure in particular, ſhall give his Vote for the Addreſs, I believe it is not difficult to determine the Fate of the Queſtion.

D—ke of *A———le*. I did not before, my Lords, give the Houſe any Trouble, or offer to give my Reaſons againſt the Bill, becauſe as I thought it a very new and extraordinary Thing. I thought that the Lords who appeared for it, ought to have given their Reaſons for being ſo, before it could be expected that any Lord ſhould give his Reaſons for being againſt it; for it was always the Cuſtom of this Houſe, that when any Thing new is propoſed, the Lords who are for it give their Reaſons, and all that the other Lords have to do, is to ſhew that thoſe Reaſons are not ſufficient for prevailing with the Houſe to agree to what is propoſed. In the preſent Caſe, I did indeed hear a very handſome Speech made in Favour of the Bill preſented to us; a great many pretty Things were indeed ſaid in its Favour, but in all, I could not obſerve any real Argument for inducing us to make ſuch an Alteration in our Conſtitution, as was propoſed.

I hope, my Lords, there are no Gentlemen in the Army, that ever were, or ever can be prevailed on, either to act or ſpeak contrary to their Conſcience, by the Fears of being turned out of their Commiſſions; I hope there never will be any ſuch in our Army; but if there are now, or ever ſhall be, any ſuch abandoned Men in our Army, I am ſure, there was nothing propoſed by the Bill, that could have had any Effect as to ſuch Men; for with all thoſe Men, who are ready to ſacrifice their Honour and Conſcience to their private Intereſt, the Hopes of Preferment, or of a more lucrative Poſt, will always be as prevailing an Argument, as the Fears of loſing what they have. I am perſuaded, there is not a Man in the Nation, who would ſacrifice his Honour and Conſcience, rather than loſe 1000l. a Year, which he enjoys, but

would do the same, if he expected thereby to add but one single Hundred a Year to his former Revenue; and therefore, in the only Case, in which it can be supposed the Bill was necessary, it is plain it could have had no Effect.

If I had spoke against the Bill, I should have differed, as to some Facts, from those noble Lords who spoke for it. It is very true, that there have formerly been Removes in the Army, but it is certain likewise, that many of those, who were removed, had no Seats in Parliament; and therefore it cannot properly be said, that the Behaviour of Gentlemen in Parliament was ever the Cause of their being removed from their Commands. However, I shall say no more as to the Bill, which, in my Opinion, has been justly rejected.

But, my Lords, as to the Address proposed, I really think it worse than the Bill itself: It is certainly as great an Attack upon the Prerogative, as the Bill was; for what signifies a Prerogative, if the King is never to make use of it, without being obliged to give an Account of his Reasons to either House of Parliament, that shall please to call for such an Account? The Address, therefore, is as great an Attack upon the Prerogative, and it is a much more direct Attack upon his present Majesty's Conduct. I am surprised, my Lords, to hear such a Noise about the Removal of two noble Lords. It is true, there have been two Lords removed, but there has been but one Soldier removed; and therefore, when Lords talk of Soldiers having been turned out of their Commissions, they ought not to talk in the plural Number. Since then his Majesty has removed but one Soldier, I can see no Reason for pretending, in some Manner at least, to call him to an Account, by desiring him to lay his Reasons before either House of Parliament: It is what was never offered to any of his Predecessors, even when Numbers of Officers were removed at a Time. There was no such Address proposed, in a late Reign, when many Officers were at once turned out; Officers, who were so far from having been guilty of any Crime, or Neglect of Duty, that some of them were but just returned from Victory. It must therefore be granted, that what is now proposed is without Precedent in either House, and for that Reason I am against agreeing to the Motion.

E—l of *A*——*y*. I voted, my Lords, for the Bill, which your Lordships have rejected; and I voted for it, because I heard, what I thought, very strong and convincing Arguments offered for it, and not the least Shew of an Argument have I yet heard against it. What the noble Duke took Notice of, was a very good Argument for offering an Amendment to the Bill, but no Argument against the Bill, and much less against the second Reading of it. It is certain, that Men are sometimes guided by their Hopes, as well as by their Fears; but, surely, when the Hopes of Preferment, and the Fears of Starving, are put together in the Scale against Virtue and Conscience, they will, jointly, weigh more heavily, than either of them separately. I cannot allow, that every Man, who may be governed in his Way of acting and speaking, by the Fear of Starving, will likewise be directed by the Hopes of Preferment, or of a more lucrative Post; for he must have a small Share of Virtue, and a very great Share of Ambition or Covetousness, who is directed to act against his Conscience, by the single Hopes of Preferment, or of a more lucrative Employment; and it must be granted, there are many Men, who have so little Ambition or Covetousness, that if they are but made sure of a moderate Support for Life, the Hopes of Preferment, or of adding to their yearly Income, will have so little Effect upon them, that, with even but a small Share of Virtue, they may hold out against the most alluring Hopes: But it must be allowed, that the Man, who stands his Ground against the Fears of being reduced to a starving Condition, as well as against the Hopes of Preferment, and adding to his yearly Income, must have a very great Share of Virtue; a greater, I am afraid, than most Men can brag of in this degenerate Age. As for those who are quite abandoned, and governed entirely by their own selfish Ends, I believe it is not possible to make them honest or virtuous, but surely there are Degrees both of Vice and Virtue; all Men are not equally vicious, and if we could, by the Bill's being passed into a Law, but have preserved the Virtue of some, it would have been worth our while; we could afterwards have amended it, if we had found what was done not sufficient.

As to the Address now proposed, I cannot see, my Lords, how an humble Address from either House can be deemed an Attack upon the Prerogative. His Majesty, or any of his Successors, may make what Use they please of any of the Prerogatives of the Crown; but if ever any bad Use shall be made of any of them, the Parliament has a Right, nay, it is their Duty, to enquire into it, and to desire his Majesty to acquaint them, who advised him to take such a Step. This has always been the Practice of Parliament, as to every Prerogative that was ever claimed by the Crown: This is the very Case now before us: His Majesty has made Use of his Prerogative in removing two noble Lords from their Commands in the Army: These Removals have occasioned a most universal Complaint thro' the Nation, because it is generally believed, that there were no sufficient, or good Reasons for removing them; and as it is the Duty of this House to take Care, that his Majesty shall not, by any Step he may be advised to take, incur the general Censure of the People, there-

therefore this general Complaint is a moſt ſufficient Foundation for the Addreſs propoſed: His Majeſty's Conduct is no Way concerned in the Queſtion, it is only the Conduct of thoſe who adviſed him; if they adviſed him well, they will be juſtified by what is now propoſed; if they adviſed him ill, they certainly deſerve at leaſt the Cenſure of this Houſe; but to tell us that his Majeſty's Conduct is, or can be concern'd, in any ſuch Queſtion, is directly to tell us, that the Parliament of *Great Britain* ſhall never enquire into any Thing that their King ſhall be pleaſed by the Advice of his Miniſters to do.

As to the Number of thoſe who have been removed, it is of no Signification in the preſent Queſtion; the Cauſe of Removal is what your Lordſhips are to enquire into; for if thoſe two noble Lords were removed only as an Example to others, one Example may ſerve to keep Hundreds in awe; and if that Example was made, only to ſerve a miniſterial End, it may be of the moſt fatal Conſequence to our Conſtitution. For this Reaſon I ſhall be for the Addreſs. The Motion may perhaps be rejected by a Majority; but if it be, the whole World will be convinced, that thoſe two noble Lords were removed for no Cauſe, at leaſt for no Cauſe that can well be publickly avowed.

The D—ke of *M——ſe* ſpoke next, and after him my L—d *G——er*, both for the Motion; after which the Queſtion was put, and carried in the Negative, upon a Diviſion of 77 not Contents, to 48 Contents, no Proxies having been called for. (See the PROTESTS on this Occaſion, in our *Magazine* for *April*, p. 169, 170.)

DEBATE *on the Bill for limiting the Number of Place-Men in the Houſe of Commons.*

ON *Feb.* 15. the Houſe of Commons ordered, *That Leave be given to bring in a Bill for ſecuring the Freedom of Parliament, by limiting the Number of Officers in the Houſe of Commons*; and that Mr. *Sandys*, Mr. *Wortley*, and Mr. *Cholmondeley*, do prepare and bring in the ſame. Which Bill was preſented to the Houſe by Mr. *Sandys*, on the 19th of *Feb.* was then read, as uſual, a firſt Time, and was ordered to be read a ſecond Time on that Day Seven-night. Accordingly, on the 26th, the ſaid Bill was read a ſecond Time, and Mr. *S——ys* then moved for its being committed, whereupon a Debate enſued, *J——m H——y*, Eſq; choſen that Seſſion for *S——d* in *Suſſex*, was the firſt who ſpoke againſt it; and after him,

J——n C——ll, Eſq; Knight for *P——ſh*ire, ſtood up and ſpoke as follows, *viz.* In my Opinion, Sir, the Bill now before us, is one of the moſt extraordinary and moſt unreaſonable Bills I have ever ſeen, ſince I have had the Honour to ſit in this Houſe. It is, I think, Sir, not only unreaſonable, but in ſeveral Reſpects unjuſt: For as to the Electors, the People of *Great Britain*, it is certain, that they are the beſt Judges, and indeed the only proper Judges, who are the moſt proper Perſons, to repreſent them in Parliament; and for us to pretend, by a Law, to lay a Reſtraint upon them in their Choice, is certainly doing them a great Piece of Injuſtice. If the Electors of any Shire, City, or Borough, make Choice of a Gentleman to repreſent them, who has a Poſt in the Government, that very Choice is a ſufficient Proof that they do not think the Service of the Country in Parliament, and the Service of the Crown incompatible; and the Law has already wiſely provided, that in Caſe any Gentleman accepts of a Place in the Government, after he has been choſen a Member of Parliament, his Seat in Parliament ſhall thereby be vacated; he muſt return to his County, City, or Borough, to be rechoſen; and if they again chuſe him, it is a certain Sign, that they continue to think him the moſt proper Perſon to repreſent them, notwithſtanding his having accepted of a Place under the Crown.

Then, Sir, as to the Gentlemen who are now, or may hereafter be in Offices, Civil or Military, under the Crown, it is certain, that they generally are Gentlemen of Families, and many of them have very large Properties in their Country. Have not they therefore as good a Right to ſtand Candidates for Members of Parliament, as any of thoſe Gentlemen who are out of Imployment? And if the People chuſe them, why ſhould we, by a Law, deprive them of that Honour which the People have thought fit to confer upon them? Is it not robbing them of a Part, at leaſt, of thoſe Rights which they have a juſt Title to as *Engliſhmen*, or as *Free Britons*?

By this Bill, Sir, I muſt likewiſe think, that there is a very great Piece of Injuſtice done to the Crown; I cannot but think it a very extraordinary Thing to put ſuch a Mark of Diſgrace upon all the Officers employed by the Crown, as to exclude them from the Right of having Seats in Parliament, and that for no other Reaſon, but becauſe the King has thought them worthy of ſerving their Country in ſome Office, civil or military, under him. It is, really, not only putting an Affront upon his preſent Majeſty, but doing an Injuſtice to all his Succeſſors: It is putting an Affront upon the Crown itſelf, and rendering it impoſſible for our Government to ſubſiſt under its preſent Form; for if ſuch an Ignominy ſhall be put upon all thoſe, who ſhall accept of any Employment under the Crown, as to render them incapable of ſerving their Country in Parliament, which is one of the higheſt Honours a Gentleman

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can have in this Country; what Gentleman of Family or Fortune, of Honour or Capacity, will accept of any Employment under the Crown? And thus, by rendering it impossible for the King to get any such Man to serve under him, you will render it impossible for our Government or Constitution to subsist under its present monarchical Form.

Should, Sir, the Bill now before us pass into a Law, I think it is easy to foresee the Consequence. It would bring the House of Commons into the highest Contempt, or it would bring all those Gentlemen, who accepted of any Office in the Government, under Contempt. It is natural for every Man to endeavour to render contemptible that Honour, that Post, or that Thing, which he knows he cannot attain to: The Gentlemen of the Army, of the Navy, and in civil Offices, knowing, that by Law they were all excluded from the Honour of having Seats in the House of Commons, would all join together in endeavouring to render it contemptible in the Eyes of the People; and we need not doubt, but that the Clergy would join with the rest, because, I think, they are already excluded from this House: On the other Hand, the Gentlemen of the House of Commons, and those who might continue to be eligible into this House, would endeavour to support the Honour of this House, by endeavouring to render contemptible all those, who accepted of any Post in the Government, either in Church or State. Is it not much to be feared, is it not rather certain, that such an unnatural Division as this might prove fatal to the Constitution? For the Success of either Party would overturn our present Form of Government.

I will not say, Sir, but that Country Gentlemen are very proper Representatives of the People, and I believe the Majority of this House will always consist of such; but it is for the Service of this House, it is even necessary for dispatching the Business that properly comes before it, to have likewise some of those Gentlemen among us, who belong to, and are acquainted with the Manner of transacting Business in the several great Offices under the Government. Every Gentleman, who has been but a short Time in this House, and has attended to the several Sorts of Business that have come before us, and the several Sorts of Papers and Accounts, we have, from Time to Time, found necessary to call for, must have taken Notice, that the House would have been sometimes greatly bewildered, if we had not had some Gentlemen among us belonging to the publick Offices, capable of explaining the Matters, which we then had under our Consideration; which must convince every Man of the Necessity of having some such Gentlemen always amongst us.

If, indeed, there were Reason to suspect, that Gentlemen in Offices, who have Seats in Parliament, were, by their enjoying such Offices, any way influenced in their Way of acting or speaking in this House, it might then be necessary to contrive some Way of preventing that Influence for the future; but as I am convinced, that a Man's being in an Office, does not in the least influence his Way of thinking, or his Manner of acting, in this House, I therefore think we have no Occasion for contriving any such Remedies at present, and far less any Occasion for such an extraordinary Remedy as is proposed by the Bill, for which Reason I am against committing it.

S——l S——ys, Esq; As this Bill, Sir, met with no Opposition, either when it was moved for, or brought in and read the first Time, I was little apprehensive, we should have had any Debate upon it, and much less, that our going into a Committee upon it would have been opposed; for as yet it can be called little more than a Blank; it cannot well deserve the Name of a Bill, till it has gone thro' the Committee, where the many Blanks now in it, are properly to be filled up. I was, indeed, surprized, Sir, to hear the worthy Gentleman who spoke last, say, that he thought it the most extraordinary and unreasonable Bill he had ever seen brought into this House; for if the Gentleman will look into our Journals, he will see that this very Bill has been often brought in, and has almost always been passed in this House; and I am sure, Sir, if ever it was thought reasonable by this House, it must now be thought much more so, when the Number of Place-men, who have Seats in Parliament, is much greater than it ever was at any Time heretofore.

The worthy Gentleman has likewise told us, that he thinks the Bill unjust, both with Respect to the Crown, the People, and the Gentlemen who are employed by the Crown; as to which, I shall take Notice in general, that, by the same Method of Reasoning, he may pretend to shew us, that all the Laws that were ever made for regulating Elections were unjust, and Incroachments upon the Rights of the People. I shall readily agree with him, that the People are the proper Judges, who ought to be chosen by them for their Representatives; and I am confident, that were they left to a free Choice, we should not see so many civil and military Officers brought into Parliament. The People, I believe, would always think themselves more secure in being represented by Country Gentlemen, with whom they are well acquainted, and who can have no Interest separate from them, than by Clerks of Offices, or such other Persons, whom they perhaps never saw or heard of before they came down to be chosen their Representatives, and who

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probably, they may never ſee again, till they return to aſk the ſame Favour; which every Gentleman here knows to be often the Caſe of many of our little Boroughs.

But, Sir, to ſay, it would be any Injuſtice in us, to lay any Reſtraint upon the People, as to the Choice of their Repreſentatives, ſeems to me very extraordinary, when we conſider the Law now in Being, by which the People are reſtrained from chuſing any Gentleman, who is not poſſeſſed of ſuch an Eſtate. Surely, Sir, we may, with Reſpect to Elections, without being guilty of any Injuſtice, lay what Reſtraints we think neceſſary for the Good of the Publick, and the Preſervation of our Conſtitution: Whenever any ſuch Reſtraint is neceſſary, it ought to be laid on, becauſe it is for the Benefit of the People; and I am ſure, that whatever is for the Benefit of the People, cannot be juſtly ſaid to be injurious to the Crown. It is extraordinary to ſay, that what is propoſed by this Bill would be an Injuſtice done to thoſe who are thereby to be made incapable of being elected; for have not we already a Law, by which all the Officers concerned in the Collection of the Cuſtoms or Exciſe are rendered incapable of being choſen Members of Parliament? And yet I have never before heard it urged, that there was any Injuſtice done to thoſe Gentlemen, by excluding them from Seats in Parliament, as long as they are in an Office inconſiſtent with their being Members of this Houſe. I will allow that the Choice made by the Burgeſſes of a little Borough, or by the Free-holders of a County, if it falls upon an Officer, civil or military, ſhews that the Majority of thoſe Electors at that Time did not think the Office he then enjoyed incompatible or inconſiſtent with his being their Repreſentative; but I hope it will not be ſaid, that the Burgeſſes of a little Borough, or even the Free-holders of a County, are better Judges in this Reſpect than the Repreſentatives of the whole People of *Great Britain*, eſpecially when the Opinion of this Houſe is approved of and confirmed by the other two Branches of our Legiſlature.

As to the Alternative pretended, that if this Bill ſhould paſs into a Law, it would render either the Officers civil and military contemptible, or this Houſe contemptible in the Eyes of the People; I cannot imagine how it could produce either of theſe Effects; for as to the Officers, is it to be imagined, that a ſucceſsful General or Admiral, that a brave and experienced Captain, by Sea or Land, or a civil Officer, honeſt, expert, and diligent, in the Station he is in, would be contemned, becauſe he was not capable of being a Member of this Houſe? Were the Clergy ever brought into Contempt, by their being excluded the Privilege of being choſen Members of Parliament? Upon the contrary, I believe, they never got any Honour by being Members of either Houſe; and, I believe, there are very few Officers, either civil or military, in the Kingdom, who ever gained much Honour, or Repute, among the People, by their being Members of either Houſe of Parliament, unleſs when their being ſuch was the Occaſion of their being turned out of the Offices they enjoyed, and might have continued to enjoy, both to their own Honour, and the Advantage of their Country, if they had not been Members of Parliament.

As to the other Part of the Alternative, that this Houſe may be rendered contemptible by what is now propoſed, I am, Sir, not in the leaſt afraid of it; but I am very much afraid, that if ſome Bill of this Nature is not paſſed into a Law, and that very ſpeedily too, this Houſe will become contemptible in the Eyes not only of our own People, but of the whole World. Gentlemen may pretend, that no Man is influenced in his Way of thinking, or Manner of acting, in this Houſe, by the Poſt or Office he poſſeſſes, and may be turned out of, whenever a Prime Miniſter may have a Mind; but while Men are Men, I am convinced, there will always be a great Number, by far, I fear, the greateſt, who will rather vote according to the Directions of the Prime Miniſter for the Time being, than run the Riſk of being turned out of the lucrative Poſt he then holds at the Pleaſure of the Crown; and if ever a Majority of this Houſe ſhould happen to be compoſed of ſuch Men, it will become as contemptible as ever the Senate of *Rome* was, after it became the political Tool of their arbitrary and tyrannical Emperors.

I will likewiſe agree with the Hon. Gentleman, that it may be neceſſary, at leaſt, convenient for this Houſe, always to have in it ſome of thoſe Gentlemen who belong to, and are converſant in the Methods of tranſacting Buſineſs in the ſeveral great Offices of the Kingdom; and therefore I am not for excluding all thoſe who are in Offices civil or military; I believe no Gentleman in this Houſe ever had any ſuch Thought; and if Gentlemen will but peruſe the Bill as it ſtands now, they will ſee, that there is to be an Exception, which is now left blank, as in all ſuch Caſes is uſual; in order that when we go into a Committee upon the Bill, Gentlemen may then propoſe the filling up in that Blank as many Officers, or Sorts of Officers, as they have a Mind. About this, indeed, I expected there might have been ſome Debates; but conſidering the great Number of Officers of all Sorts now in the Houſe, conſidering how greatly that Number may be increaſed in Times to come, conſidering the great Clamour already raiſed in the Nation againſt ſo many Officers being in the Houſe of Commons, I really did not expect, that

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any Gentleman would have oppoſed the committing of the Bill, or would have pretended, that the paſſing of ſome ſuch Bill was not now become neceſſary, both for the Honour of this Houſe, and the Safety of our Conſtitution.

To conclude, Sir, the Bill is at preſent but a Blank, but I am confident, it may be made a good, and a reaſonable Bill, and agreeable to every Gentleman in this Houſe; and therefore I hope the Houſe will agree to the going into a Committee upon it, becauſe if Gentlemen do not like it after the Blanks are filled up, they may then drop it, or throw it out upon the third Reading.

E——d T—mp—n, Eſq; Member for *T—t* City. Sir, if we do reſolve to go into a Committee on the Bill, which I hope we ſhall not, I muſt take the Liberty to move for an Inſtruction to receive a Clauſe for excluding all thoſe from Seats in Parliament, who have aſked for any Place or Employment, or any other Favour, from the Government, and have been refuſed what they aſked for; becauſe I am perſuaded, that Anger, Revenge, and Diſappointment, may influence Men's Actions, and even their Behaviour in this Houſe, as much as the Hopes of getting a Place, or the Fears of loſing one, can poſſibly do; and therefore I think it fully as reaſonable to exclude the former, as it is to exclude the latter.

If it can be ſuppoſed, Sir, that the Hopes of getting a Place, or the Fears of loſing one, can influence ſome Men ſo much, as to make them approve of all the Meaſures of the Government, and agree with every Thing propoſed by thoſe in the Adminiſtration, right or wrong, I am ſure it may be ſuppoſed, that the Paſſions of Revenge and Diſappointment may likewiſe influnece ſome Men ſo much, as to make them find Fault where there is none, and to oppoſe whatever is propoſed by the Government, even when they are in their own Conſciences convinced, that what is propoſed is right, and neceſſary for the Support of our Government and Conſtitution; but for my own Part, Sir, I can make no ſuch Suppoſition; I cannot ſuppoſe, that the being in a Place under the Government is inconſiſtent with common Honour and Honeſty; nor can I ſuppoſe, that any Man would, for the Sake of ſatisfying his Malice or Revenge, oppoſe any Thing, that he ſaw was neceſſary for preſerving or improving the Happineſs of his Country; and I would gladly aſk thoſe Gentlemen, who have formerly been in Places under the Government, and happen now to be out, if they looked upon themſelves as leſs honeſt, when they were in Place, than they are now when they are out.

As the Bill appears to me, Sir, to be a total Excluſion of all Officers, civil and military, from having Seats in this Houſe, I would really adviſe thoſe Gentlemen, who now ſeem ſo fond of it, to be a little cautious in paſſing ſuch a Bill; for if that which they have ſo long ſtruggled to come at, be ſo near at Hand, as ſome People have been pleaſed to give out Without-doors, the Paſſing of ſuch a Bill may ſoon affect a great many of themſelves. They may then, perhaps, think of the Bill as I now think of it; and I muſt declare, that I can by no Means agree to the Committing of it, becauſe I think it impoſſible to make it a good Bill.

The Hon. *E——d D——y*, Eſq; I differ, Sir, ſo far, in my Opinion about the Bill now before us, from the Hon. Gentleman who ſpoke laſt, that I think it is not poſſible to make it a bad Bill. It is a Bill that has often paſſed thro' this Houſe, and I am ſure it was never more neceſſary for ſecuring the Freedom and Independency of Parliament than at preſent. I am afraid, Sir, that even the Tranſactions of this Day may be a convincing Proof of the great Neceſſity there is for having ſome ſuch Bill paſſed; or rather they will be a melancholy Proof of its being already impoſſible ever to get ſuch a Bill paſſed.

It is certain, Sir, that the Preſervation of our Conſtitution depends upon preſerving a juſt Balance between the ſeveral Powers of which it is compoſed; for if ever the Scale ſhould be ſo much turned, as to deſtroy that Balance, our Conſtitution will from that Moment be at an End: And it is certain, that the many penal Laws enacted ſince the Revolution, the many Taxes laid on and ſtill continued, and the great Number of Officers that are neceſſary for the collecting of thoſe Taxes, have thrown a great and a dangerous Power into the Hands of the Crown; ſuch a Power as, it is greatly to be feared, may enable the Crown to ſwallow up the two other Branches of our Legiſlature, by making them entirely dependent on the Crown, if ever thoſe employed by the Crown ſhould be wicked enough to make ſuch a cruel Uſe of the Power they have got into their Hands: I will not ſay, Sir, that ever ſuch an Uſe, or any wicked Uſe, has as yet been made of the great Power which the Crown has lately acquired; but there is no Doubt but that ſuch a Uſe may be made of it: Some future Miniſter may ariſe, who may make an abſolute and a blind Obedience to his Commands, both as to voting and ſpeaking in either Houſe of Parliament, and as to voting at Elections for Members of this Houſe, the only Tenure by which Gentlemen in Office can hope to continue in their reſpective Offices, and the only Merit which can entitle a Man to Preferment either in Church or State; and if this ſhould ever happen to be the Caſe, I muſt leave it to every Gentleman that hears me to conſider, whether our Conſtitution would not then be in the moſt imminent Danger: Shall we then, who are the Guar-

of the People's Liberties, neglect or refuſe to provide proper Fences againſt that Power, which may, ſome Time or other, be made uſe of for breaking down all thoſe Fences which now ſerve to protect and defend the Liberties and Properties of the People?

We all know, Sir, that the Service of the Crown and the Service of the People ought always to be the ſame; that the Crown ought never to aſk any Thing but what is for the Service of the People, and that the People ought never to refuſe what is neceſſary for the Support of the Crown, and for their own Defence; but, Sir, we likewiſe know, that the Service of the Crown and the Service of the People have not been always the ſame; we know that the Crown has ſometimes been the People's moſt dangerous Enemy, and the People may, perhaps, have ſometimes refuſed what was neceſſary for the Support of the Crown, and for their own Defence: What has happened may happen again; but as long as the Parliament continues pure and uncorrupted, they will always be proper Mediators between the Crown and the People; whereas, if both Houſes ſhould ever come to be entirely dependent on the Crown, and ready to follow blindly whatever Inſtructions they may receive from the Miniſters of the Crown, could it then be ſaid, that the Parliament would be proper Mediators between the Crown and the People? Could it be expected, that the Parliament would ever put a Check upon the moſt arbitrary Demands of the Crown, or that they would ever have Weight enough with the People to prevail with them to comply willingly with the moſt neceſſary Demands of the Crown?

This, Sir, is a Caſe that is certainly to be apprehended by all thoſe who have any Regard for our preſent happy Conſtitution; and as the Number of Officers in the Service of the Crown is daily increaſing in this Houſe, I think it high Time to put a Stop to it; for the Diſeaſe may, I am afraid, very ſoon become incurable. That ſome dangerous Practices have formerly been attempted by the Miniſters upon the Members of this Houſe, cannot be denied, ſince an Hon. Gentleman of great Worth, and of great Diſtinction in the Army, has but lately, in a former Debate, told us, that even he himſelf was threatned, for daring to give his Vote againſt one of the moſt deſtructive miniſterial Schemes that was ever brought into Parliament; (ſee Vol. 357.) and tho' he had Virtue and Courage enough to deſpiſe ſuch Threats, yet it is probable, that many were brought over by ſuch, or the like Arguments; becauſe that Scheme, deſtructive as it was, got the Sanction of a Britiſh Act of Parliament, an Act, which, for its many fatal and iniquitous Effects, will ever make a conſiderable Æra in the Annals of this Nation.

But I need not enlarge, Sir, upon the Neceſſity of our having ſome ſuch Law as is propoſed, the Thing ſpeaks itſelf; the Independence of our Parliaments is certainly our greateſt Security; and if we cannot render them altogether independent, the more they are ſo, the greater our Security, or rather, the leſs our Danger will be; and therefore I am for our going into the Committee moved for.

T——s W—nn—t—n, Eſq; This Bill, Sir, has, 'tis true, been often propoſed, and has ſometimes paſſed in this Houſe, but it has likewiſe been ſometimes rejected; ſo that if there is any Argument in this, it is equally ſtrong on both Sides; and as it has been often propoſed, and never yet has paſſed into a Law, it is a certain Proof, that it has never yet been thought reaſonable: Indeed, if we look into the Hiſtory of it, we ſhall find, it has at all Times been brought in and ſupported by thoſe who were at thoſe ſeveral Times endeavouring to diſtreſs the Government.

I will likewiſe agree with the Hon. Gentleman who ſpoke laſt, that it is neceſſary to keep a Balance between the three Branches of the Legiſlature; but I cannot agree with him in ſaying, that that Balance is now in any Danger of being deſtroyed: I hope it never will; I am ſure it never was in leſs Danger than at preſent; and I am perſuaded, that if the Government ſhould ever attempt any Thing againſt the Liberties of the People, they would find no ſuch ſervile Dependence or blind Obedience among the Gentlemen in Office as has been talk'd of: Many of thoſe are, and, I believe, always muſt be, Gentlemen of good Families, and poſſeſs'd of conſiderable Eſtates of their own; they may not perhaps be very ready to join with any Set of Men to diſtreſs that Government they ſerve; but if they ſhould obſerve that Government incroaching upon the Liberties of the People, they would then, without Doubt, ſhew ſome Regard to the Families they were come of, and the Preſervation of their own private Fortunes, and would rather throw up the Poſts they enjoyed under the Crown, than join with it in overturning the Laws and Conſtitution of their Country.

As there may be Danger, Sir, in throwing too much Power into the Hands of the Crown, ſo, I hope, it will be granted, that the Hands of the Crown may be ſo much weakened, as to render it impoſſible for it to ſupport itſelf, and adminiſter the publick Affairs of the Nation, as they ought to be; and this laſt would, I am convinced, be the Caſe, if this Bill ſhould paſs into a Law; for as it certainly contains a total Excluſion of all Officers, civil and military, where muſt the Crown go to find Perſons to fill up thoſe Employments, as they ſhall become vacant? Gentlemen of Figure or Fortune in their Country

would not certainly accept of any of them, were they thereby to be branded with ſuch a Mark of Infamy, as to be rendered incapable of ſerving their Country in Parliament; ſo that the Crown would be obliged to go among the very Dregs of the People, to find out Perſons who would accept of any Office under it; and thus, in a ſhort Time, we ſhould have all our Offices and Employments filled with Creatures of no Family or Fortune: And if all our civil Employments, but eſpecially our military ones, ſhould come into ſuch Hands, I would gladly know, from the Gentlemen who ſeem ſo fond of this Bill, if they would think the Conſtitution ſafe under ſuch an Adminiſtration.

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this Conjuncture from the Usage of Mankind, and of declaring my Will, at a Season, in which I find both Body and Mind influenced by the utmost Vigour and Sanity. In the Name therefore of that one eternal God, who created all Things, and from whom all Wisdom is derived, I do this 24th Day of *December*, 1733, declare, make, and publish my Will in the Manner following.

A

Imprimis. I leave my Body, as a very wholsom Feast to the Worms inhabiting the Vault of my Family: To whom I acknowledge myself extreamly indebted for eating up my Ancestors; particularly, for their Kindness in demolishing an old testy Father, who left me at his Death 50,000l. tho' he was very near upon starving me during his Life.

B

Item. To all practising Sollicitors and Attorneys I bequeath the following Proverb, *viz. Honesty is the best Policy.*——And this Legacy I chuse to give to those worthy Gentlemen; it being the only one I can think of, for which I could be sure they would not quarrel.

Item. To the Kings of *England*, and all other of God's Vice-gerents, I leave the following Interpretation of that Maxim in our Law, so often quoted for the Support of arbitrary Power, *viz. The King can do no Wrong:* And this I interpret to import only, that the King can have no just Prerogative to do any Injury or Wrong to his Subjects.

C

Item. To all married Women I bequeath Cleanliness.

D

Item. To all married Men I bequeath the same good Quality; as likewise the utmost Decency of Behaviour and Expression, at least in the Presence of their Wives and Daughters.

Item. To all Cequets, within the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*, I leave Despair, rotten Reputations, and the Contempt of every Man of Sense.

E

Item. To all Prudes within the Cities aforesaid, I from my Soul bequeath Virginity and Wrinkles: Or, if they prefer having a Bastard by their Father's Butler, Groom, or Coachman; or any other Butler, Groom, &c. I desire my Executors may give them their Choice.

F

Item. To the Parliament of *Great Britain*, I leave all ecclesiastical Courts; and hope an Act will soon pass for purging them effectually.

Item. To the Parliament of *Great Britain*, I leave the Reformation of all the Courts at *Westminster-Hall*, vulgarly called *Courts of Justice.*

Item. To the aforesaid Parliament, I leave the Consideration, when it will be convenient to establish annual Parliaments; and whether there can possibly be a properer Conjuncture than the present.

Item. To the Armies of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, I leave all the bad Roads to be mended; and when that is done, I leave them to the Parliament for the same Purpose.

Item. To the R—— R—— the B——s, I give all due Praise, for their Contempt of worldly Grandeur; their glorious Unanimity in the legislative Sphere they act in; their disinterested Care of Christ's Church; and their lively Hopes of being soon translated to a better State.

Item. To the Parson of my Parish, the Rev. Mr. *C*——, and all other Parsons, I leave the following Piece of Advice: That they would not any longer expose their own Weakness and Absurdity, by attempting to explain Things which are Mysteries, and consequently incomprehensible, and above all Explanation; and that, instead of tiring their Congregations with what they call Demonstrations, they would be pleased to inforce the Practice of that refined System of Morality which our Lord Jesus Christ came down from Heaven to deliver to Mankind.

Item. To *C*——*y C*——*r*, Esq; I leave a pastoral Farce called *Love in a Riddle*; as likewise all his *New-year* and *Birth-day Odes*: And I seriously intreat him to preserve them with a religious Care; for if he does not, I verily believe nobody else will.

Item. To the Authors of the *London Journal*, and the Paper called the *Free Briton*, I leave one Ounce of Modesty, to be divided equally between them. I should have been more munificent in this Bequest, were I not well convinced, that one Ounce will be found more than they'll ever make Use of.

Item. I leave the whole Tribe of polite Coxcombs in and about *London*, to Sharpers, Surgeons, the Pox, and their Taylors.

Item. To S. *H*—— *S*——, B. President of the College of Man-Slayers, I leave a curious *Norway* Spider, with a hundred Legs, and nine Pair of Eyes; as likewise my whole Collection of Shells, Butterflies, &c.

Lastly, To my three Brothers, *Thomas*, *Henry*, and *John*, I leave my whole Estate real and personal; to be divided equally amongst them, Share and Share alike. And my Will is, that if ever they marry, they should not settle one Farthing Pin Money on their Wives; nor more on their eldest Son, than just a Proportion to their Wives Fortunes.—— And I make and ordain my said Brothers, *Thomas*, *Henry*, and *John*, the Executors of this my Will; to see the same performed, as far as lies in their Power, according to my true Intent and Meaning.—— In Witness whereof, I, &c.

G

Fin

Free Briton, Aug. 1. N° 248.

Review *of the* Hiſtory of England, *to the Time of the* Norman Conqueſt. *(See p. 369.)*

THAT ſenſible Men, who have read and conſidered the Hiſtory of this Country, would rather have been born in the preſent Times, than have been the Subjects of any former Reigns, is a Truth, which appears from the firſt Accounts of this Iſland, and grows upon us in all ſucceeding Generations.

From the Time, when the *Britons* were ſubdued by the *Romans*, the braveſt of their Youth were drained, to ſtrengthen and recruit the *Roman Armies*. Upon the Diviſions of the Empire, when the Pretenders to Imperial Dignity fought their Battles in *Gaul*, the *Britiſh* Legions were frequently drawn thither to aſſiſt them, 'till at length, upon the Northern Inundations of *Goths* and *Vandals*, which ravaged *Italy* itſelf, moſt of the antient *Britons*, who were fit for Service, were drawn away from their Country to periſh in a foreign War.

The *Picts* and *Scots*, finding the Iſland deſerted by the *Roman Armies*, exhauſted of their own braveſt Youth, and, weakened by their new Diviſions, begun to pour in greater Numbers than ever, into the Northern Parts.

The poor *Britons* ſent over their miſerable Epiſtle for Relief. *To Ætius, thrice Conſul, the Groans of the* Britons. They told him, *That the barbarous People drove them to the Sea, and the Sea back to the barbarous People, between which they had only left the Choice of theſe two* Deaths, *either to be killed by one, or drowned by the other.*

This terrible Misfortune produced another. The *Saxons* were intreated by the *Britons* to give them Aſſiſtance; which they ſent under *Hengiſt* and *Horſa*, who from their Allies became their Lords, and having drove the *Scots* and *Picts* out of the Iſland, claimed it as their own Dominion; having extinguiſhed one War, they kindled another equally conſuming and dreadful.

The End of this War was equally tragical; when a Treaty was entered on in a general Aſſembly, where 300 Chiefs from either Party met to eſtabliſh a mutual Agreement. The *Saxons*, who came there privately armed, fell upon the unarmed *Britons*, and having butchered the Heads of the People, maſtered the Herd with irreſiſtible Fury; after which they invited vaſt Numbers from the Continent, to ſhare the Spoil of this Country; ſubdued the whole Province of *South Britain*, and eſtabliſhed in it 7 Kingdoms, known by the Name of the *Saxon Heptarchy*.

Nor was the Peace of the Country eſtabliſhed, even by the Deſtruction of its antient People. The 7 *Saxon* Kingdoms, and the Princes at the Head of them, fell into Emulation of one another's Greatneſs. Wars enſued, in Support of their ſeveral Pretenſions, the Strong ſwallowing up the Weaker, and theſe having Recourſe to their Neighbours for Defence againſt encroaching Power. The Rage and Havock of theſe Conteſts laſted above 200 Years.

Amidſt theſe various Wars for Power and Dominion, the Religion of thoſe Ages likewiſe had its Share in Blood; the *Saxons* firſt extirpating Chriſtianity, wherever they found it, till, with the antient *Britons*, it took its Flight into *Wales*; and then thoſe *Saxons*, receiving the *Chriſtian Faith* from the *Romiſh Miſſionaries*, made War upon the *Welch*, to bring them into their *Scheme of Chriſtianity*, after ſo much War againſt that People, for holding any Part, or *Mode of Chriſtianity* at all. In this new Conteſt, begun at the Inſtigation of the *Romiſh* Prieſts, 1200 of the poor *Britiſh Monks* are reported to have been ſlaughtered, whilſt they were apart in the Field, at their Prayers for the Succeſs of their Army.

At length, this *Saxon Heptarchy* itſelf was ſwallowed up in one Dominion, and this bloody Courſe of civil War, amongſt a Race of Iſland-Princes, concluded in the Reign of *Egbert*, the firſt Sovereign or Monarch of *England*.

The *Danes* now begun their furious Invaſions with mighty Numbers of Ships, full of fierce and barbarous People; entering the *Thames* and the *Humber*; coaſting ſometimes as far as *Exeter*; landing wherever they found the Shores unguarded; filling all with Ravage, Slaughter, and Deveſtation; where they found any ſtrong Oppoſition, retiring to their Ships, ſailing Home laden with Spoil, and by ſuch Encouragements giving Life to new Expeditions the next Seaſon of the Year. Various were the Struggles and Succeſſes of the two Nations. The War was never at Reſt, and the People ſo dreadfully harraſſed, that *twelve Battles* were *fought in* one *Year*.

The *Danes* increaſing ſtill by new Supplies, begun to mingle amongſt the Inhabitants of thoſe Parts which they had ſubdued, made Truces and Treaties, and thereupon grew to live more peaceably under the Laws and Government of the *Engliſh* Kings; and *Alfred*, after having experienced all the Fortunes of War, had the Renown of governing *England* in Peace, even with the rare Felicity of maintaining it *twelve* whole *Years together*.

The *Danes*, in ſucceeding Reigns, made new Expeditions into *England*, exacting Tribute from her Kings, and Spoils from the People, till *Ethelred* compounding with them, for his own Safety and their peaceable living in *England*, and, fortifying himſelf by an Alliance with *Richard* Duke of *Normandy*, laid a Deſign for the general Maſſacre of the *Danes*, ſpread throughout the Kingdom, and

living

living peaceably; which was carried on with that Secrecy and Concurrence of all the *Engliſh*, embittered by the *Daniſh* Exactions, and Inſolence over them, that in one Day this Deſign was executed, and the *whole Nation of the Danes*, without Mercy or Diſtinction, were maſſacred about the Year 1002.

Swane, King of *Denmark*, exaſperated by the Slaughter of his Nation, and, amongſt them, of his own Siſter, and animated by the Succeſſes of ſo many private Expeditions, ſoon after landed with great Forces, formed ſeveral Camps, filled all Parts of the Kingdom with Slaughter, and forced the King to fly for Relief into *Normandy*. *Swane* died in the Midſt of his Conqueſts, and *Canute*, his Son, ſucceeding to his proſperous Fortunes, came from *Denmark*, with a mighty Fleet, which finding the *Engliſh* broken and divided, reduced the Son of *Ethelred* firſt to a Diviſion of the Monarchy, and then, by his untimely Death, poſſeſſed the whole Kingdom.

This fierce Prince cut off ſome of the *Saxon* Line, and exiled others. He reigned long, and left the Crown for two Succeſſions: But *Hardecanute*, laſt of theſe *Daniſh* Kings, left the Race ſo univerſally hated, from their Impoſitions and Exactions, that the *Saxon Line*, on his ſudden Death, became reſtored by the general Concurrence of the Nobility and People in the Perſon of *Edward the Confeſſor*.

Vortigern, who called in the *Saxons*, was elected King or General againſt the *Picts* Anno 445; and from that Time till *Edward the Confeſſor* Anno 1041, the greateſt Felicity this Iſland ever enjoyed was in a *ſingle* Inſtance of a *twelve Years* Peace.

The long Reign of *Edward the Confeſſor*, tho' attended with Wars, both in *Scotland* and *Wales*, was the greateſt Reſpite the *Engliſh* had, at that Time, known; yet this was broke by Inſurrections fomented by ambitious Men againſt a ſoft and eaſy Prince, whoſe Conceſſions to *Harold* made Way for a bloody and deſtructive War, concerning the Royal Title, wherein 60,000 *Engliſhmen* periſhed in Battle, and the *Norman Conqueror*, by the Power of his Sword, changed not only the King, but the Laws: He triumphed more fatally over the innocent People, than he had done over their ambitious Prince, and, by the Terrors of his Conqueſt, eſtabliſhed that abſolute Power, to which he had no Pretence from the Rights of Succeſſion. Before his Time the Nature of our Conſtitution was very perplexed and obſcure; under him it ſeems to have been annihilated; and, after him, roſe gradually from ſmall Beginnings, attended with infinite Struggles and Difficulties.

Whilſt reading the ſorrowful Diſplay of arbitrary Power, we ſee how infinitely different it is in its Nature and Effects, from that mild and juſt Government under which we live: There cannot be a ſtronger Demonſtration of the Advantages which we enjoy under our preſent Conſtituion, nor a ſtronger Motive to love and honour that Prince, who, by the Equity and Vigour of his Adminiſtration, ſupports it.

Univerſal Spectator, Aug. 3. N° 304.

A *A remarkable Inſtance of filial Piety.*

A Few Nights ſince I was in Company with a Gentleman that was in the Road of *Algiers* ſome Years ago, and was an Eye and Ear Witneſs of the following Story. One Day as ſome *Chriſtian* Captives, who had been ranſom'd, were going to be diſcharg'd, the Town-Cruizers brought in a *Swediſh* Veſſel; one of them hearing it was of that B Nation, and being from thence himſelf, was very deſirous to ſee the Crew, when to his great Surprize he ſaw his own Father (who was Maſter of the Ship) in the Company; the Son knew the Father, but the Father (who had loſt him when a Youth many Years) knew not the Son, having given him up as dead long before, not hearing any Thing of C him. The Son ſoon made himſelf known to the Father, who embraced him with great Tenderneſs; but their Unhappineſs to meet in that Place was grievous to them both. The young Man addreſs'd himſelf to his Father in this Manner: *The Slavery you are going into will be inſupportable to you, and ſoon put an End to your Life, the Thoughts of which is* D *Death to me; I have been here a great many Years, and know the Country, the People, and their Work; if they will accept of me in your room, I will go back into Slavery, and you ſhall go home again; I know, if it ſhould pleaſe God to enable you, or raiſe Friends, I ſhall be redeem'd; if not, God's Will be done.* The *Moors* readily accepted the Exchange; ſo the Father return'd Home, and the Son back in E his ſtead into Slavery. How rare are ſuch Sons! *A. Z.*

Weekly Regiſter, Aug. 3, N° 230.

How to prolong the Marriage Union.

THE principal Means to preſerve matrimonial Felicity, conſiſts in the Choice F of the *Woman*. I have often obſerved that the *notable Houſewife*, (as ſhe is commonly ſtiled,) makes the moſt mutinous Wife in the World. She is bred up with high Notions of her Capacity, and of the great Importance ſhe is to a Family: That the whole Weal of it depends upon her Care and Frugality: That her Husband, no Doubt, would often have G been ruined, had not Providence ſent him ſo careful a Guardian; when, in the Circulation of 5 or 600l. a Year, the whole Amount of her good *Houſewifery*, perhaps, exceeds not ten Pounds; a ſlender Recompence to the poor Man for the Loſs of his Quiet, and the Pain he muſt undergo to ſee the many Meaneſſes that

that are practiſed to ſupport this Character. Avoid therefore, if you prize your Eaſe, this *ventable Woman*, this buſy Trifler. I would not be miſunderſtood to recommend, therefore, a careleſs extravagant Woman, or be thought to include in this Character the prudent affectionate Wife, who is frugal without Sordidneſs, diſcreet without Oſtentation, and anxious for your Welfare without Impertinence.

Thoſe Ladies who are generally called your Women of *Wit* and *fine Reading*, your *Leſbia*'s and *Cleomira*'s, are equally deſtructive to the Peace of the Huſband, with the illiterate *Houſewife*. The Female Pedant, as ſhe imagines herſelf to have a ſuperior Underſtanding enlarg'd by Learning, will perpetually provoke you with her own Corrections, will repeat the Story you had juſt before related in a plain agreeable Manner, to let the Company ſee what great Improvements a refin'd Diction will make in the moſt trivial Occurrence. She watches your Words, is fearful of your committing a Barbarity in Speech, and will afterwards qualify any Rudeneſſes in Style to the Company, by ſaying, My Huſband is a very honeſt Man, and of a good plain Underſtanding. Beſides, this Caſt of Mind is the very Bane of all thoſe Decencies that are requiſite to the well-ordering of a Family: Thoſe little Affairs, of which a Wife is properly Superintendent, ſhe deſpiſes; ſhe neglects too much, like Male Wits, her Dreſs and Perſon: No little Endearments, no fondling Agreeableneſſes does ſhe uſe to amuſe and relax the Man juſt retired from the Buſineſs of the Day: This vain conceited Babbler will give you infinite Diſturbance. Sooner live in a Priſon, or be bound for a *Sharper*, than be buckled to a *Female Wit*, who is proud, impertinent, ignorant, yet perpetually adviſing, and always fond and forward to convince you of the Inferiority of your Underſtanding.

As for the celebrated Beauty, the perfect town-bred Lady, the rich Widow, the ſuperannuated Virgin, the Lady of Quality, and the Termagant; the unfortunate Adventurer, who ſhould chuſe for his Inmate one in theſe Circumſtances, would ſoon bemoan his Miſtake. I have often wonder'd at the Humour of thoſe Gentlemen, who are ſo deſirous of marrying a Lady of Beauty, or of good Senſe; for nothing fades ſooner than Beauty in the Eye of the Poſſeſſor; and what is generally reckoned good Senſe in Women, is rarely accompanied with a right Temper.

That Woman that is unjuſtly cenſured by her own Sex to lack good Senſe, ſeems to me to be the beſt diſpoſed to give Comfort in the married State: She is ſaid to want Spirit, to be a tame, helpleſs, diſpaſſionate Creature; that is a ſad Manager, and would quickly undo my Huſband: The Conſtruction of this is, ſhe has too much good Underſtanding to thwart and perplex her Huſband in Affairs, which ſhe is ſenſible he knows much better: That ſhe has the Diſcernment to diſcover a much larger Capacity in him, and implicitly gives up her own Judgment to the ſtronger Mind. She likewiſe has obſerved that nothing is gained in the Main of Life, by ſaving a little Money by vile and narrow Practices. She never rebukes you for Want of Gratitude, never upbraids you with Infidelity; ſubmits with a becoming Eaſineſs to the little Turns of your Temper, which unlucky Accidents in the World have occaſioned: She conſtrues every Chagrine in the good natur'd Senſe: She is fearful of offending, and her Fondneſs proceeds from Love, and not from Duty: Who would not be contented under the Reflections of having married a Fool, when bleſſed with ſuch a Woman, to bring Pleaſure and Comfort to your Arms in all your vacant Hours!

Another Thing that is very material to promote and prolong the Marriage Union, is the Behaviour of the Huſband to the Wife. In the firſt Place, 'tis requiſite to behave with good Manners and Decency, with the ſame Careſulneſs and Regard that a Man approaches his chaſte Miſtreſs; to let fall no indecent Expreſſions, to uſe no unſeemly Actions, or to communicate any Affairs to her, that may indnce her to ſuſpect your Honour, or that ſhall diſcover any Contempt you have ſuffered; for Womens Affections are greatly governed by the Opinion the World entertains of you. To be a thorough Maſter of Wedlock, 'tis neceſſary oftentimes to impoſe upon your Wife; be ſure then you make her believe you put a vaſt Confidence in her; that there is nothing of that great Conſequence but you would repoſe in her Boſom; for Women will forgive you every Thing ſooner than your miſtruſting their Fidelity. But, however, you'll ſoon underſtand, that you are to entruſt them with very few Things; for ſome ſudden Starts of Paſſion, or Weakneſs, or their Love to communicate what they know, will force the Secret from their Boſoms. Overlook many little Errors, and think of her as a Woman. If ſhe performs any little meritorious Action, remember to be thoroughly ſenſible of it; for they lay a great Streſs upon outward ceremonious Behaviour. If you happen to love her with Paſſion, your Quiet will be very much endanger'd; theſe Rules will be inſignificant: You'll deviate ſo far from the prudent Behaviour of a Huſband to a Wife, that ſhe will loſe her Conformableneſs, and acquire ſuch fantaſtick Humours, and Obſtinacy, from being never controuled, as will very much diſturb your Peace and Quiet.

Fog's

Fog's Journal, Aug. 3. N° 300.

Pernicious Conſequences of the Ambition and Avarice of the Clergy, and their intermeddling with State Affairs.

A Treatiſe was written (ſays *Fog*) ſome Time after the Reſtoration, entitled, *The Grounds and Occaſions of the Contempt of the Clergy enquired into*; which the Author proves was owing chiefly to the *Ignorance* of ſome, and the *Poverty* of others of the inferior Clergy.

The Clergy have at ſome other Times fallen into Contempt, but it has been owing to Cauſes vaſtly different; it has been occaſioned altogether by the Ambition, the Avarice, and Impiety of the Rich, and Dignify'd amongſt them; and when it proceeds from theſe laſt Cauſes, it is more dangerous to Religion and Morality. When thoſe who are ſuppoſed to have made Religion their Study, who are preferr'd (or ought to be) for their Learning and Knowledge, are ſeen to neglect the Duties of it, and mind nothing but the Affairs of worldly Intereſt, many of the common People will be apt to conclude from thence, that Religion itſelf is a Jeſt, and ſo by Degrees become Infidels. Others, who do not give their Thoughts ſo great a Looſe, will begin to have a bad Opinion of that Church which has a profligate Clergy at its Head, and perhaps, will join in Communion with ſome other Church, where better Example is given, by thoſe who are ſet apart for its Miniſtry.

I think no Writer has told us, that the Contempt which fell upon the Clergy, by their Poverty, brought about the Reformation; but many have told us, that it was the Wealth and large Poſſeſſions of the Church which occaſioned it. I think nothing raiſes the Deteſtation of the World ſo juſtly againſt a Churchman, as Ambition and Avarice; how odd muſt it be to ſee, that a Man no ſooner has a paſtoral Cure committed to him, which is ſufficient to take up all his Thoughts, but he thinks no more of it, and employs all his Induſtry in order to enrich himſelf by Time-ſerving, by Party, Faction, and Politicks, at the laſt of which they are generally moſt wretched Dablers?

I have ſeen a Treatiſe written in the Time of K. *Charles* I. entitled, *The pernicious Conſequence of the Clergy's intermeddling with Affairs of State, with Reaſons humbly offered for paſſing a Bill to incapacitate them from the like Practice for the future.*

Without juſtifying the Proceedings of thoſe Times, I believe every Man will agree, that it had been better for the Church, the King and the Nation, that ſuch a Bill had taken Effect, before ſome of the Biſhops had turned the Hearts of the People againſt their whole Order, by their ſervile Compliances for Preferment.

Whilſt the Clergy (ſays the forementien'd Writer) kept themſelves within their due Bounds, and were not bloated with Ambition beyond their juſt Dimenſions; before Avarice had corrupted their Simplicity, and Prieſtcraft was put upon the Rack to maintain their Pride; till the preaching of the Goſpel was laid aſide for Politicks, and the Cure of Souls was forced to give Way to Intrigues of State; before the Order of Things became thus inverted, we find few Inſtances of Diſſenſion amongſt the People, or thoſe violent Commotions which have ſince hurried the Chriſtian World into theſe unnatural Convulſions, that ſhock the very Foundation of Government, and make the Baſis thereof tremble.

But no ſooner did theſe Men, who profeſs to converſe with Heaven, begin to mind nothing but earthly Things; no ſooner did thoſe, who ought to be crucified to the World, begin to grow cold towards Heaven, and to court thoſe tranſient and worthleſs Triflles, (as they call them in their Pulpits;) no ſooner were they enamoured with thoſe mortal Beauties, The Luſt of the Fleſh, the Luſt of the Eye, and the Pride of Life *(which laſt is too much the Inamorata of the Tribe of* Levi*) but the Purity of the Goſpel began to be corrupted, the Spirituality of Religion to vaniſh, and Hypocriſy, Senſuality, and Diſſimulation to act their Parts in the World; ſo that at length Godlineſs was nothing but an empty Name, Sincerity an utter Stranger, and Intereſt became the great Diana, to which too many,* ad Inſtar Cleri, *paid their Devotions.*

Craftſman, Aug. 3. N° 422.

Mrs. Oſborne *prov'd an old Woman.*

Mr. D'Anvers,

YOU concluded one of your Papers very properly with an Aſſertion, or ſomething like it, *That Mrs.* Oſborne *is actually an old Woman*, and defy'd her to deny it; which at length brings the only Queſtion, that in Reality ever ſubſiſted between you, to a ſhort and fair Iſſue. The only Point then to be conſider'd in this Letter, is, *whether the Writer of the* London Journal, *commonly called* Francis Oſborne, *be really an* old Woman *or not.*

I am ſenſible this may be thought a needleſs Taſk, the Publick having long ſince determined the Queſtion againſt her, and ſhe herſelf not daring to accept your Challenge; nay ſhe hath even given up the Point, by concluding one of her Papers with theſe remarkable Words, *ſo prophetic old Mother* Oſborne. But as ſhe ſeems to part with her *Virility* in a ſneering Manner, and hath employed ſome of her Agents to contradict it in

private Whispers about Town, (which is certainly very much unlike a *GentleMAN*) I think it necessary to detect so arrant an *Impostor*, and expose her fully to the World. I shall therefore point out some Marks of *Anility*, which may be easily found in her Works; and as they will evince the Falseness of the Question, so they will enable us to conclude from her *publick* what are her *private Parts*.

In the first Place, she hath long been famous for telling the same dismal Story every *Saturday*, with great Heaviness of Heart, and without any Variation; which hath the same Effect upon her Readers as an *old Nurse's* Lullaby, and rocks them as regularly asleep.

As she hath not Discernment enough to perceive that she is treated with *Contempt*, your Condescension in detecting her *Absurdities* inhances her *Pride*, and whilst you only intend a *gentle Rebuke*, she esteems it a Proof of her *Merit*, and talks of her *Importance*, meerly because you had been at the Pains to shew that she was really of *none*.

She knows little of the World, and less of her *Master's* Designs; yet hath work'd herself up to such an enthusiastick Opinion of his Virtues and Abilities, that she not only asserts all his Measures to be *right*, but undertakes to prove it impossible for him to do any Thing *wrong*.

Notwithstanding her *Credulity*, she is very fond of what she calls *Reasoning*; that is, a Sort of *argumentative Cant*, or Effusion of Words without any Meaning, which is applicable to the Publick, or the State of the Case.

She is very positive, peevish, vindictive, and supplies the Barrenness of her Invention with much *Garrulity*, which increases with her *Errors*, and those multiply upon her by *Opposition*.

All her Admonitions, of which she is very liberal, are of a Kind peculiar to those, whose *Ignorance* is brought to Maturity by *Age*; which she esteems an undeniable Title to *instruct*, and in her Apprehension lays the Publick under the same Obligation to *regard*, as it does herself to *preach* her Lectures; *for my Devotions*, says she, *are dedicated solely to their Use*; *I love the People of* England, *tho' they are so ungrateful as to hate my* honoured Master.

Like most *antiquated Gossips*, she is excessively fond of *Praise*, which always sets her Clack a going with fresh Vigour, like oiling an *old Jack*; and whenever it hath been slightly acknowledged that, in her *tatling Career*, she hath sometimes happened to hit upon *Truth*, she hath so little Discretion as to attribute it to *Design*. But if her *Understanding* is disputed, and her *Age* is not admitted to put out of Question, she is commonly very outrageous, lifts up her Hands, and wonders at the Obstinacy of *young People*.

In one Particular, she is indeed somewhat unlike most Persons in her Years, by preferring the *present Times* to the *past*, and maintaining that no Age was ever bless'd with so much *publick Virtue* as that, in which we live. But this proceeds from the Violence of her Passion for her *dear Master*, which puts her out of Humour with every Thing, that does not come immediately from *him*, and often throws her into very indecent Emotions. This is natural to People in her Condition, who are apt to discover the Fulness of their Hearts by a Rhapsody of silly fond Things, according to that celebrated Observation of the Poet;

And Nonsense *shall be Eloquence in Love.*

These Instances, tho' I cou'd add several others, are sufficient to my present Purpose, being the peculiar Characteristicks of *feminine Dotage*; but the *Productions*, from whence I have extracted *these Criterions*, are so little read, or known, that it may be expected from me to support each of them by a *particular Reference*. This Objection I foresaw, and endeavour'd to remove it, by searching very diligently for a Collection of Mrs. *Osborne's* Writings; but not having the Honour to be acquainted with any *Postmaster*, or *Excisemen*, my Labour proved in vain; for very few *Coffeehouses* take them in, and where they are obliged to do it, I was inform'd that they are constantly torn off the Book, upon all pressing Occasions, and apply'd to a *private Use*; so that I hope to be exempted from the insuperable Difficulty of converting them, as I proposed, to a *publick Benefit*.

Having always profess'd a very great Regard for the *Ladies*, even in grey Hairs, I hope nobody will charge me with offering an Indignity to the *whole Sex*, thro' the weak Sides of Mrs. *Osborne*; the foregoing Description must be confin'd to those *old Women* only, the constituent Parts of whose Characters are made up of *Folly* and *Affectation*. Now, if *one of this Cast* should take it into her Head, either thro' *Dotage*, or *Love of Money*, to extend her natural Privilege of preaching *domestick Lectures* to *publick Affairs*, she would certainly do it so much in the same Strain with *our Authoress*, that from thence alone her *Character*, as well as her *Sex* and *Age*, might be determined.

I remember a *female Rhetorician* of this Kind, some Years ago, who held forth every *Sunday* Evening at *Dick's* Coffee-house, and always drew a numerous Audience round her by her *abstracted Reasoning*, and *Sublimity of Diction*. I mean the learned Mrs. *Byfield*, common called Doctor *Byfield*, who had a good deal more *Spirit*, and *volatile Salt* in her Constitution than Mrs. *Osborne*, but resembled her so nearly in every other Respect, that I could not pass her by without some Notice, in a Dissertation on this Subject.

But I have not yet done with Mrs. *Osborne*, for I am so well aware of her cavilling Temper, that I am resolved to put an End to this Dispute, if possible, before I conclude; and being aware of some Evidences, which she designs to produce of her *Virility*, I shall consider them in Form.

In the first Place, a *Barber* is ready to make Oath, as I am informed, that he hath shaved her for several Years. But he is such a lying, impudent Fellow, that his Testimony ought not to be taken in a Point of such Importance. Besides, supposing the Fact to be true, it is no Proof of the Point in Question; for I have seen many an *old Woman* with a Beard; and every Body knows that it is the Fashion in *Italy*, as well as several other Parts of the World, for the *Ladies* to *shave*.

It may be farther urged in her Defence that she *wears Breeches*, not in a figurative Sense, like several notable Dames about Town, but according to the literal Meaning of those Words. I grant this likewise; and so did that famous Amazon, Mrs. *Sarah Ross*, who served her Country with great Gallantry for several Years, as a Dragoon, and now enjoys a Pension from the Government on that Account. But *she* had the Modesty to retreat into *Petticoats*, as soon as her Sex was discovered by an unlucky Shot, and at present makes no Scruple to own herself an *old Woman*; how different from this is the Case of Mrs. *Osborne*, who having disguis'd herself in *Man's Attire*, and cully'd her *Patron* out of an Employment, which she knew to be untenable by one of *her Sex*, obtain'd Leave to sell it, and yet hath the Confidence to appear in the same Habit, even at Noonday!

There was just such another *female Impostor*, about 7 or 8 Years ago, who having truss'd herself up in Breeches, was admitted as a Drawer in a noted Tavern near *Temple-Bar*, and continued long in that Station. Nay, she had the Impudence to persist in her *Manhood*, after the whole Neighbourhood was convinc'd of the contrary, and would never give it up, till she was brought to Bed of a thumping Girl; but then *she* too threw off the Disguise, and hath since follow'd the proper Occupation of a *Washerwoman*. Besides, she was a *bold, young Hussy*, and might probably be tempted by the Force of some Amour to transform herself in this Manner, which I am told was the Case of Mrs. *Ross*; but what was somewhat excuseable in *young Wenches* is quite abominable in such an old Creature as *Mother Osborne*, and deserves the severest Resentment of *the whole fair Sex*.

Since I have mention'd this *pert, young Baggage*, who personated a *Man*, and was soon after deliver'd of a *Daughter*; I must do Mrs. *Osborne* the Justice to acknowledge that I never heard her charg'd with having had any other Issue than those of her *Head*; nor, indeed, is this any Thing to the Purpose; for if she could produce a whole Race of Children in real Flesh and Blood, the main Question would still be, whether she was the *Father*, or the *Mother* of them. But to proceed.

A Some of Mrs. *Osborne*'s Friends, finding it impossible to maintain her Claim of *Virility*, have Recourse to another Method, and confessing that she was originally a *Woman*, pretend that she underwent a Transformation of Sexes in the memorable Year 1722, by the Conjunction of * *Jupiter*, *Mars* and *Saturn*, which alarm'd the whole Kingdom; but this is a meer Fallacy; for tho' I am ready to allow that she never appeared in Town as a B *Man* before that Time, it hath been already proved that she hath committed several Overt-Acts of *Muliebrity* since.

Others again, more sagacious, endeavour to prove her a Creature of the *Epicene Gende*, like *Homo* in *Latin*, which signifies both a *Man* and a *Woman*, or what we call an *Hermaphrodite*. This is a very nice Distinction, C and cannot be fully decided without an *Inspection*, or, what the *Civilians* call a *Congress*; but, for my Part, I am very clear in the Case; for tho' her *female Parts* are visible enough, I will defy *these Gentlemen* to shew me any Thing *manly* in her Composition, or that discovers the least Mark of a *masculine Spirit*. However, as this is infinitely the best Plea in her Defence, I would advise her D to stick by it, and not pretend to jump at once into *Manhood*, like *Montaigne's Girl*, but take her Degrees regularly and with great Caution; for she knows very well that Nature cannot exert itself so strongly in *old Age* as in the Vigour of *Youth*.

In the mean Time, I must insist on it that she should spell her Christian Name *Franc* E instead of *Francis*, and not endeavour to impose *one Name* upon us for the *other*, because there happens to be but a *single Letter* difference between them. I shall only add that if she persists in such mean Prevarication, or makes any Attempt to turn so serious a Point into Ridicule, I shall be obliged to produce a Certificate from the *Parish Register* against her F and give the Publick a more circumstantial Account when, and on what Occasion, she metamorphos'd herself in this Manner. But I hope she will take this gentle Rebuke in good Part, and not give me, or you, any further Trouble on this Head. *I am yours, &c.*

Fog's Journal, Aug 10. N° 301.

G WE find (says *Fog*) by our publick News Papers, that the Sufferers by the *Charitable Corporation* are come to a Resolution to petition the high Court of Chancery, for some Relief against those who have defraud-

* *See* Pope *and* Swift's *Miscellanies*, *Vol.* III. *p.* 85.

defrauded them of no leſs a Sum than 500,000l. Sterling.

It ſeems this Motion met with Oppoſition, and the Reaſon given for oppoſing it was, that the great Expence of a *Chancery* Suit, would be more than the Company was able to bear.

It gives us a terrible Idea of the Practice of our Courts of Law, when even in that which is called a Court of Conſcience and Equity, the Expences ſhould be ſo prodigious, as to frighten People from ſoliciting for Juſtice, where the moſt palpable Injuſtice has been committed.

The Sufferers in this Corporation applied to Parliament for Relief; (Vol. I. p. 378.) but a certain great Man oppoſed the Criminals being brought to Juſtice in a Parliamentary Way: So that after the Sollicitation of two Seſſions, all that was obtained was, that ſome Perſons were declared guilty of indirect and fraudulent Practices, and two who were Members expelled, without being obliged to refund one Shilling. (Vol. I. p. 525.)

When I ſay nothing was obtained for the Sufferers, I mean nothing from thoſe who defrauded them; for as to the Lottery, that was at the Expence of the Adventurers, *viz.* the Publick. As nothing is more mortifying than to be inſulted by thoſe who have wrong'd us in our Property, I conceive that the numerous Sufferers in this Corporation may look upon it as Kind of Inſult upon their Miſeries, to ſee the People who have embezzled their whole Fortunes riding about every Day in ſumptuous Equipages, while ſome of them want Shoes; and therefore it is no Wonder, that they ſhould apply to Chancery, when they failed in their Application to Parliament. Here *Fog* ſubjoins

A Speech for relieving the Sufferers in the Charitable Corporation; *ſpoken in the Houſe of Commons*, May 8, 1732.

THE Houſe is extreamly obliged to *the Hon. Gentlemen of the Committee*, for the great Pains they have taken, and Skill they have ſhewn, in detecting *a dark and execrable Scene of Villainy*. And ſurely we ought not to entertain *any Propoſition* which comes from them with *Jealouſy* and *Diſtruſt*.

I can therefore by no Means agree with thoſe Gentlemen, who ſuſpect that there is ſome *latent and diſguiſed Meaning in the Queſtion*, and are for leaving out *the latter Part* of it: Becauſe I think no Queſtion was ever framed with more *Candour*, or conceived in more *clear and intelligible Terms*; and the *latter Part* is the neceſſary, the natural *Concluſion* from the *Premiſes*, contained *in the firſt Part*: For ſince the Perſons named have been lately voted guilty of *the Crimes*, with which they ſtand charged in *the Report of our Committee*; what is the next Step we are to take, but to vote ſome Puniſhment; and what Puniſhment ſo *mild* with Regard to the *Offenders*, or ſo *juſt* with Regard to *the Sufferers*, as *Reſtitution*?

Let us take the whole Queſtion together, and we ſhall judge beſt of the Propriety and Coherence of its ſeveral Clauſes. It runs thus, *That* ***** *having been guilty of many notorious Breaches of Truſt, and many indirect and fraudulent Practices, in the Direction and Management of the Affairs of the* Charitable Corporation, *and having thereby occaſioned great Loſſes to many of his Majeſty's Subjects, ought to make a juſt Satisfaction for the ſame.* (*Vol.* I. *p.* 526.)

I am at a Loſs to comprehend why Gentlemen ſhould diſlike *any Expreſſions* in this Queſtion, eſpecially why *the ingenious Lord*, and *the worthy Perſon his Second*, ſhould object to the Words *Juſt Satisfaction*. For certainly they cannot imagine that *theſe Words* will be declared *unintelligible* in this Houſe, where the Nature and Meaning of *Juſtice* is ſuppoſed to be perfectly well underſtood; and they muſt forgive me, if I think no *Dutch Commentators* ever miſtook the Senſe of *an Author* more groſly, than they have miſtaken the Senſe of *this Queſtion*.

But what is moſt remarkable, is *the Impatience* ſome Gentlemen expreſs to know, whether the *Advocates for the Queſtion* intend to proceed againſt *the Offenders* by *Impeachment*, or by *Bill*; and they ſeem to demand, that, we ſhould immediately come to a Reſolution.

Whence can *this Impatience* ariſe? If it ariſes from *Compaſſion*, why were *theſe very Gentlemen*, who now interpoſe, ſilent? Why did they ſuffer *the Objects of their Compaſſion* to be unanimouſly cenſured, when they had made but an inſufficient Defence for themſelves, and wanted the Aid of their Eloquence? If it ariſes from *Curioſity*; I think it ought rather to be kept in Suſpence than gratified, becauſe it is *unſeaſonable* and *irregular*. If it ariſes from *the Fears and Apprehenſions of particular Perſons*; why ſhould others, who are under no *ſuch Anxiety*, be obliged to remove *thoſe Fears*, eſpecially when it is impoſſible for them to know how well they may be *grounded*.

Since then no good Reaſon appears to juſtify *this extraordinary Demand*; ſince *this Queſtion* is only *declarative of our preſent Diſpoſition* to do *Juſtice*, and to give *Satisfaction* to *the injured and diſtreſſed Proprietors*; methinks there ſhould be no *Difficulty* in paſſing it. For we ſhall be as much at Liberty after we have paſſed it, as we are before, to chooſe *that Method of Proceeding* which ſhall be thought *moſt proper*.

What has been ſaid concerning the Difference betwixt *Impeachments* and *Bills of Attaindr*, is foreign to our preſent Point, and

might have been ſpared in an Audience where that Argument hath been ſo fully and frequently diſcuſſed, at *the End* of almoſt *every Adminiſtration*.

We all know that *Impeachments* are the ancient Parliamentary Method of bringing *publick Criminals* to *publick Juſtice*, and it is the Method we ought to purſue on *common and ordinary Occaſions*. Not but that it is liable to many *Difficulties*, to the Tediouſneſs and Perplexity of *Forms*, to *the Caprice of the Houſe of Lords*, by which Means *Juſtice* hath very often been *delayed*, and ſometimes entirely *defeated*.

We all know too, that *Bills of Attainder* are the utmoſt Stretch, and the terrible Part of Parliamentary Power, which ought never to be exerted, but in *the moſt heinous and moſt flagrant Inſtances*. I have always conſidered them as *ſuch*: *My Averſion* is ſufficiently known, by *my conſtant Oppoſition* to them, and I envy *no Man* the Glory of having carried *Bills of Pains and Penalties* thro' this Houſe, by being *Proſecutor*, *Judge*, *Juryman*, and even *Evidence* in the ſame Caſes.

But ſhould it happen in our Day, that *an overgrown unwieldy Miniſter of State* ſhould tumble from the Height of his Power, and fall under the Cenſure of this Houſe, for *protecting Fraud*, and *patronizing Corruption*: A Miniſter, Sir, who may have made *ſuch Bills*, as are *now dreaded*, *the Inſtruments of his perſonal Vengeance*, and the *Support of his cruel Adminiſtration*: Perhaps *the Voice* of an *injured and oppreſſed Nation* may then prevail over *Gentlemen's natural Inclinations*, and force them to comply with what they would otherwiſe *decline*. Nor cou'd *the Criminal himſelf*, with any Appearance of Modeſty, or Colour of Reaſon, complain. For *Lex Talionis* would at leaſt be *Argumentum ad Hominem*, and the World might univerſally allow, that it would be a *righteous Judgment*, for *Necis Artifices arte perire ſua*.

I ſhould *apologize* for this *Digreſſion*, had not the Courſe of the Debate led me into it. But I ſhall conclude with returning to the Queſtion, and humbly offering my Opinion that we ought to aſſure *the Proprietors*, we will aſſiſt them (in a *future Seſſion*, tho' we cannot in *this*) to repair *the exceſſive Loſſes* they have ſuſtained, by the *Frauds and Iniquities of their Directors*, as far as lies within the Reach of *this Part of the Legiſlature*.

Craftſman, Aug. 10. N° 423.

Conduct of the Miniſterial Writers.

Mr. *D'Anvers*,

WHEN the whole *miniſterial Flock* open upon you at once, and gabble all together, they hope either to dumfound you in the Confuſion of Sounds, or to engage your Pen in a ſenſeleſs Altercation, and provoke you to throw back ſome of the Dirt, which they diſpenſe ſo plentifully.

They are ſenſible likewiſe, that, during ſuch a Debate, the Poverty of their Arguments will be concealed; for this is the conſtant Refuge of *bad Writers*, who, when they cannot reaſon, always rail; as they tell us the *Scuttleſiſh*, when he is cloſely purſued, covers himſelf with a black Subſtance, like Ink, and ſo eſcapes the Purſuit of his Adverſary.

When that righteous old Lady, Dame *Oſborne*, is hard pinched in an Argument, ſhe diſdains not to have Recourſe to this Stratagem. She ſcolds, and calls Names moſt ſtrenuouſly. But this our *antient Oratrix* does with a political View, and only in order to gain Time, recover her Breath, and take off the Attention of the Publick from ſome Aſſertions, out of which ſhe has been ſham fully beaten.

She puts me in Mind of an eminent old Pleader now alive, and very well known in *Covent-Garden Market*, by the Name of *the old Serjeant*. She hath been famous for her Pleadings there many Years. Her Lungs are, at this Hour, very good. She has a Gravity, and a Sort of Ratiocination in her very Countenance; being bleſs'd with an inflexible Set of Muſcles, and never deſcending to the leaſt Humour, or Pleaſantry, on any Occaſion. The Curious, indeed, have obſerved a Sort of Wildneſs in the Caſt of her Eye, which looked as if there was ſomewhere or other a little Crack. The arterial Veſicles round her Mouth are broken, as it is ſuppoſed, in the Heat of ſome of her youthful Altercations, and have left two black Semi-Circles there, the honourable *Inſignia* of an antient Tongue-Warriour. This *veteran Heroine* has often been reduced, in her Age, to make uſe of Art, and when ſhe finds herſelf warmly puſhed, and her Breath failing her, ſhe always faces about, turns her Rear to the Enemy, and in great Contempt beats a March there with both her Hands, till ſhe recovers the Uſe of her Lungs, and then returns with freſh Vigour to the Charge. This is what may be literally called *Argumentum a Poſteriori*.

There is *another Lady* in the ſame Market, ſome 20 Years younger than this *Championeſs*, who is known by the Name of the *Young Serjeant*. *This Gentlewoman* is greatly admired for a moſt prodigious Fluency in her Pleadings. She pours forth ſuch a Torrent of Words, ſhe rolls along ſuch a Volubility of Syllables, and rails ſo inceſſantly, that ſhe is generally eſteem'd a perfect Miſtreſs in the Art of Vociferation, and what ſhe utters is certainly very good *Market Eloquence*. Yet I have heard this *Young Serjeant* reduced to a Stratagem, not much unlike that of her *antient Siſter*,

It was this. When she found her *Opponent* much superior, and that it was impossible for her to have any other Retreat, she always threw these unanswerable Words at her Head; *God bless his Majesty and all the Royal Family: What have you to say to that now, you B—h?* —This always closed the Debate, if the Passion of the *Gentlewoman*, who pleaded on the other Side, did not happen to be much superior to her Loyalty.

I hope the most ingenious 'Squire *Walsingham* will forgive me; but I never heard the *Young Serjeant* plead, without putting me in Mind of his Style and Manner of Opposition. When he has thrown out his fluent and incoherent Ideas, without any Success, he is enraged; he loses all Temper, and positively declares that you are an Enemy to the *Constitution*, and calls upon the civil Power to make his Argument good. With how much more Modesty, than this *loquacious 'Squire*, does the *Young Serjeant* shelter herself under these Words only; *God bless his Majesty and all the Royal Family*.

Now, Mr. *D'Anvers*, tho' I am utterly against your employing too much of your Time against *these Writers*, yet I think you are obliged in Gratitude to take some Notice of them; since it is very much owing to them, that you make so considerable a Figure in your old Age. Besides, these *low Creatures* should be sometimes made ridiculous; and therefore give me Leave to tell you a Story, and introduce it with the following courtly Air from the *Beggar's Opera*, which I heartily recommend to the Consideration of good Mrs. *Osborne*.

Why how now, Madam Flirt?
Since you needs must chatter,
And are for flinging Dirt,
Let's try who best can spatter.

A Merchant of my Acquaintance, who resided some Time at *Bencolen*, bought a tame Elephant there, whom he suffered to go at large. This Animal used to walk about the Streets, in as civil and familiar a Manner as any of the Inhabitants, and wonderfully delighted himself in visiting the Shops; particularly those, which sold Herbs and Fruit, where he was always well received, excepting only by a Couple of brutal Coblers, who dwelt in that Quarter. These Fellows without any Reason, took Offence at the generous Creature, and had once or twice attempted to wound his *Proboscis* with their Awls. The noble Animal, who knew it was beneath him to crush them, did not disdain to chastise them. He fill'd his large muscular Trunk with a considerable Quantity of Water, not the cleanest, and advancing to them, as usual, cover'd them at once with a dirty Flood. The Fools were laugh'd at, and the Vengeance applauded.

I am, &c.

Universal Spectator, Aug. 17. N° 306.

Of the Style of Scripture.

AMONG many trifling Objections against the *Inspiration* of the *Holy Scriptures*, the *Simplicity* of their *Style* has been urg'd as a Proof that they could not come from *God*, being too *mean* for his *Dignity*, and even below the *Eloquence* of the *Pagan Writers*. But, certainly the *Style* of any Writer should be adapted to the *Capacities* of those he would improve; and I take it for a Maxim, that the *Grace* of *Eloquence* consists in *Propriety* of *Speech*. It would be against the Rules of *Rhetorick* for a *Subject* to speak in the *Style* of a *King*, or an *Advocate* in that of a *Judge*; what would be *Eloquence* in the one would be *Folly* in the other; that of the *Subject* must be *humble*, that of the *Advocate* persuasive, that of the *Judge* determinate, that of the *King* plain and absolute. Would it be consistent then with the *Majesty* of an *Omnipotent God*, who *rules*, who *judges* and *directs* Mankind, to use the *Oratorical* Inductions of *Plato*, the artful *Syllogisms* of *Aristotle*, or the vehement *Exclamations* of *Cicero*? The *Mandates* and *Proclamations* of the *Kings* of the *Earth* are set forth without Ornament and without Art; surely then the plainer the *Law* of *God* is, the more proper it is, being easier understood by *all Mankind* without Exception, for whose Good it was ordain'd.

But what will these *Criticks* say when in the *Meanness* and *Simplicity* of the *Scriptures* there is really more *Dignity* and *Force* than is any where else to be found? In the *Bible* is contain'd *History*, and the Excellency of *History* is *Truth*: Now what stronger Indications can we have of *Truth* in *History*, than to have the Facts related *plain* and *artless*, in a Style which sets to our Eyes Things past as if they were really present, and yet moves our Passions in the same Manner those were mov'd of whom we read. Let any Man of *common Humanity* read how *Isaac* was led to *Sacrifice*, how *Joseph* became known to his *Brethren*, how *David* mourn'd over *Absalom*, and he must feel the various Motions of *Fear*, of *Love*, of *Pity* and *Compassion*: Let him read again the same Stories in *Josephus*, set off with all the Ornaments of *Rhetorick*, and he'll find they have not half the Force; for *Beauty* wants no *Painting*, and *Truth* the more *naked* it is, it is the more *lovely*.

In our *Scriptures* we have *Prophecies*, and in those *Prophecies*, *Denouncements*, *Threatnings* and *Exhortations*: On such Occasions it is the Rule of *Oratory* to raise the Expressions, thereby to enforce the Authority. In this Kind *Tully* the *greatest Orator* of the *Romans* excell'd; yet what Oration, what Part of his *Philippics*, or the Speech which mov'd

Cæsar,

Cæsar, can compare with the solemn Majesty of *Isaiah*? Where is that *Eloquence*, *Force* and *Dignity* in *Tully*, with which *Isaiah* opens —— *Hear O Heavens and give Ear O Earth, for the Lord hath spoken, I have nourish'd and brought up Children and they have rebell'd against me: The Ox knoweth his Owner, and the Ass his Master's Crib, but* Israel *doth not know, my People doth not consider.* —— *Ah! Sinful Nation, a People laden with Iniquity, a Seed of evil Doers, Children that are Corruptors, they have forsaken the Lord, they have provok'd the Holy One of* Israel *to Anger, they are gone away backward: Why should ye be stricken any more?* ——What *Dignity*, what *Eloquence*, what *Humility*, what *Kindness*, what *Reason* and *Affection* are contain'd in these few Words! And yet how much stronger should we find them in their *own Language* and their *own Accents!*

But these *learned Criticks*, who think the Scriptures too *trifling* and *mean* to employ their Time, how do they employ it? To find out whether the true Reading is *Vergilius*, or *Virgilius*; *Omnis*, or *Omnes*, or *Omneis*, —— or else laboriously annotating on *Bawdy Poets*, and explaining their hidden Meaning by their more Bawdy Comments.

What greater Praise can the Scripture have than the Censure of such Men? While they who study them most, find they are written in a Style the best calculated to instruct Mankind, and to convey to them the *Laws*, the *Power* and *Authority* of a *God*, who rules from *Everlasting to Everlasting*.

London Journal, Aug. 17. N° 790.

Conduct of the Antiministerial Writers.

THE Writers against the *Constitution*, the *Government*, and the *Ministry*, (for now they strike at every Thing, says *Osborne*) have tried all possible Ways to defame the Court, and disgrace all Men in Power. They have compared the *Government* to all the *Tyrannies*, antient and modern: But their favourite Parallel hath been the Reign of *Tiberius*; because, it seems, the *Form* of the *Roman* Free Government remain'd when the *Substance* was gone; the Senate was in *Being*, tho' the Senate was nothing but a *Name*. Thus have they exulted and triumph'd, till call'd upon to make out their Parallels by *parallel Actions* of tyrannical Power; and then they dropp'd the *Argument*, and fell to *coarse Raillery* and *low Humour*: Which is their constant Resource in Time of Distress.

They have, I think, taken up all the *arbitrary* Governments and *absolute* Monarchies in the World, to throw at the Heads of the Ministry, except *one*, and that is, *the Monarchy of Hell*; that *Budget* is not yet open'd: But perhaps they want proper Materials; if they do, I would recommend them to a Book publish'd a few Years ago; intitled, *The Political History of the Devil*; where they may please themselves, and amuse their *Mob Readers*, with a great Variety of as *wise* and *just Parallels*, as any they have yet produced, not excepting *Bajazet* or our *Richard* the Second.

Oliver Cromwell, tho' one of the greatest Tyrants History hath handed down to us, hath met with better Quarter from them; he is grown a mighty Favourite with *Hereditary Right-Men*, *Jacobites*, and *Patriot Whigs*; and brought in to shame the present Government, and throw Infamy upon the Constitution: For he, it seems, wondrous good Man! *governed mildly*; he suffered his *illegal Power* to be bound by *wise* and *good Restraints*, and consented to *greater Limitations* of Power than every one would have expected from him. (See p. 374) This is said; but the Truth concerning *Cromwel* is the very Reverse of this Account. He was so far from suffering himself to be limited by any *wise* and *good* Restraints, that he would suffer *no Restraints* but what were *nominal*, or *in Words* only.

Fog's *Journal*, Aug. 17. N° 203.

THIS Paper contains some farther Quotations from a Treatise, in relation to the *Clergy's meddling in Affairs of State*, (See p. 424.) which *Fog* concludes thus:

As to our Parts, I hope we need not fear any of those Hardships and Inconveniences, which may fall upon the Publick, no more than the Scandal and Danger, which the Church may suffer, by a Time-serving and mercenary Priesthood; the Dignified amongst the Clergy will not neglect their pastoral Charge, to attend the Nod of an arbitrary Fellow in Power, and to do his vile Drudgery in another Place, will not forget their Duty at the Altar; for they will consider, that the inferior Clergy or People of a remote Diocese, can be but little edified by the Life and Example of one, who always lives at *London*; and while the Time and Care of their Pastor are employ'd in searching the Way to a more lucrative Diocese, those committed to his Charge may possibly lose their Way to Heaven.

If at the Day of Judgment, a Priest should be call'd to an Account for Irregularities that had crept into his Diocese, I believe it would be but a bad Excuse for him to answer, that he knew nothing of the Matter, because he was otherwise employ'd when these Things happen'd; that he was busy in voting for *H*——*n* T——s and Standing A——s, in approving —— Treaties, and unappropriating of Funds; that he could not find Leisure to look to the saving the Peoples Souls, because he was employ'd in giving away [illegible]

Money. I have a Notion ſuch an Excuſe would hardly paſs before ſuch a Tribunal.

The good Prelate in our Days will follow the Example of the primitive Biſhops. If he is ſparing in his Expences, it is, that he may be able to diſtribute the more in Charities; when he is obſerv'd to be aſſiduous in collecting and managing his Revenues, it is in order to give Penſions to the Indigent and Deſerving amongſt the inferior Clergy; his Time is not employ'd in cringing amidſt a Crowd of Slaves at *Levees*, or watching the leiſure Hours of a Man in Power, in order to ſollicit a civil Employment for one Son, a military Poſt for another, a Deanery or Prebend for a third, for all which he is to pay by the Proſtitution of his Character; but he is watchful over his Flock, and diligent to know what Sins they are moſt likely to fall into: If they are tempted by Bribes, which may draw them into the Sin of Perjury, he gives Charges and Inſtructions to his Clergy to preach againſt that Sin, nay, he will preach againſt it himſelf; he knows, that, as Biſhop *Burnet* ſays, Prelates are not to think of amaſſing Wealth, and building up new Families out of the Revenues of the Church; and it is by this Conduct, that he maintains in the People a Reverence for Religion, and a Reſpect for the Prieſthood.

Craftſman, Aug. 17. N° 424.

Farther Remarks on the Scottiſh *Election of* ſixteen Peers. (See p. 370.)

AS all the *miniſterial Advocates* reaſon in much the ſame Strain on this Subject, and catch the Echo from one another, I ſhall confine myſelf chiefly to Mr. *Walſingham*; not forgetting good Mrs. *Oſborne* in my Way.

The *modeſt Eſquire* begins with obſerving that the Merits of *this Election* being cognizable only by the *Houſe of Peers*, all Enquiries into it are an Anticipation of their Judgment. This is both falſe and frivolous; for we pretend not to determine whether the Charge laid in the *Proteſts* be true or falſe, but only argue upon the Heinouſneſs of the *Guilt*, ſuppoſing it to be *proved*.

He is pleaſed to repreſent us arguing that 25 *Voices* (*which were the loſing Numbers*) are *a greater Majority than* 60. But this is more like Mr. *Walſingham*'s own Way of Reaſoning than *ours*, and ſavours very ſtrongly of the *miniſterial Way of Calculation*. We do not ſay that 25 are more than 60; but we apprehend that if the Election ſhould be proved contrary to *Law*, it ſignifies nothing by what *Majority* it was carried.

As to the Exception againſt the *Place of Election*, it appears to have been only a curſory Complaint that the *Room* was incommodious; for I can find nothing about it in my Copy of the *Minutes*.

He then proceeds to what he calls *the ſecond* Pretence *againſt the Freedom of the Election*, viz. *that there was an* armed Force *to awe it*, and confeſſes *that Col.* Handaſyde's *Regiment was drawn out on the Day of Election*; but it was only *to preſerve the Peace*. —— Methinks this Way of Reaſoning is ſomewhat like that of the *Ruſſians*, who came into *Poland* with an Army, to ſecure the *Freedom of Election*. But here again Mr. *W.* aſks another String of notable Queſtions; as for Inſtance —— *Was any Hindrance given to the Lords, who reſorted to the Election? Any Lord kept from voting, or threatened with Damage if he did not vote?* Theſe Queſtions deſerve no Anſwer, for it is enough that an *armed Force had ſuch a Tendency*, what *Effect* ſoever it might have. But I muſt now aſk Mr. *W.* in my Turn, whether he does not believe in his Conſcience that *ſuch a Number of Forces* was ſufficient to *over-awe the Election*, if they pleaſed; and whether the ſame Way of Reaſoning will not equally juſtify the Introduction of *military Forces* into every Borough of the united Kingdom, on the Day of *Election*, and even drawing them up under Arms before the *Polling Place?*

As to the Liſt being named by the Miniſter, *&c.* Mr. *W.* ſays, that this is *a Suggeſtion which, if it were true, is ſcarcely poſſible to be* proved: *And if it were* proved, *could not prejudice the Right of* 50 *or* 60 Peers, *in the Choice of thoſe* 16, *nor the Right of thoſe* 16 *in repreſenting the* Peerage of Scotland.—But pray, Sir, don't you think it would affect *thoſe*, who made Uſe of this *undue Influence*, ſuppoſing it to be *proved?* You ſeem to be very cautious of touching upon *that Head*, and direct the whole Force of your Oratory againſt the *declared Nullity of the Election*; which is a Point beyond my Province, and my *intruding into ſuch an Affair would really be*, as *you* elegantly phraſe it, *to anticipate the moſt eſſential Enquiries of the* higheſt Judicature *within this Kingdom*. Let us therefore confine ourſelves, if you pleaſe, to *the Miniſter* and his *Agent*; or (as you, perhaps, more properly ſtyle him) the *Miniſter's Miniſter*.

You demand, on this Head, by what Law, *either poſitive or conſtructive, any* Privy Counſellor of Great Britain *is incapacitated to adviſe, or confer with the Peers of* North Britain, *in the previous Agreement of a* Liſt of 16 Peers, *to be propoſed as Candidates in the Election of* Repreſentatives for the Peerage of Scotland. (See p. 373.)—Why truly I know of no *expreſs Statute*, by which they are thus *incapacitated*; and yet I am firmly perſuaded that they ought not to intermeddle at all in *Elections*, either by *adviſing*, *conferring*, or writing *ſuch recommendatory Letters* as you mention; becauſe *Men in their Stations* are generally qualified to talk and write with more Force than *ordinary People*. Nay, even ſuppoſing they ſhould back their

their Advice with a little *undue Influence* (which is the Point at preſent in Queſtion) I cannot recollect any *Statute* directly againſt it; and yet will any Man, even you yourſelf, pretend to ſay that it is not puniſhable by the *common Law of the Land*, as a *Crime in itſelf*, an Invaſion of the *Freedom of Elections*, and tending to ſubvert the Foundations of our Government? Since you are now *reviewing the Hiſtory of England*, (See p. 421.) I believe you will find, as you paſs along, ſeveral Inſtances of *Impeachments againſt* Miniſters and their *Agents*, for *packing* of *Parliaments*. Now what, I pray, is *packing a Parliament*, but *nominating the* Perſons *to be choſen*, and *bribing the* Electors *to chuſe them?*

I am ſtrongly tempted, in this Place, to apply ſome other Queries very home to your *own Conſcience*, concerning the Iſſue of the *late Election in Scotland*, upon a Suppoſition that no *undue Influence* had been uſed. But I muſt forbear; for I am not privileged, like *yourſelf*, to put Men to the *Queſtion*, and ſearch out the Truth of Things by ſuch *rigid Examinations*.

However, you give *theſe unhappy Peers* to underſtand, that you are a *fair* and *generous Adverſary*, by vouchſafing ſome of them a very *good Character*; nay, you are ſo gracious as to acknowledge that, *if it had been your Fate to have been a* Peer of *North Britain*, (what Pity, methinks, is it that you are not!) you could not have found it in your Heart to vote againſt them; unleſs it had appeared that they had *incorporated themſelves in a Liſt with improper Perſons*; that is, I ſuppoſe, all Perſons, who oppoſe the *Miniſter* and his *Agent*.

A Writer in the *Courant*, in his Reflections on the foregoing Paper, ſays: The proper Queſtion in all theſe Caſes, is this, —— Shall the *Enemies* of the *Government* be permitted (and there is no *Poſſibility* of making any Law to *reſtrain* them,) ſhall they be at *full Liberty* to make Uſe of any *undue Influence*, ſuppoſe it to be only *adviſing*, *conferring*, or *writing recommendatory Letters* to procure ſuch *Repreſentatives* to be choſen, as they know to be diſaffected to the preſent Government? And ſhall thoſe, who have the Honour to ſerve the *Crown*, even in that high Station of *Privy-Counſellors*; ſhall it be *criminal* in them, when they ſee plainly, that the *Enemies* of the Government are uſing all their *Arts*, and practiſing every *undue Influence*, to procure ſuch a *Parliament*, as ſhall endeavour to *deſtroy* the preſent Eſtabliſhment; — ſhall it, I ſay, be *criminal* in them to *adviſe*, *confer*, or *write recommendatory Letters* to *prevent* ſuch a *Parliament* being choſen? Shall their *high Stations* make this *criminal?* No, ſurely. That Man muſt have a very *weak* Head, or a very *bad* Heart, who will not confeſs it would be highly *criminal* in ſuch Men not to *interpoſe* at ſuch a critical Time, by their *Advice*, &c. Highly *criminal*, even for this very *Reaſon*; becauſe they are in *high Stations*; becauſe, thereby, they are more *peculiarly* conſtituted *Guardians* of their Country; becauſe thoſe very *Stations* muſt *qualify* them to know the private Characters of Men, who are in the Intereſt of their Country, and who are fit to repreſent it, with more Truth and Certainty than *ordinary People* can pretend to.

Weekly Miſcellany, Aug. 24. N° 89.

A Letter to a Country Juſtice of Peace, concerning the preſent State of Popery in and about London.

St. James's-Square, Aug. 12.

THE Reaſon I have not anſwered your Letter of the 6th of *May* ſooner, was becauſe I ſtaid till I could give you ſome Satisfaction in relation to the Growth and Progreſs of Popery of late Years in and about theſe two great Cities.

I have now lying before me an Account of above 30 Maſs Houſes in *London* and *Weſtminſter*, and have good Reaſon to think that I have not yet half the Number.

The Number of their Prieſts that generally reſide in and near theſe two Cities, are at preſent known to be above 300, but they appear in ſo many Shapes, that it is difficult to find them out, only that great Numbers are daily ſent over hither: A great many pretend to have Protections from foreign Miniſters, and more act as openly as if they thought they wanted none.

As to the Methods they take of gaining Proſelytes, theſe are ſome of them: They are always ready to ſlip into poor ſick Families, and relieve them generouſly; this gives them an eaſy Paſſage to their Hearts, and they cannot but think the Religion of ſo charitable a Perſon muſt be the beſt; many are ruined by the Bait. They offer young Men just come out of their 'Prenticeſhips Money to ſet up with, without any Intereſt; and a great many unwary young People have been perverted by theſe Means: And a Perſon is ready to make Oath, that he has lately heard, not once or twice, Proteſtants publickly renouncing their Religion before not leſs than ſeven Popiſh Prieſts. They have a great many Popiſh Seminaries, in which they train up the brighteſt Youths they can meet with, to ſend over to their Colleges abroad; and not long ſince they attempted to debauch ſome out of one of our great Schools in this City; whether they ſucceeded or no the Maſter beſt knows.

As to your Queſtions, —— Why the Laws are not put more rigorouſly in Execution againſt them? Why does not the Legiſlature

take some Notice of them? Why do not the Clergy preach against them? Why do not they represent the State of Popery in their respective Parishes to their Diocesan, who would upon due Information, take such Methods as might put some Stop to this growing Evil? To all these Questions I can give you no other Answer, but that I presume these Things will be soon done, or ought to be.

I am, &c.

Universal Spectator, Aug. 24. N° 307.

Instructions for a modern Author.

IT is a just Observation of Mr. *Bruyere*, that it is as much a *Trade* to make a *Book* as to make a *Clock*; a Man must have a *mechanical Experience* as well as *natural Wit* to succeed in it.

The *Cacoethes scribendi*, or the *Disease of Scribling*, is more contagious in the Kingdom of *Great Britain* than in any other Nation perhaps in the whole World: It takes its Rise from a certain Ambition of being thought a *Wit*, and may be known easily by Variety of Symptoms, which tho' not at first dangerous, soon grow too virulent for a Cure. Whoever therefore finds he cannot resist the Temptation of commencing *Author*, must first arm himself with a Kind of *Philosophy* of being above the *Censure* of the *World*; this is easily obtained from that natural *Self-Opinion* which Authors always entertain of their own *Genius*, and the *Beauties* which they, and none but they, can see in their initiatory Productions. This is only Proof against a certain ill-natur'd Set of People call'd *Critics*, who are sure always to differ from the Sentiments of the *Author*: That Writer would have enough to do who troubled his Head with the extravagant Banters, little Jests, which are thrown out against him by Sort of Men who damn Things at all Events, because they are not capable of judging of them.

When a Man is well fixed in this *good-natur'd* Opinion of *himself*, he has nothing to do but take *Pen*, *Ink*, and *Paper*, and *write* —But what? ——No Matter; *Politicks* or *Poetry*, *History* or *Divinity*, *Physick* or *Metaphysics*, are all the same to a Genius *truly modern*. *Horace* indeed advises an Author to consult what he is, or is not capable to perform; but every *Gentleman* who attempts to *write*, will pay, I don't doubt, a greater Deference to his *own Genius*, than the obsolete Maxims of a *Critick* quite out of *Fashion*, and almost out of *Knowledge*.

London Journal, Aug. 24. N° 791.

Farther Reflections on the Conduct of the antiministerial Writers.

WHEN *national Subjects* have been debated, and *Demonstration* hath appeared against them, their Answer is, that the *Ministerial Scribler* is a low Creature; that he's a *Pedagogue*, an *Attorney*, or the Son of a *Potatoe-Man* in *Ireland*. (Vol. II. p. 70.) Thus, when *Argument* fails, they *scold* and *call Names* most strenuously; or instead of a *Reply*, draw a *Man's Picture*. (See p. 428.)

'He has a Gravity and a Sort of Ratiocination 'in his very Countenance; he has an inflexible Set of Muscles; the arterial Vesicles 'round his Mouth are broken by youthful 'Altercations, and have left two *black Semi-circles*,' or, as *Milton* says of the Devil,

Deep scars of thunder had his face intrench'd.

This is call'd a *Refutation* of all that hath been advanced by the Writers for the Ministry, whom they charge with what they are constantly guilty of themselves, *Billingsgate Ribaldry*, and *personal Scurrilities*; but they don't seem to know the Meaning of the Words, *personal Scurrilities*: I will set them right.

Those *Words* which are proper to *express the Sense* of what is quoted from an Adversary, are not *personal*: As for Instance, when I have quoted a Sentence from the *Craftsman* which is *treasonable*, and naturally tends to *spread* Sedition and raise Insurrections, then the Word *Traytor* is proper; then I may justly say, what doth *the Traytor* mean? For the Word *Traytor* is not then *personal*, but *argumentative*; that is, it arises from and relates to the *Argument* or *Subject* we are upon: Not so, whether *the Writer* be a *Man* or a *Woman*, or neither Man nor Woman; whether his Face be *round* or *square*; or whether he be the Son of a *Potatoe-Man*, or a *Taylor*. These are *personal Scurrilities*, because they have *no Relation* to the *Argument*, and which no Men ever make use of as long as they have *Argument* on their Side.

F. OSBORNE.

N. B. Fog's *Journal of this Day contains a Speech made in the House of Commons, in* 1727, *about increasing the Civil List Revenue: But as it was then published in a Pamphlet, and there have been several Editions of it, we do not think it necessary to reprint it: But pass on to*

Craftsman, Aug. 24. N° 425.

Of the Scots *Election of* 16 *Peers*, *D.* Lauderdale, *the Union*, &c. *in Answer to* Osborne.

THIS *learned Gentlewoman* does not pretend to enter into the Merits of the Cause, but levels all her Artillery against one poor Paragraph in one of my Papers, concerning the Oppression of *Scotland* under the D. of *Lauderdale*; (see p. 731.)

This Paragraph contains no more than a general Observation that *Ministers*, who aim

at arbitrary Power, generally begin with oppreſſing *Scotland*, as the weakeſt Part of the Iſland, that they may be the better able to manage *England* afterwards. As an Inſtance of this, I mentioned the Caſe of *Scotland*, under *Lauderdale*'s Adminiſtration, in the Reign of K. *Charles* II.

Upon this, Mrs. *Oſborne* throws herſelf into a terrible Paſſion, cries out *Treaſon*, and tells the World *that the* Scots *are invited to come into* England *with an Army, to ſave* themſelves *and* us; becauſe I happened *to call them a* brave People, *who have often proved our* Deliverers, *inſtead of being made the* Inſtruments of our Slavery.

In Order to prevent this *Scots* Invaſion, Mrs. *Oſborne* puts them very gravely in Mind of their preſent, happy Condition, and the great Advantages they got over *us* by the *Union*; which nothing could have obtain'd from the *Engliſh* but the Conſideration of their *own Safety*; for ſhe tells them, from Bp. *Burnet*, that they enjoy *near the eleventh Part of the Legiſlature*, in Return for *leſs than the fortieth Part of the publick Taxes*; beſides many other great Advantages. But, for God's Sake, what is all this to the Purpoſe? Is the good Bargain, which the People of *Scotland* were ſo wiſe, or ſo lucky as to make at the *Union*, any Reaſon for their quiet Acquieſcence under ill Treatment for ever afterwards? Beſides, this is not meerly a *Scots* Affair; for the Votes of the *Scots Members* conclude the People of *England* as much as thoſe of *our own Repreſentatives*; and therefore ſince they make up ſo large a Proportion of the *Legiſlature* and *ſupreme Judicature*, particular Care ought to be taken that ſuch Men are not elected, by *undue Influence*, as will run blindly into all the Meaſures of a *Court*; for, in that Caſe, the *Union* itſelf will prove the greateſt Curſe, that ever befel this Nation; and yet this ſeems to have been the View of ſome *Miniſters*, even ſince the *Union*. Bp. *Burnet* tells us that the Act of Parliament, for diſſolving the *Scots Privy Council*, was oppos'd by the *Court*, with all their Strength, hoping by *that Influence* Elections *might be ſo managed as to ſerve all the Ends of the Court*. In another Place, he ſays, *that the* chief Miniſters *ſeem'd to have laid it down for a Maxim, not to be departed from, to look carefully to Elections in* Scotland; *that the Members return'd from thence might be in an intire Dependence on* them; *and be either* Whigs, *or* Tories, *as they ſhould ſhift Sides*.

But ſince Mrs. *Oſborne* hath diſplay'd the Advantages of the *Union* from Bp. *Burnet*, ſhe muſt give me Leave to acquaint the *Publick*, from the *ſame Author*, to whom this great Event was principally owing.

'That, which advanced the Deſign moſt 'effectually, (ſays he) and without which it 'could not have ſucceeded, was that a conſi- 'derable Number of Noblemen and Gentle- 'men, who were in no Engagements with 'the Court, (on the contrary, they had been 'diſoblig'd and turn'd out of great Poſts, 'and ſome very lately) declared for it. 'Theſe kept themſelves very cloſe and united, 'and ſeem'd to have no other Intereſt, but 'that of their Country, and were for that 'Reaſon called the *Squadrons*. The Chief 'of theſe were the Marqueſs of *Tweedale*, 'the Earls of *Rothes*, *Roxburgh*, *Hadington* 'and *Marchmont*; they were in great Credit, 'becauſe they had no viſible Biaſs on their 'Minds; ill Uſage had provok'd them ra- 'ther to oppoſe the Miniſtry, than to concur 'in any Thing, where the chief Honour 'would be carried away by others. When 'they were ſpoke to by the Miniſtery they 'anſwer'd coldly and with great Reſerve, ſo 'it was expected they would have concurred 'in the Oppoſition; and they being between '20 and 30, if they had ſet themſelves 'againſt the Union, the Deſign muſt have 'miſcarried. But they continued ſtill ſilent, 'till the firſt Diviſion of the Houſe obliged 'them to declare, and then they not only 'joined in it, but promoted it effectually, 'and with Zeal. There were great and long 'Debates managed on the Side of the Union 'by the Earls of *Seafield* and *Stair* for the 'Miniſtry, and of the *Squadrone* by the 'Earls of *Roxburgh* and *Marchmont*; and 'againſt it by the Dukes of *Hamilton* and '*Athol*, and the Marqueſs of *Annandale*.'

As to *Lauderdale*, I am charged with *intending a Parallel between that moſt wicked of all* Miniſters (as Mrs. *Oſborne* ſtyles him) *and a* certain noble Peer *of* Scotland, *now in Power, whoſe Character is the very Reverſe of* Lauderdale's.

In Order to prove this, ſhe flies to Bp. *Burnet*'s Hiſtory, and from thence collects ſeveral Circumſtances of *Lauderdale*'s Character, which have no immediate Relation to the preſent Times, and are no more to the preſent Purpoſe, than if Mrs. *Oſborne* had told us, *that the D. of* Lauderdale *made a very ill Appearance*; *that his Hair was red, and his Tongue too big for his Mouth, which made him bedew all that he talk'd to*; with ſeveral other Circumſtances of *that Miniſter*, to be met with in the *ſame Hiſtorian*. Mr. *Tindal* tells us *that the* Biſhop *is juſtly blamed for this Part of that* Nobleman's *Character, which conſiſted only of his perſonal Defects*; and, perhaps, when we conſider the Tranſactions between them, he may be ſuſpected of a little Partiality, in other Reſpects. I ſhall therefore conclude with Archdeacon *Echard*'s Character of the *ſame Miniſter*, without making any Application. —— *Let the* ſtricken Deer go weep.

'The Enlargement of the King's Power 'and Grandeur, in this Kingdom, was 'much owing to the Management of this 'pro-

'present Commissioner *Lauderdale*; who 'had been formerly as much for depressing, 'as he was now for exalting the *Prerogative*. 'From the Time of his Commission, the '*Scots* are said to calculate the Date of all the 'ensuing Inconveniences in this, and the 'following Reign; for having there under-'taken to make the *King's Power* absolute, 'he strain'd the *royal Prerogative* to all Kind 'of Excesses, and assumed to himself a Sort 'of lawless Administration of Affairs; the 'Exercise of which was supposed to be 'granted to him, upon the large Promises he 'had made; and more apprehending *other 'Men's officious interfering*, than distrusting 'his own *Abilities*, he in Time took Care to 'make himself his *Majesty's sole Informer*, as 'well as his *sole Secretary*; and by that 'Means, not only upon Pretence of the '*King's Prerogative*, the Affairs of *Scotland* 'were disposed of in the Court of *England*, 'without any Notice taken of the King's 'Council in *Scotland*; but strict Observation 'was also made of all *Scotsmen*, that came 'to the *English* Court; and to attempt an 'Address and Access to his Majesty, other-'wise than by *Lauderdale*'s Mediation, was 'to hazard his perpetual Resentment. By 'these Ways he gradually made himself the '*almost only significant Person in the whole 'Scotish* Nation; and, in *Scotland* itself, 'procured to himself that sovereign Authority 'as to name the *Privy Counsellors*; to place 'and remove the *Lords of the Session* and '*Exchequer*; to grant *Gifts* and *Pensions*; to 'levy and disband *Forces*; to appoint *General 'Officers*; and to transact all Matters of Im-'portance.'

Grubstreet Journal, Aug. 29. N° 244.

e last Will and Testament of Jonathan Wimble, *Esq*;

'*Jonathan Wimble*, of *Rats-Hall*, in the 'County of *Essex*, Esq; being of per-'fect Mind and sound Memory (thanks be to 'Bedlam Physician) but of a most crazy 'hypish Constitution, having from Time 'of Mind been engaged in all the Tribes of 'minatives, Stomachics, Balsamics, Diu-'cs, Emollients, Restoratives, Detergents, 'phoretics, Emetics, Cataplasms, Sternu-'ries, Gargarisms, Lotions, and Embroca-'s, in order to the mending of my corporal 'conomy, and all (hitherto however) to 'little Purpose, do, in order the more 'ctually to impede any Animosities after 'Decease, make this my last Will and 'ament, in Manner and Form following.

'Imprimis, I do, as a rare, raw-bon'd Fel-'recommend myself as a proper Skeleton 'e Anatomists; and do hereby injoin my 'cutor, not to detain me when demanded by any Person of known Experience in the Faculty, or secretly to deposit my Body below Ground, upon Pain of forfeiture of all my Bequests.

'This Part of my Will first duly executed, and my *Otho*'s Copper Medal sold, in order to the Discharging of my Creditors; I give and bequeath my Messuage of *Rats-Hall*, with the five Acres of arable Land adjoining, unto my dear Brother *Samuel*, being well assured of his Veneration for Plow-Shares, and the great Pleasure he takes in attending a Dung-Cart.

'*Item*, I give and bequeath unto my very ingenious and much respected Friend and Virtuoso *B. M.* Esq; all that my valuable Collection of Cormorants Eggs, Spiders Eyes, Earwigs, Butter-flies, *&c.* together with the Anatomy of a Fox, (which did infinite Damage to the Poultry) and my Long-tail'd Titmouse. And whereas my younger Brother *Charles* lately spoke disrespectfully of Insects and Animalcules, stiling me also, contrary to his Allegiance, a strange, whimsical, trifling Philosopher, for pretending to discover the Sex of a Cockatrice; I do hereby disinherit, and wholly cut him off from all my intended Benefactions, by leaving him no more than my *Witticisms* since *Lady-Day*, 1732, and my *Dissertation on Black Pudding*; reserving even the Cloaths on my Back to be sold for the purchasing the Collection of Fleas, now in the Cabinet of ——— for the sole Use and Contemplation of the said *B. M.*

'*Item*, I give and bequeath unto the most Hippocratical and Galenical *Benjamin Pair-a-se*, Apothecary, my Powder of Pulices Aquatici, one dry'd Toad, a Pound and Half of Album Græcum, together with a stuffed Alligator, my *Treatises on Misseltoe and Indian Cabbage*, as also my curious Cream for my good Country-Womens Physiognomies.

'And as to my Caterpillars, Grass-hoppers, *&c.* I give and bequeath them to the worthy and learned Society of ——— Coll. *Camb.* And I do hereby also give and bequeath, in Addition to the late famous Dr. *Woodward*'s Legacy, all that my curious Collection of Pebbles and Egg shells, requiring the said Bequest to be pay'd within 3 Months after my Decease.

'And as to the rest of my Antediluvian Prodigies and other Curiosities not above specified, of what Kind soever, as also my Danish Puppy, I give and bequeath them unto my dear Friend *B*—— *M*——, whom I make, constitute, and appoint whole and sole Executor and Residuary Legatee of this my last Will and Testament, hereby revoking all former Wills by me made.

JONATHAN WIMBLE.

Signed, &c. in the Presence of, &c.

Fog's Journal, Aug. 31. N° 304.

Extract from a Pamphlet, concerning the Civil List, *and the* 115000 l. *demanded as a Deficiency, and granted as an Arrear, in* 1728.

THE Case stands thus: By the Act of the first of the King, *for the better Support of his Majesty's Household, and of the Honour and Dignity of the Crown*, his Majesty is to enjoy all the Civil List Revenues, with the 120,000 *l.* out of the aggregate Fund, without Account for any *Surplusses*, over and above 800,000 *l. per Ann.* however considerable they may happen to be in any Year; and yet the Publick, by a Clause in the same Act, is to make good *Deficiencies*; or as the Clause for giving the 115,000 *l.* has construed it, any *Arrears* of these Revenues standing out and not paid into the *Exchequer*, at *Midsummer-Day*, to compleat 800,000 *l. per Ann.*

Now considering this Case on the Foot of a *Deficiency* only, the Disadvantage to the Publick will appear to be very great, the most considerable Branches of the Civil List Revenues are in the Nature of them, liable to vary from Year to Year; the Interruptions, or Decay of Trade and other Accidents must necessarily lessen the Produce of the *Customs*. Other Causes may in the same Year lessen the Produce of the *Excise*. The Publick is to make good the *Deficiencies*, and consequently the Taxes on the People are to increase as their Losses and Misfortunes do; on the contrary, the Crown cannot in any Event, receive less than 800,000 *l. per Ann.* and may often have the Benefit of a *Surplus*.

If then the Disadvantage to the People is so great, by their being only obliged to make good casual and real *Deficiencies*, how much greater must it be upon the present Construction of the Clause, by which it is asserted that the Publick is obliged to compleat whatever Sum is wanting of the full 800,000 *l.* actually received into the *Exchequer*, the very *Midsummer-Day* the Year ends? Altho' there are *Arrears* standing out in Bills of Exchange, Money in the Receivers and Collectors Hands, more than sufficient to make up this Sum.

The first Step taken in this Affair was by a Motion of the *Secretary of the Treasury*, for an Address to the King that the proper Officers might be directed to lay before the House of Commons an Account of the *Produce* of the *Civil List Revenues* within the Year from *Midsummer* 1727, to *Midsummer*, 1728, &c.

Tho' the Design of this Motion was easily apprehended, yet it was a Surprize to many Gentlemen that it should be made so late in the Session, and after the Recess of *Easter*, and when it was generally understood that there was no further Demand of Money to be made; but the Surprize of the Gentlemen was still greater, when the Accounts were laid before the House, and it appeared, that, contrary to the Words of the Address, and the King's Answer, they were made up not upon the *real*, *Net Produce* of the *Revenues*, but upon what was called the *Net Receipt* within the Year, and that this material Alteration was made by Directions from the *Treasury*, and by Letters writ to the several Offices by the same *Gentlemen*, who had moved the Address for the *Produce*.

By the Account brought in and sign'd by the Secretary of the Treasury, the 115,000 *l.* is stated as a *Deficiency*. In the *Resolution* and in the Clause of *Appropriation*, it is called an *Arrear*, and an *Arrear* to be *replaced* and *refunded*. There was so far from being a *Deficiency*, that the Produce of the Year was 912,649 l. of which 708,368 l. was actually received in Money in *London* before *Midsummer*, 1728. And the greatest Part of the rest must have been paid within six Weeks, or sooner, after *Midsummer*, 1728; so that the Crown gives Credit to its own Estate for a few Weeks only; whereas by this Clause, according to the most plausible Construction, which has been endeavoured to be put upon it, the Publick is to lend his Majesty 115,000 l. without Interest during his Life; and how unlikely this Money is to be ever replaced without a manifest Injury to the Servants and other Creditors of the Crown at the Time of the Demise, need not be explained.

Craftsman, Aug. 31. N° 426.

Remarks on a Pamphlet, entitled, The Ministry and Government of *Great Britain* vindicated, *&c.*

SIR,

PART of a Pamphlet entitled, *The Ministry and Government of* Great Britain *vindicated*, &c. having been lately retail'd in the *Free Briton*, I had the Curiosity to give it a Reading; and tho' nobody can think it deserves any Reply from the Author of *an Enquiry into the Conduct of our Domestick Affairs*, &c. (to which it is call'd *an Answer*) some cursory Remarks may not be improper.

The *Author of the Enquiry* having observed *that the last* two Millions, *remitted to the* South Sea Company, *was a Bounty granted by Way of Composition, for their giving up the* Bank Contract; the *Vindicator* gives the following Answer, without any Hesitation. —— 'Why truly, *Sir*, it was very proper for the Government to interpose, and not let *publick Credit* be destroy'd by a Strife between *two such great Bodies*, and of such vast Moment; and next to the Inability

' the *Company*, there cannot be a better Rea-
' ſon aſſign'd for *this Remiſſion*, than the pre-
' ſerving the *Bank of* England; whoſe
' Wealth and Credit would have been greatly
' impair'd and diminiſh'd, if They had been
' compell'd to carry *that Agreement* into Ex-
' ecution.'

This bears the higheſt Reflection againſt the *Hon. Gentleman*, whoſe Miniſtry our *Author* undertakes to vindicate; for if *publick Credit* would have been deſtroy'd by a Law-Suit between the *Bank* and the *South Sea Company*; or if the *former* could not hav executed their *Agreement*, without a great Diminution of their *Wealth* and *Credit*; it is natural to aſk why *ſuch a Contract* was ever made, and *who* it was, that laid the Foundation of ſo much Miſchief. This is the very Charge brought againſt him by his *Enemies*; who have often alledg'd that he negotiated the *Bank Contract* with no other View than to eſtabliſh himſelf in Power, and afterwards found Means to diſſolve it, when it had ſerv'd his own private Purpoſes, to the Ruin of Thouſands.

The next Point worthy Obſervation, is *our Author's* frank Conceſſion, that the Subſidies of 72,000 l. and 8,000 l. paid to *Sweden*, in 1721 and 1723, were intended to ſecure the Poſſeſſion of *Bremen* and *Verbden*. The *Author of the Enquiry* had only glanc'd at this; but our *Vindicator of the Miniſtry* makes no Scruple to avow it, and tells us without any Diſguiſe ' that if the conciliat-
' ing the Court of *Sweden* was any Ingredient
' in the *Subſidy*, it was ſo far wiſely laid out,
' and calculated to prevent the ill Conſequen-
' ces you ſeem to apprehend, (*addreſſing' him-
' ſelf to the* ſuppoſed Author) and eſtabliſhed
' that *laſting Peace* and *Friendſhip*, which
' hath ever ſince ſubſiſted between the *two*
' *Crowns*.

I cannot agree with this *Writer* in any one Part of his Argument. In the *firſt Place*, it is my Opinion that the *Britiſh Treaſure* ought not to be expended for the Acquiſition, or Security, of any *foreign Dominions*, not annex'd to the Crown of *Great Britain*. *Secondly*, it ſeems ridiculous to ſuppoſe that our driving a Bargain with the Court of *Sweden*, upon ſuch an Account, could have any great Effect *in conciliating a laſting Friendſhip between the two Crowns*. And *laſtly*, the Conſequence, as I apprehend, hath proved the contrary; for notwithſtanding that *laſting Peace and Friendſhip*, of which our *Author* boaſts, as the Effect of *that Subſidy*, we have been obliged to give the Court of *Sweden* ſeveral refreſhing Fees ſince; particularly, upon their Acceſſion to the glorious and ever-memorable Treaty of *Hanover*, which was purchaſed by us at the Expence of a large Fleet ſent to the *Baltick*, and a Subſidy of 50,000 l. *per An.* for *three Years*.

Let us now proceed to our *Author's* wiſe Obſervation on the Increaſe of the *Civil Liſt*.

A ' The Number of the Royal Family, *ſays*
' *be*, was the Motive, which induced the
' Parliament to make *this Addition to the*
' *Civil Liſt*; and it hath had a very good
' Effect, no *Deficiency* having happened
' therein, during his preſent Majeſty's Reign.
' —A Demand was, indeed, made the fol-
' lowing Year of the Sum of 115,000 *l.*
' The great Charges of a *Coronation*, and
' other Expences incident to a *new King*, oc-
' caſioned the deſiring *this preſent Supply*.'

This Account of the famous 115,000 *l.* is intirely new, and deſerves particular Notice; for *that Sum* was firſt demanded, under the B Pretence of a *Deficiency in the Civil Liſt Funds*; but when it appeared, upon Examination, that a *much larger Sum* was actually ſtanding out in *Arrears*, which would ſoon come into the *Exchequer*, that Pretence was given up, and the Money granted by Way of *Arrear*. There was, indeed, a Rumour about Town, ſome Time before the Parliament met, that a large Sum would be C demanded, in the enſuing Seſſion, to defray the Charges of the *Coronation*; but that Report was fully expoſed in your Paper, and the *Coronation* was never mentioned either within Doors, or without, as any Motive to the Demand, or Grant of *that Money*, till our *Author* obliged us with his *ſecret Hiſtory*.

One of his Arguments, in Favour of *ſtand-* D *ing Armies*, is equally prudent and honeſt.

' The *Militia* (*ſays he*) till of late Years,
' ſupply'd the Want of *regular Troops*; but is
' now grown uſeleſs and burthenſome to the
' People; and however plauſible in itſelf a
' Propoſal to render it uſeful may be, it is
' not eaſy to determine, in our preſent divided
' Circumſtances, what Conſequences might
E ' ariſe from having the *Body of the People*
' *armed*, without a ſufficient Power in the
' *Crown* to balance it.'

Is not this a plain Inſinuation that the Intent of keeping up a *ſtanding Army*, in Times of Peace, is to bridle the People; and that his Majeſty cannot depend upon their Affections?—The *Miniſtry* and *Government* are highly obliged to him for ſuch a Vindication.

F He tells us *it is not his Intention to enter into a Diſcuſſion of the Management of our* foreign Affairs. But pray why not? Since the Streſs of the Argument, concerning our late *extraordinary Expences*, as ſtated in the *Enquiry*, depends in a great Meaſure upon the Conduct of *foreign Affairs*, as repreſented in *Politicks on both Sides*; and therefore *that Point* ought G to be conſidered firſt; for till it is made evident that the Management of *foreign Affairs* hath been miſrepreſented, the greateſt Part of the *Enquiry* will remain in its full Strength; and the Charge of having waſted near 24 *Millions*, ſince the Year 1720, muſt ſtick

upon

upon *those* against whom it was alledg'd.

He makes a general Observation, indeed, 'That when a *Minister* hath acted according 'to the best of his Judgment, upon the Appearances at the Time of Action subsisting, 'he ought not to be blamed for *those Events*, 'which did not take their Rise from any 'Counsels of his.' But this is meerly begging the Question, and remains to be proved.

As to the present Distractions in *Europe*, he ascribes them entirely to the late Conjunction of the two Branches of the House of *Bourbon*, and makes one Remark upon it, which I must not pass over in Silence, *viz.*

'*That Union* is so natural, so intirely a- 'greeable to the vast Designs of the Crown 'of *France*, and the Haughtiness of the 'Spanish Nation, that we need not search any 'farther into the Causes which produced it. 'We have fenced and guarded against it as 'long as possible; and it is more to be won- 'dered at that *such an Alliance* could be di- 'verted so long, than that it should take 'Place at last.

Now, if *this Union* was so natural and agreeable to the Views and Dispositions of the *two Crowns*, it was certainly our Interest to *fence and guard against it, as long as possible*; but I am afraid it will appear that we rather promoted it, by dividing *Spain* from the *Emperor*, and driving *France* into the Arms of the *former*.

I cannot quit this Subject, without taking Notice of a very remarkable Inconsistency between our *present Vindicator*, and the great Mr. *Walsingham*; who was so far from apprehending an Alliance between *France* and *Spain* to be a *natural Union*, that he treated you with Contempt, about two Years ago, for entertaining such a Suspicion. 'The 'Interests of *France* and *Spain* (*said he*) are 'so far incompatible, that the *Pope* and *Turk* 'might as well be expected to join in a 'War, for the utter Subversion of the *Pro-* 'testant Religion.' (See Vol. I. p. 224.) —— He then added, by Way of Interrogation, 'if the Crown of *Spain* had any Claims, 'any Demands upon the *Emperor* in *Italy*, 'can it be thought that this would unite 'the *French* and *Spaniards* together? Would 'the Court of *France* think it worth their 'Trouble even to take away Power from 'the House of *Austria*, if it were meerly to 'add to the *Spanish* Power? Or are not the '*French* and *Spaniards* naturally jealous of 'each other, as either of them can be of 'the House of *Austria*? And can it then be 'thought that they will ever *unite*, when 'their Interests always must be different?'

I shall leave *these two learned Gentlemen* to settle the Difference between themselves, and desire them to let us know on whose Judgment we are to rely in this Affair.

I am, Sir, &c.

Universal Spectator, Aug. 31. N° 308.

Of Man's sovereign Good.

FROM the Conviction of our *own Reason*, we must necessarily conclude *Happiness* is not placed in those Things which we chiefly esteem in this Life: *Common Sense*, without any great Depth in *Philosophy*, will make us believe so: Shou'd we place it in *Riches*, how weak our Foundation, to build our *sovereign Good* on a Thing which a thousand Casualties may deprive us of: Wretched must he be, whose *eternal Welfare* either *Wind*, *Fire*, *Robbers*, or *War*, may ruin in a Moment. Besides, *Riches* consist but in *Opinion*; what are Riches to one, are of little Value to another; they are not an allow'd *Universal Blessing*.

Ambition cannot, with its Train of *Honours*, *Power*, and *Authority*, produce this *sovereign Good*; for this *Happiness* should be *everlasting*, but *Honours*, *Power*, and *Authority*, carrying them to their utmost Stretch, extend not beyond the *Grave*.

As the *End* therefore and the *sovereign Good* of Man consist not in worldly Things, neither are they placed in a corporeal Happiness. *Beauty* is not permanent enough to give them; and *Health* of *Body* is reckon'd an inferior Felicity to that of the *Mind*: Let us see then if the *Perfections* of the *Mind* can lead us to this *sovereign Good*. The *Perfection* of the *Mind* is *Wisdom*, and the Perfection of *Wisdom* is the *Contemplation* of *God*, whom we find *immortal*, *unchangeable*, *omnipotent*, who will *be* to *everlasting*, who has promis'd *eternal Felicity*, and in whose *Power* it is to *give it*. In *him* then only should we place our *sovereign Good*, who will give us such *Felicities*, as *Eye hath not seen*, *nor has it enter'd the Heart of Man to conceive*.

A good, *that never* satisfies *the* mind;
A sweet, *that runs with floods of* gall *combin'd*;
A beauty, *which like* April's *flow'r will fade*;
A pleasure, *fleeting ere in thought 'tis made*;
A glory, *at* opinion's *frown that low'rs*;
A treasury, *that bankrupt time devours*;
A knowledge, than *grave ignorance* more blind;
An honour, *that's more fickle than the wind*;
Are the strange ends *we toil for here below*,
Till wiser death *make us our* errors *know*.

Weekly Register, Aug. 31. N° 236.

Of Marriage.

AS the Pleasure, Contentment, and real Satisfaction of Life, under a married State, depends principally on the mutual Endeavours of both Parties to do every Thing that may be agreeable and acceptable to each other; and as this Harmony (which every good

good-natur'd Couple would be ſtudious to cultivate and improve) is clouded and diſturbed, whenever the Inclinations of the Huſband and Wife interfere; I think it highly behoves Perſons of all Ranks ſeriouſly to deliberate and weigh the Qualities of thoſe they deſign to ſettle their Affections upon.

I muſt confeſs, I have, as I am of an eaſy Diſpoſition, terrible Apprehenſions of a Scolding Wife; and nothing has more contributed to fix theſe upon me than the Conſiderarion of *Socrates*'s Caſe; as I am not Maſter of ſo much Philoſophy, I ſhould infallibly ſink under the Dominion of ſuch a *Xantippe*; yet the good *Athenian* was ſtrangely infatuated to ſome Charms he found in the Sex, when by taking another called *Myrto*, all the Benefit he had by it, was, to have two Scolds inſtead of one to try his Patience; as long as they diſagreed, they were continually ſcolding, brawling, or fighting with each other; and whenever they agreed, they both joined in brawling at him, and often fell on him with their Fiſts as well as with their Tongues, and beat him ſoundly. Some ſay, this was a very juſt Puniſhment upon him for giving Countenance, by his Practice, to ſo unnatural and miſchievous a Uſage as Polygamy, which the *Athenians* eſtabliſhed by Law, at a Time when their City was exhauſted of its Inhabitants by a great Plague, for the better replenifhing it again. Be that as it will, his Condition was very deplorable.

Now to obviate the Terrors of ſuch Wives, and to encourage our Youths to marry, pray acquaint them, that without matrimonial Preſcriptions we cannot ſuppoſe any ſuch Thing as Families, nor without Families any publick States; ſince therefore the whole Harmony of civil Life is founded on theſe Regulations, it is moſt clear that were Men entirely releaſed from ſuch Bonds, they muſt live in an unſociable ſeparate Condition, little better than brutal.

It was the Doctrine of the antient *Jews*, as we are informed by our great Lawyer Mr. *Selden*, 'That by the Divine Precept, of *Increaſe* and *Multiply*, all their Males were bound to marry before they had completed 20 Years, unleſs on Account of ſome natural Defect, or becauſe they had devoted themſelves to a Life of Chaſtity, and conſtant Study of the Law.' This laſt Circumſtance may give a Handle to our Inns of Court Gentlemen, and Fellows of Colleges. He tells us farther, 'They ſaid this Command extends to all the Poſterity of *Noah*. They added, that he who buried his Wife, without ſeeing a Son and a Daughter, (and theſe as perfect by Nature as their Parents) had not yet fulfilled the Precept. But that in Caſe a Man's Son and Daughter were 'dead, and had left Children of both Sexes, 'the Grandfather was then free. That otherwiſe, upon Defect of Iſſue of either Sex, 'Men were obliged to contract new Marriages, 'ſo long as their Age would give them Leave. 'And therefore, that if a Man had either 'taken a barren Wife, or one that was not 'yet old enough to be a Mother, he did not 'anſwer the Law, unleſs he took another im'mediately capable of Bearing.'

As the firſt Conſideration to a marry'd Man, is to make himſelf eaſy under that Condition, the next Reſult is the Pleaſure of ſupplying the Community with an Increaſe of Members. The Rewards and Encouragement given to Fathers, and the Diſcountenance to ſingle Perſons, are frequently mentioned in Authors. *Lycurgus* enacted a Law, that old Batchelors ſhould be excluded from the ſolemn Sports and Dances of Women; and that in the Winter Seaſon, they ſhould go naked up and down the *Forum*, ſinging a Song in Diſpraiſe of themſelves. How this Practice would ſuit with the modern Celibats, is not difficult to decide. The *Roman* Cenſors ſometimes impoſed a Mulct (called *Uxorium*) upon ſuch as had grown old in a ſingle Life. *Philip Baldæus (de Idol. Ind. Gent. p. 2. c. 3.)* reports of the People of *Benjin*, that they look on it as the baſeſt Reproach to want Children; ſuch a Perſon (they ſay) is not worthy to ſee a Man firſt in the Morning. *Auguſtus* ſolemnly reproved the young *Romans* in the Senate, for leading unmarried Lives; being the ready Way to thin the Republick of Inhabitants, and to deſtroy the regular Succeſſion of Families. The *Jus trium Liberorum* is an Inſtance of the Care both of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, to encourage their Subjects to encreaſe the Number of their Citizens.

I think Learning an unneceſſary Property in a Wife: And whether they have it, or pretend to be Miſtreſſes of it, is equally trouble ſome and vexatious. It may, on the whole Matter, be the ſafer Way not to endeavour to bring that high and philoſophical Strain of Notions into Practice, ſo much eſpouſed by *Milton* and others, of having a Wife ſuitable only to the Genius of a wiſe and learned Huſband; to be the Companion of his Studies, and refreſh him with hot wit, when he comes from ſevere Meditation; but (conſidering the ordinary Temper and Capacity of the Female Sex) to judge her a convenient and proper Partner, who is able to ſuſtain a Share in the Concern in Children, both as to their Birth and Education, and in the Care of directing the Family; altho' ſhe be able to afford little Aſſiſtance in deep Speculations and ſtudious Enquiries. *Juvenal*'s Advice hath ſomething elſe in it beſides Satire; for there he pleaſantly laughs at the learned Women of his

his Time, who falsely pretended to Arts and Sciences, or the Defects of that small Number of Women, who are, or might be truly knowing. However, I give it you in Mr. *Dryden*'s Translation.

Oh, what a midnight course has he, whose side
Is pester'd with a mood and figure bride!
Let mine, ye gods, (if such must be my fate,)
No logick learn, nor history translate;
But rather be a quiet, humble tool;
I hate a wife, to whom I go to school:
Who climbs the grammar-tree distinctly knows
Where noun and verb, and participle grows:
Corrects her country neighbour, and a-bed,
For breaking Priscian's, *breaks her husband's head.*

ERRAT. *P.* 424. *Col.* 2. *L.* 2. *from the Bottom, read* Pretences *to Virility.*

Poetical ESSAYS.

To James Oglethorpe, *Esq; on his late Arrival from* Georgia.

THE zeal that in thy Godlike bosom glows,
The deeds of thy heroic life disclose.
Let *Twickenham*'s bard, in his immortal lays,
Give thee the humble tribute of our praise.
No brighter scene his *Homer* cou'd display,
Than that in thy adventures we survey.
In vain the sun, with his all-chearing light,
Draws back the sable curtains of the night:
A night of darkness, and a gloomy shade,
The drooping sons of want still overspread.
Indulgent providence has thee design'd,
Its blessings to diffuse on human kind.
From thee the happiness of numbers springs,
And plenty o'er them broods with out-stretcht wings:
Products a *British* colony can boast,
For which some foreign climes are envy'd most.
The merchant hence unwrought the silk imports,
To which we owe the blaze of queens, and courts:
Here grows the vine as in its native soil,
To crown our banquets, and reward thy toil.
We own thee great, and in the noblest sense,
The triumphs of thy own benevolence.
Fading are all the laurels of the field,
Compar'd to those which thy campaign does yield.
Savanna does in smooth meanders glide,
And rolls within its banks a silver tide;
No verdant plains of *Georgia* we view
With blood discolour'd, or a purple hue;
But cities founded, and new conquests made,
Without the slain that *Marlbro*'s triumphs shade.
On *heathen* savages thy virtues gain,
And to the gospel their assent obtain:
No miracles they want, but have in thee
A living proof of its divinity.
Thy toungue their feeble arguments disarms,
And, like an angel's, their attention charms.
The wand'ring *emigrant* * may now descry
A land that sacred is to liberty.
He'll bless the men that did this port provide,
And to it safely then the shipwreck'd guide.
With such atchievements 'tis thy generous strife
To fill the small circumference of life:
No pleasures thy superior mind can know,
But what from these, as from their fountains, flow:
Dress, building, equipage, and gaudy state,
Ne'er can a true magnificence create;
But solid piety and ardent love,
Are graces which adorn the saints above.
Thy great example will in story shine,
A fav'rite theme with poet and divine:
Posterity thy merits shall proclaim,
And heap new honours on thy deathless name.

Verses spoke by a young Gentleman at the last Election in *Westminster* Shool.

Raro magnum ingenium in occulto latet.

COntigit obscuram Sacvillum *intrare tabernam,*
Forte ubi volvebat classica scripta puer;
Sordidus aspectu, at mirum cui mentis acumen,
Ardens cui studium, venaq; dives erat.
Non tulit egregias Comes has languescere dotes,
At sumptu excoluit sustinuitq; suo.
Nec pia munificum spes est frustrata patronum.
Namq; puer fuerat sordidus iste Prior.
Scilicet illustris propria est ea gloria gentis
Ingenuum prompta quodq; fovere manu;
Tollere de tenui meritos ita plebe, modestæ
Virtuti placidam ferre lubenter opem.
Mecænas *est quisq; suo* Sacvillus *in ævo,*
Nemo per hunc dignus laude latere potest.
It chanc'd, as *Dorset* pass'd a tavern door,
A drawer boy was turning *Horace* o'er;
Mean was his aspect, but his mind was fair,
His love of learning great, his genius rare.
Well-pleas'd, the Earl discern'd his sprightly sense,
And took, and rear'd him at his own expence.
Nor did th' event his gen'rous hopes destroy,
He found a *Prior* in his tavern boy.
'Twas still the glory of the *Sackville* name,
To lend the ingenious aid, the learned, fame.
The low, the well-deserving low, to raise,
And call forth modest virtue into praise.
Heav'n in each *Sackville* a *Mecænas* gives,
And worth shall flourish while a *Sackville* lives.

MESSIAH

* *The prosecuted Protestants of* Saltzburgh *so called.*

MESSIAH: A sacred Eclogue. In Imitation of *Virgil*'s *Pollio*. Extracted from Mr. *Pope*'s Poems.

YE nymphs of Solyma! *begin the song:*
To heav'nly themes sublimer strains belong.
The mossy fountains, and the sylvan shades,
The dreams of Pindus, *and th'* Aonian *maids,*
Delight no more.——O thou, *my voice inspire,*
Who touch'd Isaiah's *hallow'd lips with fire!*
Rapt into future times, the bard begun,
A virgin *shall conceive, a* virgin *bear a* son!
From Jesse's root *behold a* branch *arise,*
Whose sacred flow'r *with* fragrance *fills the skies.*
Th' eternal spirit *o'er its* leaves *shall move,*
And on its top descends the mystick dove.
Ye heavens! from high the dewy nectar *pour,*
And in soft silence *shed the kindly* show'r!
The sick *and* weak *the* healing plant *shall aid,*
From storms *a* shelter, *and from* heat *a* shade.
All crimes *shall cease, and ancient* fraud *shall fail,*
Returning justice *lift aloft her scale;*
Peace *o'er the world her olive wand extend,*
And white rob'd innocence *from heav'n descend.*
Swift fly the years, and rise th' expected morn!
Oh! spring to light! auspicious babe, *be born!*
See nature hastes her earliest wreaths *to bring,*
With all the Incense *of the breathing* spring!
See lofty Lebanon *his head advance!*
See nodding forests on the mountains dance!
See spicy clouds from lowly Saron *rise,*
And Carmel's *flow'ry top perfumes the skies!*
Hark! a glad voice the lonely desart cheers,
Prepare the way! A God, a God appears!
A God, a God, *the vocal hills reply,*
The rocks proclaim th' approaching deity.
Lo! earth *receives him from the* bending skies!
Sink down, ye mountains; *and ye* vallies *rise!*
With heads declin'd, ye cedars, *homage pay!*
Be smooth, ye rocks; *ye rapid* floods *give way!*
The Saviour *comes, by ancient bards foretold;*
Hear *him* ye deaf, *and all ye* blind, behold!
He from thick films *shall purge the* visual ray,
And on the sightless eye-ball *pour the* day:
'Tis he th' obstructed paths of sound *shall clear,*
And bid new musick charm th' unfolding ear:
The dumb *shall* sing, *the* lame *his* crutch *forego,*
And leap exulting like the bounding roe.
No sigh, *no* murmur, *the wide world shall hear,*
From ev'ry face *he wipes off ev'ry* tear:
In adamantine chains shall death *be bound,*
And hell's *grim tyrant feel th' eternal wound.*
As the good shepherd *tends his fleecy care,*
Seeks freshest *pasture, and the* purest *air,*
Explores the lost, *the* wand'ring *sheep directs,*
By day o'ersees them, and by night *protects;*
The tender lambs *he raises in his* arms,
Feeds from his hand, *and in his* bosom *warms;*
Thus shall mankind his guardian care engage,
The promis'd father *of the future age.*
No more shall nation *against* nation *rise,*
Or ardent warriors meet with hateful eyes,
Or fields *with* gleaming steel *be cover'd o'er,*
The brazen trumpets *kindle rage no more;*
But useless lances *into* scythes *shall bend,*
And the broad faulchion *in a* plough-share *end.*
Then palaces *shall rise; the joyful* son
Shall finish what the short-liv'd sire *begun;*
Their vines *a shadow to their race shall yield,*
And the same *hand that* sow'd, *shall* reap *the field.*
The swain *in barren* deserts *with surprize*
Sees lillies *spring, and sudden* verdure *rise,*
And starts, amidst the thirsty *wilds to hear*
New falls *of* water *murm'ring in his ear.*
On rifted rocks, *the* Dragon's *late abodes,*
The green reed *trembles, and the* bulrush *nods.*
Whilst sandy vallies, *once perplex'd with* thorn,
The spicy fir *and* shapely box *adorn;*
To leafless shrubs *the* flow'ring palms *succeed,*
And od'rous myrtle *to the noisome* weed.
The lambs *with* wolves *shall graze the verdant* mead,
And boys *in flow'ry bands the* tyger *lead:*
The steer *and* lyon *at one* crib *shall meet,*
And harmless serpents *lick the* pilgrim's *feet.*
The smiling infant *in his hand shall take*
The crested basilisk, *and speckled* snake,
Pleas'd the green lustre of the scales *survey,*
And with their forky tongue *and pointless* sting *shall play.*
Rise, crown'd with light, imperial Salem *rise,*
Exalt thy tow'ry head, *and lift thy eyes!*
See a long race *thy spacious courts adorn;*
See future sons and daughters yet unborn,
In crowding ranks on ev'ry side arise,
Demanding life, *impatient for the* skies!
See barb'rous nations *at thy gates attend,*
Walk in thy light, *and in thy temple bend!*
See thy bright altars *throng'd with prostrate* kings,
And heap'd with products of Sabæan *springs!*
For thee Idume's *spicy* forests *blow,*
And seeds of gold *in* Ophir's *mountains glow!*
See heav'n its sparkling portals *wide display,*
And break upon thee in a flood of day!
No more the rising sun *shall gild the* morn,
Nor ev'ning Cynthia *fill her silver* horn,
But lost, dissolv'd in thy superior rays,
One tide *of* glory, *one* unclouded blaze
O'erflow thy courts: the Light *himself shall shine*
Reveal'd, and God's eternal day *be* thine!
The seas shall waste, the skies in smoke decay,
Rocks *fall to dust, and* mountains *melt away;*
But fix'd his word, *his saving* pow'r *remains;*
Thy realm *for ever lasts; thy own* Messiah *reigns!*

CONTENTMENT.

By the late Dean *Parnell.*

LOVELY, *lasting* Peace of mind,
Sweet delight of human kind,
Heavenly born, and bred on high,
To crown the favourites of the sky
With more of happiness below,
Than victors in triumph know;

Whither, O whither art thou fled
To lay thy meek contented head?
What happy region doſt thou pleaſe
To make the ſeat of calms and eaſe.
Ambition *ſearches all its ſphere*
Of pomp and ſtate, to find thee *there*;
Encreaſing avarice *wou'd find*
Thy preſence in its gold enſhrin'd;
The bold advent'rer *ploughs his way,*
Through rocks amidſt the foaming ſea,
To gain thy love, and then perceives,
Thou wert not in the ſeas and waves;
The ſilent heart, *whom grief aſſails,*
Treads ſoft and loneſome o'er the vales;
Sees daiſies open, rivers run,
And ſeeks (as I have vainly done)
Amuſing thought; *but learns to know,*
That ſolitude's *a nurſe of woe.*
No real happineſs is found,
In trailing purple o'er the ground;
Or in a ſoul exalted high,
To range the circuit of the ſky,
Converſe with ſtars above, and know
All nature in its forms below;
The reſt it ſeeks, in ſeeking dies,
And doubts at laſt for knowledge riſe.
Lovely, laſting Peace *appear!*
This world itſelf, if thou art here,
Is once again with Eden *bleſt,*
And man contains it in his breaſt.
'*Twas thus, as under ſhade I ſtood,*
I ſung my wiſhes to the wood;
And loſt in thought, no more perceiv'd
The branches whiſper as they wav'd;
It ſeem'd as if the quiet place
Confeſs'd the preſence of the Grace;
When thus ſhe ſpoke——Go rule thy will,
Bid thy wild paſſions all be ſtill,
Know *God*——and bring thy heart to know
The joys which from *religion* flow;
Then every *grace* ſhall prove its gueſt,
And I'll be there to crown the reſt.
Oh! by yonder moſſy ſeat,
In my hours of ſweet retreat,
Might I thus my ſoul employ,
With thoughts of gratitude and joy,
Rais'd as antient prophets were,
In heavenly viſion, praiſe and prayer;
Pleaſing all men, hurting none,
Pleas'd, and bleſs'd with God alone.
Then while the gardens take my ſight
With all the colours of delight,
While ſilver waters glide along,
To pleaſe my ear, and court my ſong,
I'll liſt my voice, and tune my ſtring,
And Thee, *great* ſource *of* nature, *ſing.*
The ſun that walks his airy way,
To light the world and give the day,
The moon that ſhines with borrow'd light,
The ſtars that gild the gloomy night,
The ſeas that roll unnumber'd waves,
The wood that ſpreads its ſhady leaves,
The field whoſe ears conceal the grain,
The yellow treaſure of the plain,
All of theſe, and all I ſee,
Wou'd be ſung, and ſung by me;
They ſpeak their Maker *as they can,*
But want and aſk the tongue of man.
Go, ſearch among your idle *dreams,*
Your buſy *or your* vain *extreams,*
And find a life of equal bliſs;
Or own the next *begun in* this.

Ode *on the Marriage of the Duke of* Portland, *and Lady* Margaret Harley. (*See p.* 386.)

LEADER *of the nuptial band,*
Hither, Hymen, *quickly move*;
In thy porch the lovers ſtand,
Full of wiſhes, full of love:
Hymen, Hymen, *haſte away,*
Join their hands, nor let 'em ſtay.
Harley *fair by* Portland *led,*
She ſole child of learning's friend,
He in ſchool of honour bred,
Panting at thy gates attend:
Hymen, Hymen, *&c.*
Lo the portals open wide,
To receive the welcome gueſt;
Happy bridegroom, happy bride!
Bleſſing, in each other bleſs'd!
Guard them, *Hymen,* and ſecure
Pleaſures which may long endure.
Never, never may they riſe,
But to meet a cheerful day,
May the minutes to their eyes,
Seem to fly too faſt away.
Guard them, *Hymen,* &c.
Ever ſtrangers to their bed,
Be reproach and wakeful care;
When the veil of night is ſpread,
Let content be poſted there.
Guard them, *Hymen,* &c.
Fair and many be their days,
Many be their joys and free:
Such as may not ſoil their praiſe;
Virtue may not bluſh to ſee.
Guard them, *Hymen,* &c.
On a brave and lovely race
May the tender parents ſmile;
Where we may their lineage trace,
Ornaments of Britain's *iſle.*
Guard them, *Hymen,* &c.
May (the height of all deſire!),
When this ſcene of life is o'er
Both without a pain retire,
Where the virtuous went before.
Hymen, Hymen, yield the pair
To the pow'r that made 'em fair.

On the *Poet Laureat's* Arrival at *Scarborough*, to drink the *Waters*. By a Gentleman of *Oxford*.

FROM Helicon *the bards of old have ſung*
That firſt the tuneful train of poets *ſprung*
That from that well *they drank* capacious *bowls,*
Full *as their* fancy, large *as were their* ſouls;
That thence in epic, *or in ſoaring* odes,
Inſpir'd, they trod on ſtars, *and talk'd with* gods:

—*Knowing how* poor *their* liquor, *and how*
We think it is poetic fiction *all.* [ſmall,

But when the laurell'd bard *of* Britain's *king*
Year after year reviſits Scarb'rough's *ſpring*;
Drinks deep his draught, and purges well his brains,
And from inſpiring water *tunes his ſtrains*;
When hence his odes in flights ſublimely ſoar,
Such odes!——*as* poet *never wrote before*;——
Thy happier water, Scarb'rough, *we admire,*
Which can our laureat *with ſuch ſtrains inſpire*;
And bid the fabling bards *no more to tell*
Of Helicon *or* Aganippe's *well*:
Mad, they a fancy'd *inſpiration knew,*
But all own Colley's *inſpiration true,*
For he his own outdoings *can* outdo.
His ſecond *birth-day ode the* firſt *ſurpaſt,*
And his next *ode ſhall ſtill* outdo *his* laſt.

Then, O ye mad romantic poets, *own,*
That Scarborough *excells your* Helicon;
Of which tho' Homer *drank, he ſometimes* nods,
And ſlumbers uninſpir'd among his gods;
But C—bb—r *juſtly can this* honour *claim,*
That he through ev'ry *ode is all the* ſame.

Ned Wealthy's laſt Will and Teſtament. By the Author of the *Eſſex* Lady. (See p. 382.)

SInce all men muſt
Return to duſt,
From which they firſt did
I give my gear, [ſpring:
From debts quite clear
In manner following.

But loſt hot broils,
And endleſs toils,
But my effects ariſe;
Half to my Sue,
Half to my Prue,
I frankly here deviſe.

My thrice ſoal'd ſhoes,
My Sunday *boſe,*
A jacket made of leather;
An old ſtraw bed,
That ſerv'd poor Ned,
In boiſterous ſtormy weather.

A pottage pot
My grannum bought
Of Dillom *of neighbour* Stitch;
A great-arm'd chair,
So ſtuft with hair,
You'd ſwear a lady's breech.

My crop-ear'd dog,
My bob-tail'd bog,
A pound of black ſheep's wool;
An ax and ſaw,
An old jackdaw,
A crazy three-leg'd ſtool.

A trundle mop,
A mutton chop, [gin;
A quart of Holland's
Two candleſticks,
A bunch of leeks,
A piſpot made of tin.

Some pitch and tar,
An earthen jar,
A milk pail, ſcive and platter;
Two birchen brooms
To ſweep your rooms;
An antient nutmeg-grater.

A knife and fork,
Some pickled pork,
Would tempt a very Jew;
All theſe I leave,
And frankly give
Unto my daughter Sue.

The Fairy Tales,
Some horſe-ſhoe nails,
The book of Common Prayer;
A leathern bag,
A leaky cag, [beer.
Two quarts of dead ſmall

Some purging pills
To cure kibe-heels,
And 'gainſt ſore toes to arm you;
Some rotten wood,
That's very good, [you.
In winter time to warm

A chriſt'ning can,
A cloſeſtool pan,
A cupboard, cock and cradle,
An oaken ſtaff,
A lowſy calf, [ladle.
A long ſword, lock, and
Your mother's ring,
That curſed thing,
Which ruin'd me long
Beſides the reſt, [ſince,
I gave the prieſt,
It coſt me eighteen pence.
A rotten cheeſe,
A pint of peaſe,
An old grey mare with one eye;
Some barley bread,
Some muſtard ſeed,

And ſixteen pence in money.
Now to conclude,
As I've beſtow'd
My whole eſtate among you,
Pray, daughters dear,
Always take care
Your neighbours never wrong you.
Be therefore kind,
And of one mind,
In nought but goodneſs vie;
Regard, your dad
Spoke this when bad,
And juſt about to die.

E. C.

Wrote on a Window in the Long Room at Scarborough, *by the* Poet Laureat.

*DOLCIA and † *Darcia,* when in dance they move,
You aſk me, Madam, which I moſt approve?
The lively *this,* the graceful *that* exerts,
The weakeſt ſtrong enough to ſeize our hearts.
Themſelves, like friends, their rival talents ſee;
And both to yield the preference agree.
In taſte we're guided, not by truth; but ſince
Compariſon's too apt to give offence,
'Tis hardly ſafe to ſplit the difference.
Yet truth may ſay, and 'tis a wrong to neither,
We're beſt delighted when they're both together.

Wrote underneath by another Hand.

'How happy cou'd I be with either,
'Were t'other dear charmer away:
Thus rightly 'twas expreſs'd by honeſt *Gay*:
But *Cibber,* loath ſuch beauteous forms to ſever,
Has wiſely choſe to ſtitch them both together.

* *Miſs* Fanny Dalſton. † *Miſs* Darcy.

Silvia's *Recovery.*

RESTLESS and ſick poor *Silvia* lay,
In darken'd room confin'd;
And thought the melancholy hours
Lagg'd lazily behind.

Long were the nights; nurſe very dull;
Her phyſick had no force:
The couch was queer; the chairs were bad,
The bed was ten times worſe.

To her a ſecond *Ratcliff* comes:
Madam, how is't to-day?
Oh! bad: Oh! very bad indeed:
This pain won't go away.

He ſtands at window full of thought,
Juſt like a pigg at piſs.
Says he, your cure is in my hands,
If you can ſolve me this.

A noted perſon's paſſing by,
Who's known the city round:
The moment that you gueſs his name,
Your certain cure is found.

Then ſickly *Silvia* rais'd her head,
In hopes of having eaſe;
And with a look and voice moſt ſweet,
I'll try, Sir, if you pleaſe.

Is't my lord mayor, or 'ſquire *Catch*;
Or one of the ale-conners?
Sheriffs, recorder, chamberlain,
Or any of their honours?

Is't *Caleb Danvers*, or is't *Fog*;
Or *Walſingham* in chariot?
Or lady *Oſborne* through the ſtreets
Faſt trudging from her garret?

Is't doctor *Hyp*, or *Rock*, or *Moore*,
The penny-poſt, or ſo?
At which the doctor look'd moſt wiſe,
And gravely anſwer'd, no.

Then *Silvia* with ſoft piteous tone,
I'm tir'd upon my word, man;
Nor have I any hopes of eaſe,
Except it be *Tom T—d-man*.

That's he! that's he! the doctor cry'd:
At which her ſides ſhe ſhook,
With laughter loud ſo heartily,
That her impoſthume broke.

The doctor pleas'd, and *Silvia* eas'd,
Both beg that *C---ll---y Bays*,
For this great cure ſo quickly wrought,
Will ſing *Tom T---d-man*'s praiſe.

A Poem by Sir W. Raleigh.

SHALL I, like an hermit, dwell
On a rock, or in a cell,
Calling home the ſmalleſt part,
That is miſſing of my heart,
To beſtow it, where I may
Meet a rival ev'ry day?
If ſhe undervalue me;
What care I how fair ſhe be?

Were her treſſes angel gold;
If a ſtranger may be bold,
Unrebuked, unafraid,
To convert them to a brayde,
And, with little more a-do,
Work them into bracelets too;
If the mine be grown ſo free;
What care I how rich it be?

Were her hand as rich a prize
As her hairs, or precious eyes;
If ſhe lay them out to take
Kiſſes for good manners ſake;
And let every lover ſkip
From her hand unto her lip;
If ſhe ſeem not chaſte to me;
What care I how chaſte ſhe be?

No; ſhe muſt be perfect ſnow,
In effect as well as ſhow,
Warming but as ſnow-balls do,
Not like fire by burning too;
But when ſhe, by change, hath got
To her heart a ſecond lot;
Then, if others ſhare with me,
Farewel her, what e'er ſhe be!

A Poem occaſioned by the foregoing.

Incerti Auctoris.

PAINT, paint no more, no longer blot
Nor chequer ſo thy face with ſpots,
That I muſt view thee as men ſtrive
To ſee eclipſes, through a ſieve:
Be thou but pleaſing unto me;
What care I what elſe thou be?

Be thou fatter than an hog,
A butcher's doublet, or his dog;
Be thy cheeks butter, thy noſe greaſe;
May we make brewis on thy face;
Yet if thou do not melt to me;
What care I how fat thou be?

Be thy noſe like fiery coals,
Or a grater full of holes;
Let it turn up, or elſe hook in,
And ſo be claſp'd unto thy chin;
Yet, if it turn not unto me;
What care I how crook'd it be?

Though reading thou muſt look ſo cloſe,
As thou wert reading with thy noſe;
From thine eyes let filth run more,
Than a broke boil, or plaguy ſore;
Yet, if they do not look on me;
What care I how foul they be?

Canſt thou out-ſcold a butter wench,
Or a freſh lawyer at the bench?
Canſt thou the noiſe of thunder drown,
Sour all the beer about the town?
Yet, if thou wilt not ſpeak to me;
What care I how loud thou be?

Be thy mouth like jaws of death,
That they who kiſs, muſt kiſs thy teeth,
And hold by th' handle of thy chin,
Leſt their foot ſlip, and they fall in;
Yet, if thou wilt not gape on me;
What care I how broad it be?

Smells thy breath like nurſe's clout,
Or a candle newly cut,
Or ſo that men miſtake the place,
And untruſs coming near thy face;
Yet, if it ſmell not ſo to me;
What care I how ſtrong it be?

Women, like paper, whilſt they are white,
Are fit for ev'ry man to write.
I'd have a miſtreſs, ſuch an one,
I might be ſure ſhe was mine own.
Be thou then but ſuch to me;
What care I what elſe thou be.

To Mr. Ellis, *upon his intending to draw the Picture of Miſs* Atherton.

1.

FOND fellow-labourer, attend;
And, warn'd by me, be timely wiſe:
Forget the rival in the friend;
And hear a ſiſter-art adviſe.

2.

If, emulous of *Grecian* fame,
You would your pencil's force approve,
Warm'd by ambition's glorious flame,
And proof to the aſſaults of love;

3.

Well haſt thou choſe, and juſtly ſought
The ſweeteſt, ſureſt means, to raiſe
Thy art: who, from example taught,
By beauty's aid aſpir'ſt to praiſe.

4.

When * *Zeuxis* would a wonder paint,
Exploring fancy's utmoſt reach;
He found the images too faint,
And from the life improv'd the ſketch;

5.

Selecting from the virgin train,
Each captivating charm he took:
From one the mien of *Delorain*;
And one ſupply'd *Dorinda*'s look.

6.

What could he more, who could in none
Perfection, which he aim'd at, ſee?
For, to behold an *Atherton*,
Thy kinder fates reſerv'd for thee.

7.

Yet, blended by the maſter's ſkill,
The varying charms with nice accord
The promiſe of his art fulfil,
A *Helen* to the world reſtor'd.

8.

Thy mind if like ambition fire,
Thou too with like ſucceſs be bleſt!
But if fond love, with vain deſire
To win the fair, torment thy breaſt;

9.

Deſiſt, raſh youth! and by the doom
Of my fond unavailing ſtrain,
Learn, that the matchleſs beauty, whom
No art can flatter, none can gain.

10.

Unheeded by the nymph divine,
Like *Echo* I renew my lays:
And thou, unhappy friend, ſhalt pine,
Narciſſus like in fruitleſs gaze.

11.

So ſhall the world with me complain,
That doubly you our hopes abuſe:
That where we thought we might obtain
A *Helen*, we a *Zeuxis* loſe.

* *A famous* Grecian *Painter.*

EPIGRAM.

1.

TOM ever jovial, ever gay,
To appetite a ſlave,
Still whores and drinks his life away,
And laughs to ſee me grave.

2.

'Tis thus that we two diſagree,
So different is our whim:
The fellow fondly laughs at me;
And I could cry for him.

Cupid, *a* Truant, *found out.*

YE nymphs of *Scarborough*, if, as ye ſtray,
Ye find the froth-born * goddeſs of the ſea,
All blubber'd, pale, and crying ſhe's undone,
Seeking the little *vagabond* † her ſon;
Ah kindly bid her give her ſorrows o'er,
For to redeem him now is in her pow'r;
If ought to him that finds him ſhe'll impart,
Tell her the rover lodges in my heart.

* *Venus.* † *Cupid.*

On a Flower, *which fell from Miſs* D--rc--'s *Boſom in the Long Room at* Scarborough.

SWEET *flow'r*, whence is this *hue*,
Which does all hues excel?
Whence all this *grace* in you?
Whence all this *fragrant ſmell?*

You grew in *Pæſtan*'s field,
Where nature's bounties meet: ——
—— But *nature* ne'er cou'd yield
A *flower* yet ſo *ſweet.*

O has the *queen* of *love*,
While her *Adonis* bled,
With blood to dye you ſtrove,
Which gives this lovely *red?*

No—No—Thou *happy flow'r*,
The nobler cauſe I've miſt;
On *D--rc--*'s *breaſt you* bore,
And *D--rc--*'s *lips* you kiſt.

Verſes *to a young Lady, on her loſing a ſmall Ruby Heart from her Ring.*

CAN trifles ſo much cauſeleſs grief beſtow,
And you with ſcorn behold my ſolid woe?
Shall a ſmall heart, by human hands impreſt,
Create more mighty ſorrow in your breaſt,
Than this afflicted, bleeding heart of mine,
Tho' faſhion'd by an architect divine?
O lovely maid, ſuch trivial ills no more
With this abſurd and ill-plac'd grief deplore;
But caſt on him your kind, relenting eyes,
Who, for your fatal charms, in ſecret, ſighs:
To eaſe my anguiſh, and allay my ſmart,
Return me mine,--or in exchange, your heart.

N. B. *The* Hymn to God, *which we were deſir'd to inſert, may be found in our* Magazine *for* April *laſt, page* 212. *And Mr.* Savage's Verſes to a young Lady, *in our* Magazine *for* Auguſt, 1733, *page* 418.

The

The GENTLEMAN's *Monthly Intelligencer.*

AUGUST, 1734.

THREE Men received Sentence of Death at the Assizes at *Hertford*, one for House-breaking, and two for Horse-stealing. Two Men were condemn'd at *New-Sarum*, at the Assizes there for the County of *Wilts*; one for House-breaking, and the other for robbing on the High-way: And at *Chelmsford* Assizes for the County of *Essex*, one was condemned for robbing his Master of 4l. in Money, and another for a Robbery on the High-way. Many of the Assizes prov'd maiden ones, *i. e.* none were capitally convicted.

THURSDAY, Aug. 1.

This Day at One o'Clock, Sir *Clement Cotterel*, attended by three of his Majesty's Coaches with six Horses each, came to the Trustees Office for *Georgia* in *Old Palace Yard*, and proceeded from thence with the *Indian* King, Queen, and Chiefs, and the Interpreter, to *Kensington* Palace, where his Majesty received them, seated on his Throne, in the Presence Chamber; and *Tomo Chachi*, Micho or King of *Yamacraw*, made the following Speech.

'This Day I see the Majesty of your 'Face, the Greatness of your House, and 'the Number of your People. I am come 'for the Good of the whole Nation called 'the *Creeks*, to renew the Peace which long 'ago they had with the *English*. I am 'come over in my old Days; tho' I cannot 'live to see any Advantage to myself, I am 'come for the Good of the Children of all 'the Nations of the Upper and of the Lower 'Creeks, that they may be instructed in the 'Knowledge of the *English*.

'These are the Feathers of the Eagle, 'which is the swiftest of Birds, and who 'flieth all round our Nations: These Fea-'thers are a Sign of Peace in our Land, and 'have been carried from Town to Town 'there, and we have brought them over to 'leave with you, O Great King, as a Sign 'of everlasting Peace.

'O Great King, whatsoever Words you 'shall say unto me, I will tell them faith-'fully to all the Kings of the *Creek* Na-'tions.'

To which his Majesty gave this Answer.

'I am glad of this Opportunity of assuring 'you of my Regard for the People from 'whom you come, and am extreamly well 'pleased with the Assurances you have 'brought me from them, and accept very 'graciously this Present, as an Indication of 'their good Disposition to me and my Peo-'ple. I shall always be ready to cultivate a 'good Correspondence between them and my 'own Subjects, and shall be glad of any Oc-'casion to shew you a Mark of my particu-'lar Friendship and Esteem.

They were afterwards introduced to her Majesty, to whom *Tomo Chachi* made the following Speech.

'I am glad to see this Day, and the Op-'portunity of seeing the Mother of this 'great People.

'As our People are join'd with your Ma-'jesty's, we do humbly hope to find you the 'common Mother and Protectress of us and 'all our Children.'

To which her Majesty return'd a most gracious Answer.

They were very importunate to appear at Court in the Manner they go in their own Country, which is only with a proper Covering round their Waist, all the rest of their Body being naked; but Mr. *Oglethorpe*, whom they reverence as their Father, recommending to them the Dress they have at present, they declined any farther Solicitations. Their Faces were painted in a surprizing Manner, some half black, others triangular, and others with bearded Arrows instead of Whiskers. *Tomo Chachi* the Chief, and *Senauki* his Wife, had on Scarlet Garments adorn'd with Furr and Gold Lace, two others were in Blue, and three more in Yellow, with Furr; all of them wore their own *Indian* Shoes and Boots, and had their Heads dress'd with Feathers. (See p. 384.)

FRIDAY, 2.

This Night died, at his Apartments in the *Little Ambrey*, *Westminster*, one of the *Indian* Chiefs, Brother to the Queen. The particular Manner of burying him in the Burying Ground of St. *John* the Evangelist in the *Horse Ferry* Road, according to the Custom of the Kings and Inhabitants of *Karaba Creeks* was as follows, *viz.* The Deceased being sew'd up in two Blankets with one Deal Board under and another over him, and tied down with a Cord, was placed upon a Bier, and carried to the Place of Interment; there were only present at the Time of his being put into the Grave, the Emperor *Tomo*, some of his Domesticks, the Upper Church-Warden of the Parish, and the Gravo-

Grave-Digger. When the Corpſe was laid in the Earth, without any Rites or Ceremony, the Cloaths of the Deceaſed were thrown into the Grave; after this a Quantity of Glaſs Beads were caſt in, and then ſome Pieces of Silver: For the Cuſtom of thoſe *Indians* is to bury all their Effects with them.

SATURDAY, 3.

This Night the Maſter of an Alehouſe in *Roſemary Lane* near *Goodman's Fields*, and three other Perſons, were taken up on an Information of inliſting Men for foreign Service: They reſiſted the Officers who came to apprehend them near two Hours, in which Time ſeveral of their Aſſociates eſcaped.

SUNDAY, 4.

His Majeſty's Fleet, conſiſting of 21 Men of War and three Fire-Ships, under the Command of Sir *John Norris*, Sir *George Walton*, and Rear-Admiral *Haddock*, ſailed from the *Downs* for *Spithead*,

MONDAY, 5.

His Excellency Baron *Stark*, Miniſter from the Duke of *Holſtein Gottorp* at this Court, preſented her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs *Amelia* a Gold Snuff-Box curiouſly chaſed, having within Side the Picture of his Highneſs enameled, ſet round with curious Diamonds of great Value.

His Majeſty has ſigned a Licenſe, giving Leave to any of his Subjects to lend the Emperor the Sum of 300,000l. at 6 *per Cent.* on the Security of the Silver Mines in *Siberia*.

TUESDAY, 13.

Both Houſes of Parliament met at *Weſtminſter*, purſuant to his Majeſty's late Proclamation; and were further prorogued to the 7th of *September*.

At the Aſſizes at *Horſham* in *Suſſex*, a Villain who committed a barbarous Murder on *Richard Miles* (who kept a little Ale-houſe near *Ditchelling-Common*) by cutting his Throat with a Hook Knife from Ear to Ear, in the Stable, as he was cleaning his Horſe, and afterwards murdered his Wife, who was ſick in Bed, and alſo his Maid Servant, was capitally convicted, and received Sentence of Death; and was ordered to be hung in Chains on *Ditchelling-Common*, facing the Houſe where he committed the ſaid Murder.

At the Aſſizes at *Derby*, about this Time, a Man receiv'd Sentence of Death for the Murder of his Wife; three Men at *Nor-*, for robbing on the Highway; two at *Stafford*, for Burglary; two at *Maidſtone*, viz. for Horſe-ſtealing, and the other for the Murder of Mr. *Bilſon*, at *Lewiſham* in *Kent*.

An Eagle, the largeſt that has been ſeen in this Land, was taken by a Taylor, on a Gate at *Carleton* in *Kent*; its Wings, when extended, were 3 Yards and 8 Inches in Length, between Feather and Feather; but being claimed by Sir —— *Langborn*, as his Right, being Lord of the Manor, it was delivered to him. This News being brought to Town, one of the King's Falconers was ſent to demand it, as being a Royal Bird, and he brought it with him to *Kenſington*.

SATURDAY, 17.

The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* ſent his Barge to wait on *Tomo Chachi*, Micho or King of *Yamacraw*, and the reſt of the *Indians*; in which they went to *Putney*, being engag'd to dine at Lady *Dutry*'s, where they were entertain'd in a very handſome Manner. *Tomo Chachi* made a Compliment to Lady *Dutry* on his taking Leave of her, in which he ſaid, could he but ſpeak *Engliſh* he could tell her the Thoughts of his Heart, and how ſenſibly he was touch'd with the noble Reception ſhe had given him; and was much more pleaſed with being able to ſee and thank her, for having aſſiſted in ſending the White People to *Georgia*.

They next waited on his Grace the Archbiſhop at *Lambeth*, who received them with the utmoſt Kindneſs, and expreſs'd his Fatherly Concern for the Ignorance they were in with Reſpect to Chriſtianity, his ſtrong Deſire for their Inſtruction, and great Satisfaction at the Probability of the Door being now opened towards it. His Grace notwithſtanding his preſent Weakneſs, would ſtand up; the Micho perceiving it to be uneaſy to him, inſiſted upon his ſitting down, which his Grace excuſing, the Micho omitted ſpeaking what he intended, and only deſired his Grace's Bleſſing, acquainting him, that what he had further to ſay he would ſpeak to the Rev. Dr. *Lynch*, his Grace's Son-in-Law, and then withdrew. He had a Conference with the Rev. Dr. *Lynch*, and expreſs'd his great Satisfaction at the venerable Appearance of his Grace, and the Tenderneſs he expreſs'd towards him. After the Micho return'd, he ſhew'd great Joy, believing ſome good Perſons would be ſent to them to inſtruct their Youth.

The Aſſizes ended at *Kingſton upon Thames*, when two Perſons, *viz.* *John Bullney*, and *Edward Taylor*, being convicted of Houſe-breaking, received Sentence of Death. *Perkins* the Gardiner was tried for the Murder of his Wife, (See p. 326.) and *James Williman* for the Murder of one *Bridges* in a Boxing-match, and were found guilty of *Manſlaughter*. The *Bridewell* Boys were arraign'd for creating a Riot at the late Election of the Borough of *Southwark*, but Nobody appearing againſt them, they were acquitted. One of the Electors of the ſaid Borough was proſecuted by *William Sheppard*, Eſq; upon the Act of Parliament againſt Bribery and Corruption: This was the firſt Tryal on the Act; it laſted ſeveral Hours, and the Jury were out from Morning till Evening, when they found for the Defendant.

There has been coined at the *Tower*, ſince his

his Majesty's Accession, of Gold 43940 Pound Weight, which at 44l. 10s. *per* Pound Weight, makes in Tale 1955330l. Sterling; of Silver 8742 Pound Weight, which at 3l. 2s. *per* Pound Weight, makes in Tale 27100l. 4s.

TUESDAY, 20.

The Assizes ended at *Worcester*, when the four following receiv'd Sentence of *Death*, viz. *Robert Marie*, *George Crockatt*, and *Alexander Campbell*, for the Murder of *Robert Peel*; and *Thomas Crawfoot* for House-breaking.

SATURDAY, 24.

James Jacob Davies alias *Harris*, condemn'd at the last Assizes at *Horsham*, was executed on a Gibbet at *Ditchelling Common* in *Sussex*, for the Murder of *Richard Miles*, his Wife, and Servant Maid. He was afterwards hang'd in Chains on the said Gibbet.

MARRIAGES.

HER Grace the Dutchess Dowager of *Norfolk*, married to *Peregrine Widdrington*, Esq;

Gilbert Digby, of *Henfield* in *Hampshire*, Esq; to Miss *Sophia Allen*, Daughter of *George Allen*, Esq;

——*Chicbly*, Esq; Secretary to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, to Mrs. *Brightwell*, one of the Daughters of —— *Brightwell*, of *Papworth* in *Berkshire*, Esq; a 15,000l. Fortune.

The Hon. and Rev. *William Carmichael*, LL. D. second Son to the Earl of *Hyndford*, to Mrs. *Godscball*.

John Bird, Esq; to Miss *Murphew* of St. *Alban's*.

Richard Heath, Esq; to Miss *Nicholls*, Daughter of —— *Nicholls*, Esq; of *Spring-Gardens* near *Charing-Cross*.

Arthur Garbart of *Tedworth* in *Huntingtonshire*, Esq; to Miss *Rudbery* of *Petersham* in *Surrey*.

James Gordon of *Aberdeenshire*, Esq; a near Relation to the Duke of *Gordon*, to Miss *Heron*, Daughter of *Patrick Heron*, Esq; Member of Parliament for the Stewartry of *Kirkudbright*.

George Lynn of *Northamptonshire*, Esq; to Miss *Anne Bellamy*, eldest Daughter of Sir *Edward Bellamy*, Knt. and Alderman of this City.

Nicholas Glynn, of *Cornwall*, Esq; to Miss *Nicholls*, a 30,000l. Fortune.

DEATHS.

LADY *Downing*, Wife of Sir *George Downing*, Knt. of the *Bath*, and Bart.

At *Reading* in *Berks*, *Frederick Waller*, Esq; one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the said County.

Col. *Bland*, formerly Aid de Camp to the Duke of *Marlborough*, and Col. of a Company under him, in the first Regiment of Foot Guards.

The Lady of General *Diemar*, Minister from the Landgrave of *Hesse-Cassel*.

At *Scarborough*, *Thomas Cook Hughes*, Esq; In 1684, he changed his Name from Cook to *Hughes*, by Act of Parliament, on Account of a large Estate left him by Mr. *Hughes* of *Sprouston* in the County of *York*.

General *Hopky*, a Gentleman of foreign Extraction, who has made a considerable Figure in this Court.

Sir *David Nairne*, Knt. Secretary to the most antient and noble Order of the Thistle.

The Lord *Forbes* (a Youth) one of the Peers of *Scotland*.

The Lady of Governor *Boon*, formerly Governor of *Bombay*.

Rev. Mr. *John Francis*, Head-Master of the King's School at *Canterbury*, and Rector of *Harbledown* in *Kent*.

Robert Shorting, Esq; late Commander of his Majesty's Ship the *Deal Castle*.

Anne, Countess Dowager of *Cromerty*.

On the 10th in the Morning died, in the 71st Year of his Age, at his Palace at *Chester*, after a short Illness, the Right Rev. Father in God *Richard Willis*, Lord Bishop of *Winchester*, Prelate of the most Noble Order of the Garter, Clerk of the Closet to his Majesty, and one of the Commissioners for building fifty new Churches. He was made Dean of *Lincoln* by King *William*: Was consecrated Bishop of *Gloucester* in the first Year of his late Majesty, in the room of Dr. *Fowler*; on the 21st of *Nov.* 1721, he was translated to the See of *Salisbury*, in the room of Dr. *Talbot*, who was promoted to that of *Durham*, and on the 21st of *Sept.* 1723. he was translated from *Salisbury* to *Winchester*, in the room of the late Dr. *Trimnel*.

Mr. *Sam. Palmer*, an eminent Surgeon, formerly in that Quality to St. *Bartholomew's Hospital*, of which he was afterwards Treasurer.

At his Seat of *Nunwell*, in the Isle of *Wight*, Sir *William Oglander*, Bart.

At *Chesbunt*, *Hertfordshire*, the Rev. Mr. *Chapman*, Minister of that Parish, and one of the Prebendaries of *Chichester*; he possessed that Living upwards of 40 Years. The Bishop of *Winchester* was formerly his Curate.

Josias Abbot of *Whittlesea* in the Isle of *Ely*, in the 103d Year of his Age.

The Lady of Dr. *Horseman*, an eminent Physician.

Miss *Lee*, Daughter and sole Heiress of Colonel *Lee*, of *Addington-Hall* near *Chester*.

Rev. Mr. *James Taylor*, Rector and Vicar of the Parishes of St. *Augustin's* and St. *John's* in *Bristol*.

Captain *Baker*, an old experienc'd Officer in the Army.

Wm. Pitt, of *Rathbone-Place* near *Soho*.

Sir *George Brown*, of *Thornydikes* in *Scotland*, Bart.

John Stileman, Esq; in *Charter-house Square*.

Penelope, Lady *Gower*, second Lady to

rd *Gower*, Relict of Sir *Henry Atkins*, of
pham in *Surrey*, Bart. and third Daughter
the late Sir *John Stonehouſe*, Bart.
Mrs. *Sayer*, Relict of the late Dr. *Exton*
yer, and Sifter to the Lord Chancellor.
The Earl of *Londonderry* (aged about 17)
a Fall from his Horſe.
TheLady of Dr. *Baker*, late Bp. of *Norwich*.
The Lady of Sir *John Hynd-Cotton*, Bart.
Dr. *Vaughan*, an eminent Phyſician,
R. S.
At *Leyden*, in the 16th Year of his Age,
Hon. Mr. *Wentworth*, eldeſt Son of the
d *Malton*.
Rev. Mr. *Theed*, Maſter of *Barkhamſtead*
e-School, and Vicar of *Marſworth*.
On the 28th at Night, died at *Newcaſtle-*
ſe in *Clerkenwell-Cloſe*, in the 96th Year
her Age, her Grace *Elizabeth* Dutcheſs
wager of *Albemarle*, and Dutcheſs Dowager
Montagu. Her Grace was eldeſt Daughter
one of the Coheirs of *Henry Cavendiſh*,
ke of *Newcaſtle*, and marry'd, firſt, *Chriſto-*
Monk, Duke of *Albemarle*, Son to the
ous General *Monk*, and next, *Ralph* Lord
ntagu, afterwards Duke of *Montagu*, Father
he preſent Duke. She was his Grace's
nd Wife, and had no Iſſue by him. She
allied to moſt of the noble Families in
land. Beſides being Mother-in-Law to the
ke of *Montagu*, and conſequently Grand-
ther to the Dutcheſs of *Manchester* and
ntteſs of *Cardigan*, ſhe was Aunt to the
nteſs of *Oxford*, to the Lady Viſcounteſs
rpeth, to the Counteſſes of *Saliſbury* and
ld, and to the Lady *Lovel*, Baroneſs of
rd. She was likewiſe Great Aunt to
Dutcheſs of *Portland*, to the preſent Duke
Newcaſtle, and to the Earl of *Rockingham*.

Eccleſiaſtical PREFERMENTS.

MR. *William Lane* collated into the Pre-
bend of *Netherhaven* in the Church of
ſex.
Mr. *Wyat*, Vicar of *Weſt-Ham* in *Eſſex*,
Chaplain to the Biſhop of *London*, collated
e Prebend of *Harleſton* in the Cathedral
urch of St. *Paul*.
Mr. *Palmer* preſented to the Rectory of
leton-Curlow, *Leiceſterſhire*.
George Neal, A. M. to the Rectory of *Croft*
the County of *York* and Dioceſe of *Cheſter*.
Richard Monins, A. M. Rector of *Ringe-*
d, choſen by the Dean and Chapter of *Can-*
ry, Chief Maſter of the King's School
e, in the room of Mr. *Francis*, deceas'd.
Mr. *Savage*, Rector of St. *George's Hano-*
Square, preſented by the Earl of *Saliſbury*,
e Vicarage of *Cheſhunt* in *Hertfordſhire*.
Mr. *John Tillard*, to the Rectory of St
rtin's alias *Carfax*, *Oxford*.

PROMOTIONS *Civil* and *Military*.

MR. *Adlam* made Clerk of the Securi-
ties in the Exciſe-Office, a Place
h 200l. *per Ann*.

——— *Stone*, Eſq; appointed one of the under Secretaries of State in the Duke of *Newcaſtle*'s Office, in the room of *Charles Delafaye*, Eſq; who reſign'd.

Mr. *John Richards*, Town-Clerk of *Tiverton*, appointed a Maſter extraordinary in *Chancery*, in the room of his Father deceaſed.

Richard Baker, Eſq; Conſul at *Madeira*.

Henry Gadrie, Eſq; Purveyor of Wines to his Majeſty's Houſhold.

His Majeſty has been pleaſed to confirm unto *Margaret* Baroneſs *Lovell*, third Daughter and one of the Co-heireſſes of *Thomas* late Earl of *Thanet*, deceaſed, and to her Heirs, the antient Barony of *Clifford*. This Barony deſcended to the late Earl of *Thanet* as lineal Heir to the Lady *Ann* his Grandmother, Daughter and Heir to the old E. of *Cumberland*, Baron of *Clifford*; and his Lordſhip having petitioned King *William* to have the ſame allowed him, it was confirmed to him by Parliament in 1691. The Creation bears Date the 29th of *Dec.* 1299, the 28th of *Edw.* I. ſo that the Lady *Lovell*, now Lady *Clifford*, is the third Baroneſs of *England*, taking Place next after Lord *Abergavenny*, and the Earl of *Caſtlehaven* as Baron *Audley* of *Heleigh*.

Brigadier General *Barrell* kiſſed the King's Hand for the Reg. lately commanded by the Lord *Cadogan*.

George Webb, Eſq; made Capt. of Invalids in *Minorca*, in the room of the late Capt. *Hall*.

Capt. *Beſchefer* made Major of Brig. *Pocock*'s Regiment.

Capt. *Farrer* made Major in the Lord *Cadogan*'s Reg. of Dragoons, late the Earl of *Stair*'s.

Edward Montague, Eſq; made Capt. in Col. *Montagu*'s Reg.

Capt. *Triggs* made Capt. in the Earl of *Eſſingham*'s Reg.

Capt. *Weſton* made Capt. in Lord *Orkney*'s Royal *Scots*.

Henry Roſe, Eſq; made Juſtice of the King's Bench, *Ireland*, in the room of *W. Caulfield*, Eſq; who reſign'd.

Paul Sydall, of *Weſtminſter*, Eſq; appointed one of his Majeſty's Juſtices of the Peace for the County of *Middleſex*.

The Lord Chancellor elected one of the Governors of the *Charterhouſe*, in the room of the late Lord *King*.

——— *Betteſworth*, Eſq; Lieutenant Governor of *Jerſey*, made Captain of an independent Company of Invalids in that Iſland.

Sir *Tho. Brand*, Gentleman-Uſher of the Green Rod, and one of the Gentlemen-Uſhers to his Majeſty, made Chancellor to the moſt noble Order of the Thiſtle, in the room of Sir *David Nairne*, deceaſed. He is ſucceeded in his former Poſts by *Patrick Heron*, Eſq;

N. B. *The* Bankrupts *ſhall be inſerted in our next.*

Towards the End of the Month.

STOCKS.

S. Sea 79 ¼	*Afric.* 20
—*Bonds* 60*s* Prem.	*Royal Aſſ.* 97
—*Annu.* 105 ½	*Lon. ditto* 12 ¼
Bank 138 ¼ a ½	*Y. Build.* 3
—*Circ.* 3 2 6	3 *p. C. An.* 93 ½
Mil. Bank 108 ½	*Eng Copper* 1*l.* 15*s.*
India 143	*Welſh* Books ſhut
—*Bonds* 65*s*	

The Courſe of EXCHANGE.

Amſt.	35 9 a 10	*Bilboa*	39 ⅛
D. Sight	35 7 a 8	*Legborn*	49 ⅞ a 50
Rotter.	35 10	*Genoa*	52 ¼ a ⅜
Hamb.	35 9	*Venice*	49 ¼
P. Sight	31 ⅞ a 2	*Lisb.*	5 5 ⅜ a ½
Bourd. uſ	31	*Oport.*	5 4 ⅞ a ¾
Cadiz	40 ¼ a ⅜	*Antw.*	36
Madrid	40 ¼	*Dublin*	10 ⅞ a 11

Prices of Goods at *Bear-Key.*

Wheat	30 34	*Oates*	9 13
Rye	15 17	*Tares*	18 23
Barley	14 17	*Peaſe*	20 22
H. Beans	16 20	*H. Peaſe*	16 19
P. Malt	17 20	*B. Malt*	16 19

Abſtract of the *London* WEEKLY BILL, from *July* 23 to *Aug.* 27.

Chriſtned	Males 844	Females 851	1695
Buried	Males 1348	Females 1321	2669

Died under 2 Years old			1
Between	2	and 5	3
	5	10	1
	10	20	
	20	30	1
	30	40	2
	40	50	1
	50	60	1
	60	70	
	70	80	
	80	90	
	90	and upwards	

Prices of Goods, *&c.* in *London.* Hay 36*s. to* 42*s.* a Load.

Coals per Chaldron 23 *a* 24
New Hops per Hun. 5*l. a* 6*l.* 10
Old Hops 3*l.* 10*s. a* 4*l.*
Rape Seed 10 *a* 11
Lead the Fodder 19 *Hun.* 1 *half on board,* 14 *a* 14*l.* 10*s.*
Tin in Blocks 3*l.* 14
Ditto in Bars 4*l.*
Copper Eng. beſt 5*l.* 5*s.*
Ditto ordinary 4*l.* 16*s. a* 5*l.*
Ditto Barbary 85 *a* 95*l.*
Iron of Bilboa 15*l.* 5*s. per Ton.*
Ditto of Sweden 16*l.* 10*s.*
Tallow 30 *a* 31*s*
Country Tallow 30*s.*
Cochineal 18*s.* 3

Grocery Wares by the C.

Raiſins of the S. new 32*s.*
Ditto Malaga Frailes 17*s.*
Ditto Smirna new 22*s.*
Ditto Alicant 18*s.*
Ditto Lipra new 19*s.*
Ditto Belvedera 29*s.*
Currants 35*s.*
Prunes French none
Figs 20*s.*

Sugar Powder beſt 54 *a* 59*s.*
Ditto ſecond Sort 46*s. a* 50
Loaf Sugar double ref. 8*d. half a* 9*d.*
Ditto ſingle refine 56*s. a* 64*s.*

Grocery Wares by the lb.

Cinamon 7*s.* 8*d.*
Cloves 9*s.* 1*d.*
Mace 15*s.* 0*d.*
Nutmegs 8*s.* 7*d.*
Sugar Candy white 14 *a* 18*d.*
Ditto brown 6*d.*
Pepper for home conſump. 16*d.*
Ditto for Exportation 12*d.* 1 4*lb*
Tea Bohea fine 10*s. a* 12*s.*
Ditto ordinary 8*a*9*s.*
Ditto Congo 10 *a* 12*s.*
Ditto Pekoe 14*a* 16*s.*
Ditto Green fine 9 *a* 12*s.*
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Cardamoms 3*s.* 6*d.*
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Jallop 2*s.* 8*d.*

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Opium 9*s.*
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Sarſaparilla 3*s.* 0*d.*
Saffron Engliſh 22*s.* 6*d.*
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Ambergreece per oz. 8*s.*

Wine, Brandy, and Rum.

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Ditto white none
Liſbon red 35 *a* 40*l.*
Ditto white 26 *a* 28*l.*
Sherry 26*l.*
Canary new 25 *a* 28*l.*
Ditto old 32 *a* 34*l.*
Florence 3*l.*
French red 30*l. a* 40*l.*
Ditto white 20*l.*
Mountain Malaga old 24*l.*
Ditto new 20 *l. a* 21
Brandy Fr. per Gal. 7*s. a* 8*s.*
Rum of Jam. 6 *a* 7*s.*
Ditto Lew. Iſlands 6*s.* 4*d. a* 6*s.*

FROM *Vienna*. Several Princes of the Empire have proteſted againſt the *Ruſſians* ſetting Foot in the Empire; ſo that 'tis believed their March to join the *Imperial* Army will be countermanded.

From *Peterſburgh*. The *French* Troops brought lately to *Conſtadt*, to the Number of 2,000 and upwards, are handſomely entertain'd by ſpecial Order from Court, which has ſent M. *de la Motte*, their Commander in Chief, a Declaration as follows; 'That the ſaid 'Troops will be detained till the *Ruſſian* Fri-'gate, with three other Veſſels taken by the 'French be reſtor'd, and conducted ſafe to a 'Ruſſian Port, with their Equipages and 'Effects.

From *Rome*. That the eldeſt Son of the Chevalier *de St. George*, as likewiſe the Prince of *Morocco*, who ſome time ago embraced the *Chriſtian* Religion, were gone to the Kingdom of *Naples*, in order to make their Campaign in the *Spaniſh* Army before *Gaeta*.

From *Naples*. On the 2d Inſtant the Garriſon of *Gaeta* made a Sally upon the Beſiegers, but were repuls'd with the Loſs of 200 Men. On the 3d their Fire was leſs briſk; but on the 4th it ſlacken'd prodigiouſly. The next Day the Enemy left off Firing; and the Governor demanded on the 6th to capitulate, to prevent expoſing the Town to the Conſequence of an Aſſault Sword in Hand. His Majeſty would not conſent to give this Place better Terms than the others had which his Troops before reduc'd; accordingly the Governor with his Garriſon, conſiſting of 1,500 Men, are made Priſoners of War.

The *French* look upon the late Motion of the Marſhal *d' Aſfeldt* as a very maſterly Stroke of Policy, his March towards *Mentz* being only to draw the *Imperial* Army thither, whilſt his real Deſigns are to beſiege either the Fortreſs of *Briſac* or *Fribourgh*, and to poſt his Army in ſuch a Manner, as to prevent Prince *Eugene*'s recroſſing the *Neckar*.

From *Manheim*. The *Imperial* Army paſs'd the *Neckar* on the 27th without Oppoſition. That of *France* continues its March towards *Friſgaw*, having left behind a Corps of Troops employ'd in throwing up a Line from *Spire* to *Neuſtadt*.

From the *Hague*. Tho' few of the Electors have ſent their Contingents to Prince *Eugene*'s Army, yet that Great General finds Means to baffle the Enterprizes of his Enemies: They were the other Day within two Cannon-Shot of *Mentz*: They even threatned that City with a Bombardment, if the Inhabitants did not immediately raiſe the Contributions they demanded; but unhappily for them, Prince *Eugene* appeared; he made as if he would paſs the *Rhine*; the *intrepid French* ſet Fire to their Camp, abandoned Part of their Proviſions at *Neder-Ulm*, returned with great Precipitation towards *Worms*, *Frankendal* and *Spiers*, and repaſſing the *Rhine* at *Philipſburgh*, went and pitched their Tents at *Bruchſal*, a Camp twice before in the Poſſeſſion of the *Imperialiſts*, and twice poſſeſſed by the *French*; ſo that you may imagine the Country about it pretty cloſe ſheered.

Letters from the *Rhine*, take Notice, that the Elector *Palatine* being Neutral in the preſent War, the *Imperial* and *French* Officers repair to his Highneſs's Palace at *Manheim*, and dine together frequently, behaving to each other with that Politeneſs, peculiar to the *French* and *German* Nations: One Day ſeveral Sallies of Wit paſs'd between the *German* and *French* Officers there, when one of the latter ſaid, he wonder'd (for they all expected it) *Why Prince* Eugene *did not attack them as he did the* Turks *at* Belgrade; to which one of the *German* Officers reply'd, *That the Prince had then* Turks, *and not* Frenchmen *to deal with.*

This Letter adds, that Prince *Eugene* followed the *French* too cloſely to give them Time to borough themſelves as they did at *Philipſburgh*.

Letters from the *Rhine* ſpeak highly in Praiſe of Prince *Eugene*, who, notwithſtanding his great Age, is ſeen every Day on Horſeback, and exerts himſelf with a ſurprizing Activity. The good Order and Diſcipline which reigns throughout his Army, is likewiſe mention'd with great Encomiums, not the leaſt Violence or Injury to any one eſcaping unpuniſh'd; as an Inſtance of which, thoſe Letters give an Account of a Soldier that was hang'd for having cut off the Lace from his Comrade's Hat and ſold it.

We have an Account from *Paris* of two remarkable Inſtances of Generoſity in the young Prince of *Conti*: His Highneſs being charm'd with the intrepid Behaviour of a Grenadier, in one of the hotteſt Actions at the Siege of *Philipſburg*, he threw the brave Soldier his Purſe, and at the ſame Time excus'd the Smallneſs of the Sum it contain'd, as being too poor a Reward for his Courage. The next Morning the Grenadier went to the Prince with a Pair of large Diamond Buckles, a Diamond Ring, and other Jewels of conſiderable Value; *Sir*, ſays he, *the Gold I found in your Purſe I ſuppoſe your Highneſs intended for me, but* theſe *I bring back to you, as having no Right to them. Yes*, replies the Prince, *you have a Right to them; you have doubly deſerved them, firſt, by your Bravery, and next by your Honeſty; wherefore they are yours.*

The

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THE LONDON MAGAZINE.

SEPTEMBER, 1734.

PROCEEDINGS and DEBATES in the *laſt Seſſion* of PARLIAMENT; continued from *Page* 419.

Remainder of the DEBATE *on the Bill for limiting the Number of* Place-Men *in the* H——ſe *of* Com——ns.

H——o W——le, Eſq; Sir, the Hon. Gentleman below me has told you, that he has always oppoſed Bills of the ſame Nature with this now before us; and I was really heartily ſorry to find him ſo much difficulted to find out ſomewhat in this Bill different from thoſe he has formerly oppoſed, inſomuch, that he was at laſt even forced to own, that it was at preſent the very ſame Sort of Bill, but that in the Committee it might be made a different Bill from what it now appears to be. I will not, Sir, aſk the Hon. Gentleman, whether he was in Place or out when he oppoſed ſuch Bills? but I will ſay, that I have always oppoſed them both in Place and out of Place; and as I take this to be the very ſame Bill with thoſe I have formerly oppoſed, I ſhall therefore be againſt the Queſtion now before us; and for all the Gentleman has ſaid, I make no doubt, but that we ſhall this Day be both upon the ſame Side of the Queſtion; for I dare ſay, he only meant to make ſome Sort of Compliment to his worthy Friend over the Way; but when it comes to the Queſtion, I am perſuaded he will join with me, which, if he does, I will fairly promiſe him, that if any ſuch Bill be propoſed when he is in Place, and I am out, he ſhall have my Aſſiſtance in oppoſing it.

We have been told, Sir, that tho' the Bill, as it ſtands at preſent, be a total Excluſion of all Officers Civil and Military, yet there are to be many Exceptions made, when we go into a Committee; I muſt ſay, that this raiſes my Curioſity ſo much, as to give me ſome Inclination to be for the Queſtion, becauſe, by the Exceptions thoſe Gentlemen are to propoſe, we may, I believe, pretty well gueſs what Offices and Employments they have chalked out for themſelves; but as the Time of this Houſe ought not to be taken up about Matters of Curioſity only, therefore I ſhall not allow my Curioſity to carry me ſo far, as to vote for this Houſe's throwing away a Day of their Seſſion, by going into a Committee upon an Affair, which, I am convinced, muſt prove fruitleſs in the End.

There are ſome Gentlemen among us, Sir, whom I have formerly known to be in very good Employments, under the Crown, but now they happen to be out of Place, and are become mighty Patriots: 'Tis true, there is ſomething very ſonorous and pompous in the Name Patriot; but, I believe, thoſe Gentlemen looked upon themſelves to be every bit as good Men, and as firmly attached to the Intereſt of their Country, when they were called Secretaries at War, Cofferers, or the like; nay, I believe they not only thought ſo themſelves, but would have been angry with any Man, who would then have pretended to have thought otherwiſe of them.

The Hon. Gentleman, who ſpoke laſt, mentioned likewiſe the long Continuance of our Parliaments, and the great Acquaintance and Correſpondence, which may, in a Term of ſeven Years, be contracted between them and the Crown: From whence, Sir, I preſume, we are in this Seſſion to have ſome

Debate upon that Queſtion too; and therefore, if we do agree to go into the Committee propoſed, I hope the Gentleman will move for an Inſtruction, for that Committee to receive a Clauſe for ſhortening the Continuance of our Parliaments, that ſo we may make but one Day's Debate of both Queſtions; when that is over, we may have the Call of the Houſe, and then, I believe, the Buſineſs of this Seſſion will be pretty well over.

W——m P——ney, Eſq; Sir, the worthy Gentleman who ſpoke laſt, has entertain'd the Houſe with a good deal of his Wit, but has not given us any one Argument againſt the Queſtion; and as I am very ſenſible of my own Incapacity to contend with him in Wit, I am ſorry he did not vouchſafe to give me an Opportunity of anſwering ſome of his Arguments, if he has any, againſt our going into the Committee propoſed. He mentioned the Word Patriot, and told us there was ſomething very pompous and ſonorous in the Name; but, whatever that worthy Gentleman may think of Patriotiſm, I hope, Sir, it will never be laughed at, or turned into Ridicule in this Houſe. It is certainly the moſt glorious Epithet, when juſtly applied, that ever was, or ever can be beſtowed upon any Man; and I ſhould be ſorry to find, that that Gentleman, with all his Wit, or any other Perſon with a little ſuch ſonorous Wit, were able to laugh it out of theſe Doors.

But now, Sir, as to the Queſtion in hand, I will venture to ſay, that every Gentleman who has ſpoke againſt it, has entirely miſtaken the Nature of the Bill; they ſuppoſed it to be ſuch a Bill as they have been pleaſed to repreſent, and came here provided with Arguments, ſome in their Heads, but, I believe, more in their Pockets, againſt a Bill, ſuch as they had before ſuppoſed this to be; and now, when we have heard them, it is plain that none of their Arguments affect in the leaſt the Bill now before us. Gentlemen, and particularly one up in the Corner, who tried a little at Wit too, have ſuppoſed, that, by this Bill, a total Excluſion of all Officers, civil and military, was intended; (See p. 416.) but they have been told that no ſuch Thing was ever intended, or ſo much as dreamed of: They have been told that all great Officers are ſtill to have, and I think, ought to have Seats in this Houſe; but ſuppoſe, Sir, that it is intended to exclude ſuch, as by the Nature of their Office, muſt either neglect their Duty in Parliament, or their Duty in their Office, which neceſſarily requires their Attendance elſewhere; ſuch, for Example, as the Commiſſioners of the Revenue in *Ireland*; ſurely, Sir, this muſt be thought highly reaſonable by a Majority of this Houſe, as well as by the Generality of Mankind; yet I doubt much, if the worthy Gentleman in the Corner would think ſo. Suppoſe again, that it were intended to exclude from Seats in Parliament thoſe Clerks and Deputies of Offices, who have a continual Dependence upon the Crown, and are daily at the Mercy of a Miniſter, for being continued in, or turned out of that Employment, from which they draw the principal Part of their Subſiſtence; might not this be done, Sir, without any Injuſtice? Can it be ſuppoſed that the People would think themſelves injured by ſuch a Regulation? Such Perſons can never be ſuppoſed to act or vote with that Freedom which every Member of this Houſe ought to do; and I am ſure it would be for the Honour, as well as the Freedom of Parliament, to exclude all ſuch Perſons; which is all that is intended by the Bill now before us; and therefore it is evident that none of the Arguments made uſe of againſt the Queſtion, affect in the leaſt the Bill which we have now under our Conſideration.

Gentlemen have inſiſted much upon the Neceſſity we are under, of having always in this Houſe ſome of thoſe who are in publick Offices and Employments; they have told us that the Knowledge of ſuch Gentlemen, in Affairs of State, is ſuperior to that of Country Gentlemen, or Fox-hunters: 'Tis true, Sir, they may perhaps know a little more of the Management of publick Offices, and the Methods of making up Accounts, and raiſing Perquiſites, than Gentlemen who never had the Honour nor the Profit of being made acquainted with ſuch Things; but 'twill be allowed, I believe, that thoſe Gentlemen who pay a large Share of the Taxes impoſed, and feel the heavy Burthen of them, becauſe they are obliged to pay the Whole out of their own private Fortunes, will be a little more cautious how they lay on ſuch Taxes, and more exact in ſeeing them properly and frugally applied, than thoſe knowing Gentlemen in publick Offices, who have large Salaries and many Perquiſites daily coming in. The Caſe of ſuch Gentlemen really puts me in Mind of a Paſſage in the Play called the *Funeral:* I remember, Sir, an Undertaker is there repreſented, as paying Money to his Mourners to look ſad and diſmal, and one of them he reprimands ſeverely, for that, the more Money he gave him to look ſad, the more merry the Fellow always looked: This is the very Caſe with thoſe Gentlemen in Offices; the more Money they give in a Parliamentary Way, the more merry they look for the more they give, the more come into their own Pockets.

But, Sir, to be ſerious, for the Subject is really of a very ſerious Nature: It is certain that there never was a Time, when this Bill, or ſome ſuch Bill was more neceſſary. The great Power and Influence of the Crown

in both Houſes of Parliament, as well as in the Elections of the Members of this Houſe, calls aloud for ſome Regulation; it may ſoon be in the Power of a Miniſter, even before the Election of a new Parliament, to tell us what Majority he will have in the enſuing Parliament; he may have this Houſe, or at leaſt a Majority of this Houſe, and perhaps of the other too, in his Pocket. This would be a moſt terrible Misfortune; it is a Misfortune which is juſt at our Door, and if we allow it to enter, it will be impoſſible to get it out again: Let us then do what we can; if we cannot get all we wiſh for, let us endeavour to exclude from Seats in this Houſe, at leaſt, thoſe who are the immediate ſervile Dependants upon a Miniſter: If this is not done, our Conſtitution muſt ſoon be undone; for let any future Miniſter be as wicked, as rapacious, and as criminal, as ever any Miniſter was, who will attempt to accuſe or impeach him in a Houſe of Commons, where it is known he has a corrupt Majority ready to acquit him of whatever Crimes may be laid to his Charge, even tho' his Guilt ſhould be made as manifeſt as the Sun at Noon-day?

Sir *W——m T——ge.* I have, I think, Sir, given all poſſible Attention to every Gentleman who has ſpoke in this Debate, and for my own Part I muſt ſay, I cannot diſcover that there is any Neceſſity at preſent, for the Bill now propoſed to be committed: 'Tis true that ſuch Bills have been often brought in, and have ſometimes been paſſed in this Houſe, particularly in the Reign of the late King *William*; and as I was but other Day reading the Hiſtory of that Reign in a Book lately publiſhed, I ſhall repeat, as far as my Memory ſerves, the Account the Hiſtorian gives of a Bill of this Nature, and of thoſe who then brought it in: He ſays the Perſons who were then the Bringers in and Supporters of that Bill, were either ſuch as thought they had not been ſufficiently rewarded for the Services they had done in aſſiſting to bring about the Revolution, or ſuch who were, and always had been real Enemies to the Revolution; both which Parties joined in bringing that Bill in, and getting it paſſed, in order to diſtreſs the Meaſures of that glorious King, and to clog the Wheels of his Government.

This, Sir, is the Account the Hiſtorian gives of a Bill of this Nature, brought into this Houſe at that Time: I am far from throwing the ſame Imputation upon the Gentlemen who are the Supporters of the Bill now before us; I hope they act from quite different Principles; but the attempting to make ſuch Alterations in our Conſtitution when there is no apparent Neceſſity for it, does give ſome Sort of Ground for ſuſpecting that thoſe who make ſuch Attempts, are influenced by Motives different from thoſe that are openly avowed: As I, Sir, can ſee no Manner of Reaſon for making at preſent ſuch an Alteration in our Conſtitution, as that of excluding from Seats in Parliament all, or at leaſt the greateſt Part of thoſe who enjoy any Office, Civil or Military under the Crown; I cannot therefore ſee any Neceſſity for the Bill now before us; and if the only View now be, to exclude two or three Clerks in Offices from Seats in Parliament, I muſt think that neither our Conſtitution, nor the Freedom of Parliament can be in any Danger from three or four Perſons having Seats in this Houſe, let their Dependance be never ſo great, or never ſo ſervile; and therefore I do not think it worth while to take up the Time of this Houſe, in paſſing any Bill for ſuch a Purpoſe, or in going into a Committee upon any ſuch Bill; for which Reaſon I ſhall be againſt your Queſtion.

H——y P-lh-m, Eſq; I do not ſtand up, Sir, to trouble you with any Arguments againſt the Commitment of the Bill, other Gentlemen having before ſpoke ſufficiently to that Point; but as Clerks and Deputies in Offices have been mentioned, I ſtand up to ſpeak for one whoſe Modeſty will not allow him to ſpeak for himſelf. I have the Honour, Sir, to be in an Office which is certainly very lucrative, as well as a Place of great Truſt; and the Gentleman who is my Deputy is a Member of this Houſe, known to many Gentlemen in the Houſe, and beloved, I believe, by all that know him. (*T——d A——ws*, Eſq; D——ty P--ym--ſt--r.) It is well known that the Security he gives for the faithful Performance of his Duty in that Office is very conſiderable; it is ſuch as I am ſure muſt free him from all Manner of Suſpicion among thoſe he repreſents; for no Man who is capable of giving ſo large Security, can be ſuſpected of any ſuch ſervile Dependance as ſome Gentlemen have been pleaſed to mention; it cannot be ſuppoſed that ſuch a Gentleman owes his daily Bread, or even the principal Part of his Subſiſtence to the Office he enjoys, or that he would be guilty of ſuch a heinous Crime as that of betraying his Country in Parliament for the Sake of continuing in that Office. This, Sir, I thought it my Duty to mention; but as it is now ſo late, I will not give you the Trouble of ſaying any Thing as to the Subject now in Debate.

L—d *C——gb.* I believe, Sir, no Man who knows me, is ignorant of them any and the late Obligations I owe to his Majeſty; which I ſhall always be ready to acknowledge; and I ſhall endeavour to take all Opportunities of ſhewing my Gratitude for the Favours I have received. While I have the Honour to ſit in this Houſe, I think I cannot ſhew my Gratitude to his Majeſty better, than by performing my Duty towards thoſe I repreſent, how

cause I always looked upon the Interest of the King and the Interest of the People to be inseparable; and therefore as I think the Bill now before us not only reasonable, but even necessary for the Preservation of our Constitution, I shall give my Vote for our going into a Committee upon it.

Mr. C——r of the E——r. It has always been my Opinion, Sir, that we ought not to make any Alterations in our Constitution, but when there is an apparent Necessity for doing so; and it is certain that the Time of this House ought not to be taken up with contriving new Regulations or passing Bills, for which there is no Manner of Occasion. In the present Case I have heard nothing that can in the least convince me of there being at present any Necessity for the Bill now before us, which of itself is to me a sufficient Reason for my giving my Vote against the present Question; but the Case of an Hon. Gentleman mentioned early in the Debate, (G——l *W*——*de*, See p. 417.) and what the noble Lord who spoke last, has said, is to me, and must, I think, be to every Gentleman, a full Proof that there is no Necessity for the Bill now under our Consideration, and is consequently an unanswerable Argument for our not taking up the Time of the House with going into a Committee upon this, or any such Bill; for when we see Gentlemen who are in Offices, Gentlemen who own their many Obligations to his Majesty, declaring their Opinion, and giving their Votes in this House, with the same Freedom that other Gentlemen do, it seems strange to lay it down as a Maxim, that all Gentlemen in Offices act under a servile Dependance upon the Crown.

As to Bills of this Nature having been often proposed, or even passed in this House, it is no Argument for our agreeing or disagreeing to it now: Every Proposition is a new Proposition as often as it is made in this House, and is to be debated and considered upon its own Merits only, without any Regard to what is passed; for what former Parliaments have done, or have refused to do, can be no Rule for us; and as the Merits of every Question must depend upon what has been said, or may be said, for and against it, I believe, without adding any Thing further, I may leave the present Question upon that Issue.

As for Clerks and Deputies in Office, I am sure there are none such, who have now Seats in Parliament, that are not fully entitled to such Seats by the Properties they possess; and their own private Fortunes must raise them as much above the Suspicion of Corruption, or of a servile Dependance, as any Gentleman in this House can well be; there are none of them but have Fortunes of their own sufficient to support them as Gentlemen, and whoever is so provided, cannot from his Circumstances be suspected of any servile Dependance; if there be any Ground for such a Suspicion, it must proceed from the Temper of the Mind, against which there is no Fortune affluent enough for being a sufficient Guard, nor could the Law now proposed be of any Effect against such Men.

An Hon. Gentleman spoke of Ministers having a House of Commons, even a House of Lords, in their Pockets; (Mr. *P*——*ney*, See p. 455.) I own this is Language I do not understand: Gentlemen are in this House at Liberty to throw out whatever their Imaginations may suggest; but they certainly ought to have some Meaning in every Thing they say. The Hon. Gentleman talk'd too of wicked Ministers, and of impeaching criminal Ministers; this, Sir, has often been talked of, but has yet appear'd to be nothing but Words: If I am the Minister meant, I wish with all my Heart they would begin; I am persuaded there are those who want not Inclination, and God forbid I should suppose they wanted Abilities: If there were any probable Ground, if there were the least Foundation for impeaching any Minister or Ministers, I am fully convinced it would be impossible to withstand or evade such an Impeachment; at least I am sure I now speak in an Assembly where, were I guilty, I could not expect to be acquitted; but while I am innocent, I may, and I do depend upon it, that I never shall be condemned; for this Reason, I say, I wish Gentlemen would begin; but while they talk only of Impeachments without proceeding any further, what they say must be looked on but as meer Words to amuse the Galleries, and embellish their Speeches.

T——*s W*——*m*, Esq; In my Opinion, Sir, most Gentlemen, and particularly the Hon. Gentleman who spoke last, have wandered very much from the Question: The only Question now before us is, whether or no we shall go into a Committee upon the Bill which has been now read a second Time? If the Bill be a necessary or a reasonable Bill we certainly ought to go into a Committee upon it; and if it be neither reasonable nor necessary, it is as certain we ought not to proceed any further.

As to its being a reasonable Bill, it has been objected, that it would be injurious to the Crown, to exclude all the Servants of the Crown from Seats in Parliament; but to this a full Answer has already been made, that there is no Design to exclude all the Servants of the Crown; the only Design is to exclude those Servants of the Crown whose Duty demands their Attendance elsewhere, or who, by the Places they enjoy, may reasonably be supposed to be under a servile Dependance upon the Ministers of State: Where then is

the Injury done to the Crown, ſince his Majeſty may ſtill have moſt of his principal Servants in this Houſe, and is ſtill at Liberty to imploy whomſoever he thinks proper, either in a military or a civil Capacity?

It has been further ſaid, that this Bill would be an Injuſtice done to the People, becauſe it would limit them in their Choice, and preclude them from chuſing thoſe whom they perhaps thought moſt proper for repreſenting them in Parliament; (See p. 413.) but, in my Opinion, Sir, it is doing a Favour to the People, to preclude them from putting a Truſt in thoſe who may probably be induced to betray that Truſt, by loading the People with all the Taxes and Burdens which a wicked and deſigning Miniſter may propoſe: This, Sir, will be a real Favour to the People, and a Favour which they will ſoon become ſenſible of. 'Tis true, as has been ſaid, that when a Gentleman accepts of a new Office, he is ſent back to his Country to be rechoſen, and it is likewiſe true that ſuch Gentlemen are often rechoſen; but do not we know, that ſuch Gentlemen go back to their Country with double Credit: Such a Man has not only the Intereſt he formerly had, but he is now got into an Office, he is looked on as the Favourite of the Miniſter, ſome he promiſes to provide in Places, others he is to ſave from Pains and Penalties, and thus by the Places he gets for ſome, and the Fears he relieves others from, he purchaſes his Borough for Life, if his Office be ſo: Is not this a Sort of Corruption? and ought not we, Sir, to provide a Remedy againſt this Sort of Corruption, as well as that which is properly called Bribery?

Now, Sir, as to the Neceſſity there is for ſome ſuch Bill as what is now propoſed, the Caſe of an Hon. Gentleman, who had Virtue enough to withſtand the Menaces of a Court; and the Caſe of a noble Lord, who always behaved with great Honour in this Houſe, have been made Uſe of to ſhew that there is no Neceſſity for ſuch a Bill; but are one or two Inſtances to be made Uſe of as an Argument in an Affair where Hundreds might be brought upon the other Side of the Queſtion? The Inſtances of the other Side are indeed kept much more ſecret, it is not eaſy to diſcover the Motives of Men's Actions; but I am convinced there is not a Gentleman in this Houſe who doubts, but that many ſuch Inſtances have happened; and the Caſe of the Hon. Gentleman, which is now made publick, is a convincing Proof of the Danger of having a great Number of Gentlemen in this Houſe, who have profitable Imployments depending entirely upon the Pleaſure of the Crown, and conſequently upon the Pleaſure of the favourite Miniſter.

It is certain, Sir, the Circumſtances of this Country are much altered from what they were: Formerly the Crown had ſo few Places or Imployments to give, that if thoſe who were in Poſſeſſion of them had all been in Parliament, they could not have endangered our Conſtitution; but now the Servants of the Crown have multiplied ſo much, what by new Taxes, and by ſplitting of Offices, that the moſt fatal Conſequence is to be feared from them; eſpecially now that a Seat in Parliament begins to be thought almoſt neceſſary to qualify a Man for a Poſt or Employment: In a little Time this Houſe may be filled with the Servants of the Crown, tho' by our Conſtitution we ought all to be the Servants of our Country: We are not to talk of what is the Caſe at preſent, or of the Gentlemen who have now the Honour to be Members of this Houſe, as well as Servants of the Crown; they may perhaps be independent of the Crown, they may act with abſolute Freedom in this Houſe; but it is certain that he muſt have more than common Virtue, who will forfeit a lucrative Poſt or Employment, rather than ſubmit ſometimes to the Directions of a prime Miniſter, even as to his way of Voting in this Houſe; and therefore it is certain that, unleſs ſome ſuch Bill as this be paſſed, the Majority of this Houſe may come to be compoſed of Servants of the Crown, who have not ſo much Virtue as they have who are now Members of this Houſe. I hope it will be agreed, that it would then be too late to think of any ſuch Bill as the preſent; for God's Sake then, Sir, let us provide for the Safety of our Country while it is in our Power: If we do not do it now, we may ſoon be involved in Ruin without any Hopes of Redemption; for the preventing of which I think this Bill abſolutely neceſſary, and therefore I am moſt heartily for the Queſtion.

After him *T——s C——ck*, Eſq; ſpoke againſt the Commitment, and then the Queſtion was put, and carried in the Negative 230 againſt 191.

[*To be continued.*]

Free Briton, Sept. 5. N° 253.

This Paper gives us an Eſſay *from Mr.* Addiſon's FREEHOLDER; *and as any Performance of that ingenious Author muſt be agreeable to our Readers, we have thought proper to inſert it. The Deſign of it is to ſhew,* how Miniſters of State ſhould bear undeſerved Reproach.

——*Hic Niger eſt: hunc tu, Romane, caveto.*
HORACE.

WE are told, that in *Turkey*, when any Man is the Author of notorious Falſhoods, it is uſual to blacken the whole Front of his Houſe: Nay, we have ſometimes heard, that an Embaſſador, whoſe *Buſineſs it is* (if I may quote his Character in Sir *Henry Wotton*'s Words,) *to lye for the Good of his Country*, has ſometimes had this Mark ſet upon his Houſe; when he has been detected in any Piece of feigned Intelligence, that has prejudiced the Government, and miſled the Minds of the People. One could almoſt wiſh that the Habitations of ſuch of our own Countrymen as deal in Forgeries detrimental to the Publick, were diſtinguiſhed in the ſame Manner; that their Fellow-Subjects might be cautioned not to be too eaſy in giving Credit to them. Were ſuch a Method put in Practice, this Metropolis would be ſtrangely chequered; ſome entire Pariſhes would be in Mourning, and ſeveral Streets darkened from one End to the other.

But I have before given my Thoughts both on the Inventors and the Believers of theſe publick Falſhoods and Calumnies, and ſhall here ſpeak of that Contempt with which they are and ought to be received by thoſe in high Stations, at whom they are levelled. Any Perſon indeed, who is zealous for promoting the Intereſt of his Country, muſt conquer all that Tenderneſs and Delicacy which may make him afraid of being ſpoken ill of; or his Endeavours will often produce no leſs Uneaſineſs to himſelf, than Benefit to the Publick. Among a People who indulge themſelves in the utmoſt Freedoms of Thought and Speech, a Man muſt either be inſignificant, or able to bear an undeſerved Reproach. A true Patriot may comfort himſelf under the Attacks of Falſhood and Obloquy, from ſeveral Motives and Reflections.

In the firſt Place, he ſhould conſider, that the chief of his Antagoniſts are generally acted by a Spirit of Envy; which would not riſe againſt him, if it were not provoked by his Deſert. A Stateſman poſſeſt of real Merit, ſhould look upon his political Cenſurers with the ſame Neglect, that a good Writer regards his Criticks; who are generally a Race of Men that are not able to diſcover the Beauties of a Work they examine, and deny that Approbation to others, which they never met with themſelves. Patriots therefore ſhould rather rejoice in the Succeſs of their honeſt Deſigns, than be mortified by thoſe who miſrepreſent them.

They ſhould likewiſe conſider, that not only Envy, but Vanity has a Share in the Detraction of their Adverſaries. Such Aſperſions therefore do them Honour at the ſame Time that they are intended to leſſen their Reputation. They ſhould reflect that thoſe who endeavour to ſtir up the Multitude againſt them, do it to be thought conſiderable; and not a little applaud themſelves in a Talent that can raiſe Clamours out of nothing, and throw a Ferment among the People, by Murmurs or Complaints, which they know in their own Hearts are altogether groundleſs. There is a pleaſant Inſtance of this Nature recorded at Length in the firſt Book of the Annals of *Tacitus*. When a great Part of the *Roman* Legions were in a Diſpoſition to mutiny, an impudent Varlet, who was a private Centinel, being mounted upon the Shoulders of his Fellow-Soldiers, and reſolved to try the Power of his Eloquence, addreſſed himſelf to the Army, in all the Poſtures of an Orator, after the following Manner: *You have given Liberty to theſe miſerable Men*; ſaid he, (pointing to ſome Criminals whom they had reſcued) *but which of you can reſtore Life to my Brother? Who can give me back my Brother? He was murdered no longer ago than laſt Night, by the Hands of thoſe Ruffians, who are entertained by the General to butcher the poor Soldiery. Tell me*, Blæſus, (for that was the Name of the General, who was then ſitting on the Tribunal) *tell me, where haſt thou caſt his dead Body? An Enemy does not grudge the Rites of Burial. When I have tired myſelf with kiſſing his cold Corps, and weeping over it, order me to be ſlain upon it. All I aſk of my Fellow-Soldiers, ſince we both die in their Cauſe, is that they would lay me in the ſame Grave with my Brother.* The whole Army was in an Uproar at this moving Speech, and reſolved to do the Speaker Juſtice, when, upon Enquiry, they found that he never had a Brother in his Life; and that he had ſtirred up the Sedition only to ſhew his Parts.

Publick Miniſters would likewiſe do well to conſider, that the principal Authors of ſuch Reproaches as are caſt upon them, are thoſe who have a Mind to get their Places: And as for a Cenſure ariſing from this Motive, it is in their Power to eſcape it when they pleaſe, and turn it upon their Competitors

ors. Malecontents of an inferior Character are acted by the ſame Principle; for ſo long as there are Employments of all Sizes, there will be Murmurers of all Degrees. I have heard of a Country Gentleman, who made a very long and melancholy Complaint to the late Duke of *Buckingham*, when he was in great Power at Court, of ſeveral publick Grievances. The Duke, after having given him a very patient Hearing, *My dear Friend*, ſays he, *this is but too true; but I have thought of an Expedient which will ſet all Things right, and that very ſoon.* His Country Friend aſked him what it was. *You muſt know*, ſays the Duke, *there's a Place of* 500l. *a Year fallen this very Morning, which I intend to put you in Poſſeſſion of.* The Gentleman thanked his Grace, went away ſatisfied, and thought the Nation the happieſt under Heaven, during that whole Miniſtry.

But farther, every Man in a publick Station ought to conſider, that when there are two different Parties in a Nation, they will ſee Things in different Lights. An Action however conducive to the Good of their Country, will be repreſented by the Artful, and appear to the Ignorant as prejudicial to it. Since I have here, according to the uſual Liberty of Eſſay-Writers, rambled into ſeveral Stories, I ſhall fetch one to my preſent Purpoſe out of the *Perſian* Hiſtory. We there read of a virtuous young Emperor, who was very much afflicted to find his Actions miſconſtrued and defamed by a Party among his Subjects that favoured another Intereſt. As he was one Day ſitting among the Miniſters of his *Divan*, and amuſing himſelf after the Eaſtern Manner, with the Solution of difficult Problems and Ænigma's, he propoſed to them, in his Turn, the following one. *What is the Tree that bears* 365 *Leaves, which are all black on the one Side, and white on the other?* His grand Vifier immediately replied, it was the Year, which conſiſted of 365 Days and Nights: *But, Sir*, ſays he, *permit me at the ſame Time to take Notice, that theſe Leaves repreſent your Actions, which carry different Faces to your Friends and Enemies, and will always appear black to thoſe who are reſolved only to look upon the wrong Side of them.* A virtuous Man therefore who lays out his Endeavours for the Good of his Country, ſhould never be troubled at the Reports which are made of him, ſo long as he is conſcious of his own Integrity. He ſhould rather be pleaſed, to find People deſcanting upon his Actions, becauſe when they are thoroughly canvaſſed and examined, they are ſure in the End to turn to his Honour and Advantage. The reaſonable and unprejudiced Part of Mankind will be of his Side, and rejoice to ſee their common Intereſt lodged in ſuch honeſt Hands. A ſtrict Examination of a great Man's Character, is like the Tryal of a ſuſpected Chaſtity, which was made among the *Jews* by the Waters of Jealouſy. *Moſes* aſſures us, that the Criminal burſt upon the drinking of them; but if ſhe was accuſed wrongfully, the *Rabbins* tell us, they heightened her Charms, and made her much more amiable than before: So that they deſtroyed the Guilty, but beautified the Innocent.

Daily Journal, Sept. 7.

A Letter from an Engliſh *Gentleman at* Paris, *on the Subject of* Travelling into Foreign Parts.

MANKIND has been always divided in their Opinions as to the Profit reaped by Travelling. *Juſtus Lipſius* maintained, that nothing is ſo proper to form the Mind of a young Gentleman. Biſhop *Hall*, our Countryman, compiled a large Book, intitled, *Quo Vadis?* addreſſed to *Engliſh* Lords and Gentlemen, on Purpoſe to give a Check, and ſharply to rebuke the Cuſtom they then had of ſending their Children abroad. If we were permitted to pronounce Judgment, we would ſay, that thoſe who condemn Travelling in general, and thoſe who have approved of it indiſtinctly, are all in the wrong, ſince it might be very uſeful to ſome, and at the ſame Time very pernicious to others.

There are in the World certain Tempers eſſentially wild; Youth indiſciplinable in their Natures, whom nothing can humanize, or render tractable: Should their Parents or Guardians ſend theſe a Travelling, to what Purpoſe would be the Care of the beſt Governors in the World? What Service could the ableſt Maſters do them in all Kinds of Exerciſes? Theſe are Bears that at moſt might be brought under ſome Kind of Management, but their Minds would ſtill lie fallow, or if they are uſed at all, it would be but to contract and appropriate to itſelf the bad Manners they would unavoidably take Notice of in the ſeveral Countries they paſſed thro'.

The Situation I have been in for ſome Years paſt, gives me Opportunities of remarking many ſtrange Groteſque Figures that pour into *France* from my own Country, ſuch as do it little Honour abroad, how much ſoever they may be thought the Ornament of it at home. Thoſe who have the good Fortune to come under the Direction of Governors, may, thro' Fear or Shame, be kept within certain Bounds, and brought home again without much Harm. But what ſhall we ſay for thoſe young People who are let looſe to rove where the Wildneſs of their Fancy leads them, or rather as the Fury of their Paſſions drives them? Theſe muſt appear ſad Spectacles in a Country whoſe Manners are ſo oppoſite to their own. I knew a 'Squiveret, juſt Maſter of himſelf in the worſt Senſe, by the Force of a good Eſtate, break

break out of the Heart of *England* to see *France*; it happened well for him to fall into good Company, for the first Month; in which Time however he never opened his Mouth: He was left afterwards to his own Government, which brought him a Prey to Sharpers of both Sexes; he improved daily, got drunk continually, was the Bubble of every Pick-pocket, and to complete a genteel Education, he assassinated one of his wretched Companions: He escap'd being broke alive upon the Wheel by great Intercession and much Money, and after having lessened his Estate some Thousands, he returned home, by far a worse Brute, and more vicious than when he began what he calls his Travels.

Another Sort of Travellers which have been little taken Notice of, because they are not so common in the World, I cannot pass by, because they contribute more than any to give Foreigners a ridiculous Idea of our Country: These are Men advanced in Years, grown big with the Advantages of a College Education, where they have been stiffening in their Manners perhaps half a Century. Their Learning gives them Pride, and nothing else, and a Sort of University Tyranny is so rusted in them, that they are unfit for any other Society; their Manner of Thinking falls within a very narrow Compass: Into whatsoever Company they enter, they assume the same magisterial Air they are accustomed to exercise over their Pupils, and look upon all Mankind as Undergraduates in Conversation.

A very worthy Doctor of my Acquaintance, who presides over a large House, took it into his Head to set out on his Travels, as the Phrase is, in the 75th Year of his Age. It happened a little unluckily for him to put his Foot in *France*, the very Moment a poor old crazy Woman landed in her Way to *Rome*, where she was going to settle some Points of Faith and Doctrine with his Holiness and St. *John Baptist*, who was yet alive, as she said, and had his Abode there, in a little House of his own. By the Doctor's Dress and formal Behaviour, it was supposed that he was on the same Mission. The extravagant Conduct of two such odd People, had the Effect in *France*, that uncommon Sights have in *England* and other Countries; it drew upon them the Attention of the Mob, which conducted them from one Street to another, till the Bishop and Magistrates examined into the Matter. In short, the Rev. Doctor, by an unaccountable Mistake, found himself involved in the old Woman's Circumstances; they were looked upon, one as well as the other, as Persons disordered in their Senses, and therefore immediately were shipped off, and sent back again to *England*.

It was my Lot to travel once from *Paris* homeward with one of these People: Things not hitting exactly the Gentleman's Taste, he grew outrageously prejudiced against the Country; he was pleased with nothing, railed at every Thing, was talkative, noisy, abusive, and consequently troublesome. This Behaviour would have given me unspeakable Uneasiness, had I not turned it a little to my Diversion. I told the People at the Inns at which we passed, that my Companion was a very worthy, honest, learned, sweet-temper'd Gentleman in himself, but much Study and Thought had discomposed his Brain; that he might perhaps give the House a little Disturbance, but he never did any Harm, and therefore they had no Reason to mind what he said. As the Doctor had a good *English* Stomach, and mightily regretted the Absence of his own Powdering Tub at home, I ordered him nothing but an Onion Soup for his Supper the first Night: Had he seen his own Father rise out of his Grave, he could not have been more frighten'd than at the Sight of this Dish: The old Gentleman flew into a grievous Passion with the People of the House, rav'd, storm'd, and put his Lungs to the utmost Stretch; but it all signified nothing, they did but pity his Condition, shaked their Heads, and went about their Business. This Treatment, I hear, has set the Doctor very much against Travelling, especially into Popish Countries.

If Travelling be dangerous to Animals of the Species I have named, it will be found very different with young Gentlemen born under a Star, in some Measure dubious: They are endowed with an extreme Flexibility, and will incline, indifferently, to either the right or the wrong Side; they are like *Plato*'s Table on which any Thing may be written. Their Natures have a wonderful Disposition to learn and to perform whatever they take in Hand; can equally excel in Virtue and in Vice, according as they are guided by Precepts and Examples. Travelling then must be of great Use to a young Man of this Kind; but of Condition he has a Sage *Mentor* to accompany him, to direct him in all Points of his Conduct, and to guard him from a thousand Rocks which he will infallibly, without that Care, run headlong upon.

A fourth Class, which is the most excellent, and the least numerous, is composed of Youth, whom Heaven seems to have brought into the World but for Virtue's Sake, who by an Aversion, almost natural, to Vice, preserve themselves incorruptible in the Midst of the most dangerous Examples, and the worst Seducers; whose Thoughts are entirely employed in acquiring all the Perfections of Body, Heart, and Mind. No Question but these Gentlemen reap an infinite deal of Fruit in running over foreign Countries, and familiarizing themselves with Nations, which have the Reputation of excelling in one Thing or another. It was thus the antient Philoso-

went and pillaged the moſt diſtant People of their fineſt Knowledge, and then came home and enriched their own Countrymen with the Booty. 'Tis thus we have ſeen, in our Days, illuſtrious Monarchs, who, being convinced, by their own Experience, of the Advantages drawn from Travelling, engaged the beſt and ableſt of their Subjects to go, as one may ſay, a plundering of Arts and Sciences, and by this Means tranſplanted Learning and Induſtry into their own Dominions, which, till that Time, had been decried for their Barbarity.

We might give here Inſtances of a Number of Subjects of theſe Kingdoms, who have been brought to a Neceſſity of Travelling abroad, and thereupon forced upon ſuch perſonal Improvements, as make them, at this Day, diſtinguiſhed in the Camps, Courts, and even Cabinets of Princes; but we ſhall avoid ſaying more on this Head of Travelling, for two ſubſtantial Reaſons, which we ſhall not be obliged to name. However, to excite Emulation in our noble *Britiſh* Youth, we will remark the Example of a young Foreigner yet abroad; not that we cannot pick enough from our own Countrymen, but we hereby avoid the Imputation of Flattery, to which we are very little inclined at preſent.

It is now 3 Years ſince the Baron *de Hopken*, a young *Swediſh* Lord, went from Home. He has already travelled over many States of *Europe*, and made himſelf admired wherever he paſſed, both in Courts, and among the Learned. He has diſputed in ſeveral Univerſities, where he always gained Applauſe. The celebrated Academy of the *Belles Lettres*, at *Marſeilles*, was ſo charmed with this young Baron, that they thought the Place of Academician could not be refuſed to his ſhining Merit, tho' it was not cuſtomary to grant it to Gentlemen of his Nation even after great Solicitations.

Fog's Journal, Sept. 7. N° 305.

Miſchiefs from evil Miniſters.

NEW Subjects (ſays a Correſpondent of *Fog*) can engroſs the Favour of their Prince, and at the ſame Time obtain the Love of the People; which the Favourite commonly attributes to the Envy of ſuch as he has overtopp'd, but never to the Inſolency or Tyranny of his own Behaviour. It is very hard, when a Man is rais'd to the Confidence of his Prince, and loaded with Honours, to uſe his Fortune with Moderation; and who does not, will endeavour to ſecure himſelf againſt his Enemies, by Means which cannot but daily encreaſe them; he will eſteem none fit for Employments, or proper to be about the Perſon of his Maſter, but who are his Dependants, ſubſervient to his Will without Reſerve; all Poſts of Honour and Profit will be diſpoſed of to the Miniſters of, either, his Pleaſure or Tyranny; the Glory, the Intereſt of the Nation will be neglected, and his ſole View will be his own Security, to which he will ſacrifice every other Conſideration.

How fatal ſuch Favourites have proved to their Maſters, is eaſily demonſtrated from our own Hiſtory. We may in great Meaſure attribute the Misfortune of King *Charles* I. to his Favourite the Duke of *Buckingham*, as his Partiality to that Nobleman cooled the Affections of the People towards himſelf. While a Prince reigns in the Hearts of his Subjects, he has nothing to apprehend at Home, and will ever be held in Eſteem by his Neighbours, as they know that the Swords and Purſes of his People will be ever ready to ſupport and defend him. Had *Henry* IV. obtain'd the Love of his Subjects, neither the *Scots* nor *Welſh*, the *French* nor *Britons* would have dared to have given him the Provocations they did. How were the *Engliſh* Coaſts inſulted and invaded in his Reign, even in the Time of Peace? but he was ſenſible he wanted the greateſt Strength of a Monarch, the Affections of his People, and on that Score, pocketed Affronts, he did not want Spirit to revenge.

Few Favourites have advanced the Reputation of their Maſters, and have had at Heart the Welfare of their Fellow-Subjects; but more than one have ruined the former, by endeavouring to oppreſs the latter, which is commonly the Effect of Fear; for they know not any Method ſo likely to ſkreen them from the Reſentment of an injured People, as that of rendering their Maſters deſpotick.

The different Figures made by *Edward* II. and *Edward* III. evince that Favourites are an Obſtacle to the Prince's Glory; and an heavy Burthen to his People; nay, that they are not ſeldom the Ruin of their Maſters. *Rapin* ſpeaking of *Edward* II. ſays, *He was puniſh'd himſelf, for wanting Reſolution to puniſh his Favourites. A very uſeful Leſſon for all Princes, but ſuch an one, as few know how to make Advantage of!* The Weakneſs of this unhappy Prince towards his Minion, and the cruel Death they brought him to, are too well known for me to mention. And the Difference between the Beginning and the latter End of *Edward* III.'s Reign, when he ſuffer'd himſelf to be govern'd by *Alice Pierce*, whom the Parliament obliged him to remove, and the Duke of *Lancaſter*, ſhew the Impatience of the People, when govern'd by other than their Prince, tho' even it be his Son.

He concludes with the Character *Rapin* gives of *Edward* III. which may be ſeen Word for Word in our *Magazine* for *Jan.* 1733, Page 12, and therefore we omit it here.

Craftſman, September 7. N° 427.

Of the Independency of Parliaments.

UPON a Point, which ſo materially concerns our Liberties, (ſays a Correſpondent of *D'Anvers*) whereon as well thoſe of the moſt *reverend Characters*, as the whole Fry of *miniſterial Vermin* have exerciſed all their Talents of Chicanery, to perplex one of the plaineſt Truths, it ſhould ſeem excuſable even in Politicks, to make Uſe of *logical Correctneſs*; tho' the diſtaſteful Formality, that unavoidably accompanies this Kind of Reaſoning, hath indeed been too long exploded to be uſed upon any but very ſingular Occaſions.

To be perfectly underſtood, it will be neceſſary, in the firſt Place, to ſtate ſhortly the Fundamentals of our Conſtitution.

The *Engliſh* Conſtitution conſiſts of *three diſtinct Powers*, whoſe Juriſdictions are independent of each other; in a Combination of which Powers the *legiſlative Authority* of this Kingdom is veſted.

It is not material to aſcertain the incidental Privileges, peculiar to each of theſe Powers; ſince they have no Relation to the preſent Undertaking.

In Propoſitions, where very complex Terms are uſed, it is generally neceſſary to define them. In this, concerning the Conſtitution, the Term *independent* only needs Explanation. *Abſolute Independency* is an Attribute of the ſupreme Being only, becauſe he alone is ſelf-exiſtent; and therefore whenever the Term *independent* is uſed, and not applied to the *Author of Nature*, it muſt be confined only to that particular Thing, to which the *Independency* contended for is oppoſed.

The *Independency* contended for in the above State of the Conſtitution, is that of a *free and unbiaſſed Exerciſe of the Juriſdiction peculiar to each Power, as oppoſed to any corrupt Influence of the other conſtituent Powers.*

This Term being now explained beyond the Poſſibility of Miſinterpretation; and being the Hinge, on which the Queſtion turns, the Force of the following Obſervations will be ſeen in one View.

Whatever prevents the free and unbiaſs'd Exerciſe of the Juriſdiction, peculiar to any conſtituent Power of the Legiſlature, tends to deſtroy the *Conſtitutional Independency of that Power*, to which it is apply'd. It is ſelf-evident, that *pecuniary Gifts*, *Gratuities*, and *Penſions*, from one Part of the Legiſlature to another, prevent the free and unbiaſſed Exerciſe of the Juriſdiction of *that Power*, to which they are applied. The Conſequence therefore unavoidably is, that *pecuniary Gifts*, &c. tend to deſtroy the *conſtitutional Independency of that Power*, to which they are applied.

Whatever tends to deſtroy the *Conſtitutional Independency of any conſtituent Power of the Legiſlature*, tends to deſtroy the *Conſtitution* itſelf; and conſequently the real Security of the *People's Liberties*. It is clear from the Argument above, that *pecuniary Gifts*, *Gratuities*, and *Penſions* from one Part of the Legiſlature to another, tend to deſtroy the *Conſtitutional Independency of that Power*, to which they are apply'd. The Conſequence is therefore unavoidable, that ſuch *pecuniary Gifts*, &c. tend to deſtroy the Conſtitution itſelf, and conſequently the real Security of *our Liberties*.

And if this *corrupt Influence* proceeds from the *executive Part of the Legiſlature*, arbitrary Power muſt be the unavoidable Conſequence; ſince the *Will of the Prince* then becomes the *Law of the Land*; the *latter* being only the *former* reduced into *Law*; and the *Nature of Oppreſſion* is not varied by bearing a *different Name*.

The farther Purſuit of this main Point, by a more formal Proof of each of the above Propoſitions, will be unneceſſary; ſince the Concluſions are deduced from Premiſſes, which are ſelf-evident; and becauſe this Method of Reaſoning is thought neceſſary, only as it is ſubſervient to Perſpicuity, and to bring the Controverſy into a narrow Compaſs; which may be attended with this Advantage, that if any *Proſtitute* ſhould hereafter have the Effrontery to contend for the *Dependency of Parliaments*, in Oppoſition to what is here advanced, he will be reduced to the Neceſſity of encountering a ſhort Argument, which cannot be eaſily miſrepreſented, or ſhuffled into Obſcurity.

But it may be obſerved, without examining what hath been advanced in Support of a *corrupt Dependency*, that all Oppoſition to that, which is here contended for, muſt be upon one of the following Principles; either that the Conſtitution is *unjuſtly ſtated*, and that therefore the Conſequences drawn from thence are *unjuſt*; or elſe that it is a *ridiculous Conſtitution*, and ſo abſurdly framed, as not to anſwer the *Ends*, for which it was inſtituted, without the Aid and Aſſiſtance of *Corruption*. If the *former*, the Controverſy is put upon a very ſhort and clear Iſſue, which will immediately determine the Queſtion. If the *latter*, it ſeems then that our Conſtitution is to fall a Sacrifice to *Corruption*; and the only Diſpute will be whether *Liberty* or *Slavery* be preferable.

This Paper may be concluded with obſerving in general, that it does not require much Penetration into human Nature to know that even the *ſame Parliament*, under different Circumſtances of *Independency* and *Dependency*, may be both the *Guardians and Oppreſſors of the People*; in one Inſtance may be a Barrier between the *Prerogative of the Crown*, and the *Liberties of the People*; and in the other, only a State Engine to countenance the *Oppreſſions of a Court*; that it is ſo far from being a Matter

Matter of Indifference, whether *Thoſe*, in whom the People have put their Truſt, and to whom they have committed the Guardianſhip of their moſt important Intereſts, continue in a State of *Independency*, free from any *corrupt Influence*, that on *theſe* alone depend the Health and Vigour of the *Conſtitution*; ſince it is not in the Power of Invention to inſtance two Things, ſo incompatible as the *Security of our Liberties*, and the *Dependency of Parliaments*.

It is a *corrupt Parliament* only, that can put an End to the *Liberties of the People of England*, who naturally revere *Parliaments* as the Palladium of their Liberties; ſuch is the Reverence ſo auguſt an Authority begets in the Minds of the People, that we meet with many Inſtances in Hiſtory, where a ready Submiſſion has been paid to very *burthenſome Laws*, upon a Preſumption that they were attended with ſome *real* though not *apparent Advantage to the Society*; that thoſe, whom they had intruſted with their Liberties, would be too much engaged for the Happineſs of their Fellow Subjects, to deliver them over to their *Tormentors*; and thus the *Authority of Parliament* hath been ſufficient to encounter even the *Teſtimony of the People's Senſes*; 'till by a long Perſeverance of their Repreſentatives in *Corruption* and *Venality*, the People diſcovered themſelves to have been betrayed almoſt beyond the Power of Redreſs; and while their *Betrayers* were ſanctifying every baneful Project with the venerable Name of *Law*, the *Conſtitution* itſelf hath been well nigh deſtroyed by the Omnipotence of *Corruption*.

Weekly Miſcellany, Sept. 7. N° 91.

Of Myſteries in Religion, in Anſwer to Mr. FOSTER.

THE Word *Myſtery* has been very ſerviceable to the *Infidels* in their Oppoſition to *Chriſtianity*. By means of its *ambiguous* Uſe, they have ſo miſ-ſtated the *true* Senſe of it, (that Senſe I mean in which it has been uſed by Chriſtian Divines) and ſo miſrepreſented our Religion, that it requires a cloſe Attention, and ſome Skill, to ſee how they have blended *Truth* and *Error* together. Not to ſpend Time in a needleſs Reſearch into the various Acceptations of this Term, and the Miſapplications of it, I ſhall confine myſelf at preſent to the Senſe in which I have lately ſeen it uſed by Mr. *Foſter*, a popular Preacher in one of our *diſſenting* Congregations; not out of any Diſlike to his Principles as a *Diſſenter*, (which are no ways concerned in a Debate relating to our *Common* Faith) but becauſe I have Reaſon to believe that his Performance is in high Eſteem, and much commended, by ſome *Infidels*, of the firſt Claſs for Taſte and Credit.

By a *Myſtery*, this Writer underſtands ſomething that is *obſcure, intricate, unintelligible*; in Oppoſition to what is *plain, intelligible*, and *adapted to common Underſtandings*. What he means by theſe *general* Words, will appear from the following ones, *To believe ſuch Doctrines*, he ſays, *is to believe without Ideas, to believe what we know nothing of*. His Notion is ſtill more fully expreſſed, where he calls them *mere Nothings, unintelligible Terms*, that *convey no Meaning*. We may indeed (he goes on) believe *that there is ſome* general *Truth contained in Propoſitions which we do not underſtand, but of the Propoſitions themſelves we can believe nothing* particularly, *becauſe we underſtand nothing*. Why he inſerted *particularly* I can't imagine, for he does not mean, what the Paſſage in the plain Conſtruction of it imports, any Oppoſition between *General* Truths, and *Particular* Truths, but only, that the Words *may* have ſome Meaning, tho' they convey none to *us*, and that we may *believe* that they have ſome Meaning, tho' it be *unknown* to us. The Oppoſition therefore, as he has placed it, is between *believing ſomething*, and *believing nothing*, between *having*, and *not* having any Ideas; as will appear from the Obſervation which he makes upon it. Nor *can greater Diſhonour be done to God, than to ſuppoſe that he would make it part of our Religion, to believe in general that there is ſome Truth diſguiſed under unintelligible Terms, to which we have no Ideas.*

We are next to enquire what Points he apprehends to be of this Nature, which will eaſily be done, the whole Drift of his Sermon upon *Myſteries*, and of another upon *Hereſy*, being turned againſt the *eſtabliſhed* Doctrines of *Chriſtianity*, the *incomprehenſible Myſteries* (I uſe his own Words) *impoſed upon Mankind*; which he elſewhere calls, the *rigid Impoſition of human Schemes of Doctrine*. But to put this Matter beyond all Doubt or Diſpute, he mentions the Doctrine of the *Trinity*, the *Union of the Divine and Human Nature in the Perſon of Chriſt*, with *other famous Points*.

We may now bring the Matter to a very ſhort Iſſue; for it does not ſignify any thing what Meaning the Word *Myſtery* carried in *Heathen* Writers, what Doctrines are ſtiled *myſterious* in the *New Teſtament*, or whether we uſe the Term properly in applying it to the *Chriſtian Doctrines*, but only, whether the Doctrine of the *Trinity*, the *Hypoſtatical Union*, with other *Chriſtian* Tenets, *eſtabliſhed* by our Laws, and contained in our *publick Creeds*, be ſo *unintelligible*, that the very *Terms*, by which they are expreſſed *convey no Meaning*. This Mr. *Foſter* aſſerts; and, if he can make good his Aſſertion, I ſhall very readily agree with him, that where ſuch *Myſteries begin, Religion muſt end*; that they are *mere Triflles, that have no Connection with Virtue, no Influence upon Practice*; for, how ſhould *unintelligible* Words have any *Virtue* o

Influence; or *insignificant* ones be of any *Consequence*? If this be a true Account of the great Articles of our *Christian Faith*, I agree with him further, that it was *unbecoming the Wisdom of God to be at the Expence of Miracles, and to send an Extraordinary Messenger from Heaven, merely to nonplus human Reason, and make ignorant People stare*; tho' he must excuse me, if I am not very fond of his Phrase of *nonplussing* human Reason; or if I think it indecent (to say no worse) to apply so low and vulgar an Expression, as that of *making ignorant People stare*, to our blessed Saviour's coming down from Heaven, to instruct Mankind in Matters relating to the Divine Nature.

In my next Letter I shall enter into the Merits of the Cause, and shew, that the *Christian Mysteries*, tho' *incomprehensible* in their *Nature*, are *intelligible* as to the *Meaning* of the *Terms*; that they *do* convey some Ideas to *us*, and that we may believe the *Truths* contained in the *Propositions*, tho' we can neither prove them from *Reason*, nor understand the *Manner* of them after they are *revealed*.

As Mr. *Foster* seems to allow the general Truth of *Christianity*, while he denies some *particular* Doctrines of it, I shall not charge him with the *Infidel Consequence* of his Notion and Reasoning, because he may not be sensible of it; but still it is highly requisite to lay open their fatal Tendency. There cannot possibly be a more effectual Method of discrediting our Religion, than by shewing, that the *distinguishing* Parts of it, which run thro' the *whole System*, are *absurd* and *senseless*: For, the more clearly and strongly we prove such Points from *Scripture*, the more strongly we prove, that the Scripture was not written by the Inspiration of *God*, since it could not come from *him*, if in its *principal* and *fundamental* Parts it be either *without* any Sense, or *against* it; if it has *no Meaning*, or if its Meaning be *contrary* to *Reason*. The Inconsistency of Mr. *Foster*'s Opinion with the Truth of *Christianity*, is to me so very obvious, that if he can make me a Convert to the former, I shall soon become an Apostate from the latter.

I am, Yours,

PHILO-MYSTERION.

The Answer to the Letter about the present State of Popery, inserted in our last, p. 432.

Dear Sir,

I Received the Favour of yours of the 12th Inst. and am not a little surpriz'd to hear what you tell me in relation to the Number of Mass-houses and Popish Priests in *London* and *Westminster*. I have endeavoured, all that lies in my Power, to suppress this growing Evil in my Neighbourhood; but I have found such a Backwardness in my Brethren, that little or no Progress has hitherto been made. I have often shewn them the Laws now in Force against Popery; but as they have been long neglected, they will not be the first to execute them. Some are really afraid. Others say, Why should we discourage such or such a School, where a great deal of ready Money is spent; the Priest is a very good-natur'd Man, does a great many charitable Offices; our own Minister has never been here since he was inducted, and the Curate not being able to keep a Horse, to visit the Sick in so large a Parish, the Popish Priest is so kind as to go without being sent to, and pray by, and relieve a poor Family; all which indeed might be done out of the Income of the Living, and maintain a Family genteely, if our Minister would reside among us; but since he does not do so, he must expect to find his Flock seduced by such *feeling* Arguments. This I have heard often said, and wish what Bishop *Burnet* says of Non-Residence and Pluralities, in his noble Conclusion to his last Volume of the History of his own Times, was carefully read, and seriously laid to Heart. (See p. 136.) I am confident that this has not been the least Occasion of the Growth of Infidelity and Popery.

But to return; Another Cause of the Encrease of Popery, is our unhappy Divisions. They have always, before and since the Revolution, fomented them as the surest Means of bringing in their King and Religion amongst us. And really, if for no other Reason, 'tis now high Time, for all who pretend to be Protestants, or love our Constitution, to quit our shameful Party Quarrels, and unite against the declared Enemy to both. The Clergy especially, should be wary and vigilant, should preach, write, and talk against them, till it reach the Ears of those who can put a Stop to this growing Evil. I own the Infidels of this Age have kept them well employed, and gloriously has our Faith been defended; but what if the Papists have been at the Bottom of our Irreligion? I will only tell you, that a professed Deist assured me, that they had no less than 5 Romish Priests, Members of a Club, in which, once a Week, some of the most tremendous Truths of the Gospel were treated with Ridicule. And this has been an old Device, —— *Unsettle the Minds of the People, and we shall have them at last.*

I had a Letter, by the same Post, from a Friend, your Neighbour, who tells me, that the Emperor is persecuting the Protestants in his Hereditary Dominions; and that the Archbishop of *Saltzburg* continues to harrass and drive out of his Country, with the greatest Marks of Severity, such as are of the Reformed Religion. May there not be now happily a Time approaching, to get some better Terms for our Protestant Brethren abroad? Have we no Fears that the Popish Powers may unite, and extirpate the Protestant Religion? And must we foster such Numbers of

Vipers

Vipers in our own Boſom, ready to receive Arms and join with them?

As I was ſpeaking to a Gentleman the other Day upon this Head, he anſwered me pretty ſhort, and ſaid, The Papiſts are quiet, good-natur'd People, are ſo intermixed by Marriages, and other Alliances, with the Proteſtants, that we have no Reaſon to fear any Thing, if we do not provoke them by ill Uſage. I made him no Anſwer, but took down the Hiſtory of *Ireland*, wrote by *Cox*, and read him the following Paragraph, relating to the Times juſt preceding the bloody, and ſcarce parallel'd Maſſacre in 1641.

And in this quiet and ſerene Condition was the Kingdom of Ireland, *not ſuſpecting the leaſt Diſturbance from the Papiſts, who were not under any Perſecution upon the Account of Religion, their Clergy exerciſing their Function as ſafely, and almoſt as publickly, as the Proteſtants. They were obliged to the King by the eaſieſt of Governments, and the Graces and Conceſſions he had lately vouchſafed unto them; and they were faſtned to the* Engliſh *by all the Ties of Intereſt, Friendſhip, and Marriage, and (which is more in* their *Eſteem) goſſiping and ſoſtering; and they were engaged to propagate the publick Peace, by their own happy, free, and flouriſhing Condition: But all this was over-balanced by their Bigottry, which opened one of the bloodieſt Scenes that ever was ſeen in the World.* I make no Remarks, but conclude, *Yours, ſincerely*

Aug. 22, 1734. T. H.

THERE is ſomething upon this Subject, and very agreeable to ſome Paſſages in the above Letter, in the *Daily Courant* of the 5th Inſt. the Writer of which begins thus: It has been obſerved, that, to ſubvert the Proteſtant Religion, and reduce again to the Chains of Darkneſs and Superſtition, theſe free enlightened Realms, the *Popiſh Prieſts* have Recourſe to Infidelity, and are become Propagators of Irreligion, founding their Conduct on this Maxim, *Unſettle the Minds of the People, and you will have them at laſt.*

Nor can I think theſe Politicks of the *Jeſuits* abſurd, however ſtrange and paradoxical it may ſeem to ſome, that Diſbelief ſhould be propagated as the Road to the blindeſt Credulity; when it is conſidered, that Man is naturally a religious Creature; that *Atheiſm*, which includes the Diſbelief of all Religion, is the Extream of Infidelity, as Popery is the Extream of Credulity; and nothing is more common, than for Men capable of Extreams to change to quite the Reverſe.

If to this Conſideration we add the unnatural, horrid, and ſhocking Situation into which Atheiſm drives the Mind of Man; a Situation void of all Comfort and Joy, and which affords no reſting Place for the Soul, it is no Wonder that ſuch Men ſhould, upon the firſt Senſibility of their melancholy Condition, be ready to run into the other Extream, as People benummed with Cold, can ſcarce keep themſelves out of the Fire.

However, it is not my Deſign to purſue this Diſquiſition, but to obſerve, that the *Oppoſition* to the *preſent Government* is founded on the ſame Principle, and carried on in perfect Analogy with the Work of the *Jeſuits*. If that ſubtle Fraternity are not the ſole Source of the preſent Oppoſition, yet they muſt be delighted to ſee it built on their own Maxims, and carried on in ſuch a Manner as coincides with their Views, and naturally tends to introduce that univerſal Confuſion, from which alone they expect their Advancement.

As it is the Buſineſs of the *Jeſuits*, on one Hand, to unſettle the Minds of the People about Religion, and when they find them bewilder'd, preach up the Advantages of *Popery*; ſo, on the other Hand, you find the *Craftſman* alienating the People's Affections from our Conſtitution, breaking their Attachment to Government, and ſowing amongſt them Diſreſpect and Diſtruſt of their *Sovereign*; while *Fog* is ſinging Hoſannahs to the Family of the *Pretender*, and ſeems as highly delighted as when he is libelling the *Houſe* of *Orange*.

Univerſal Spectator, Sept. 7. N° 309.

Of impertinent Viſits.

THERE is no greater Inſtance of *Ill-Breeding*, than an *Indiſcretion* in paying of *Viſits*. The Generality of *Viſits* proceed not from Sincerity or Friendſhip, but either from Faſhion, Form, or the *Amuſement* of an *idle Hour*. This laſt Cauſe for the moſt Part prevails; therefore a Woman when ſhe has nothing to do, ſtarts from *Home* only becauſe ſhe is tired of it, to trouble People who have important Buſineſs, or domeſtic Troubles which require no Witneſſes: She is received; ſhe perceives a Concern which ſhe cannot think is at her tedious Stay, therefore with an inſignificant Tittle Tattle ſhe diſtracts the Perſons ſhe would divert. One would think it were eaſy enough for any one to diſcern when their *Viſit* began to grow burthenſome, but the Vanity of thinking their Company muſt neceſſarily be agreeable, and the Self-Confidence of their *own Wit* and *Converſation*, prevent their obſerving it. There is no Character more deſpicable in itſelf, and more formidable to others, than that of a *Maker* of *inſignificant Viſits*, who not knowing how to ſpend her *own Time*, runs about to waſte that of other People who could put it to a much better Uſe. But what Pretence can this Claſs of *Viſitants* have for fatiguing their Acquaintance; what have they to ſay to them

them? *It is fine Weather, or it is bad; The Town is full, or it is empty:* That Knowledge could be obtained without purchasing it at so dear a Rate; and if they would be thought *agreeable* or *polite*, they take the wrong Step, they mistake *wearying* People for *pleasing* them, and *Impertinence* for *good Manners*.

Most People, some Time or other, chuse to be by themselves; either from Caprice of Humour, domestick Troubles, or a thousand private Reasons, Company would be ungrateful to them. Can any one then take a *Denial* to be *ill Manners*, when the Persons visited could not from their *Chagrin* receive them with that *Pleasantry* which is *necessary* to make a *Visit agreeable?* But let the Reasons be what they will, I think every Lady has a *Right* and *Liberty* of disposing of her Time, and that she may refuse the receiving a Visit, without incurring the Censure of *ill Manners*.

The following Letters of Complaint are upon the same Subject.

Mr. Spectator,

I Am a poor unfortunate *Girl*, who has not been long out of the Country, where my unadvised Parents, without any Regard to my future Welfare, brought me up to that ill-mannerly Thing of telling *Truth*. This, Sir, I am afraid will be my Ruin, for in the Service I now live (which is my first) I am obliged to tell several Lies in a Day, in denying my Mistress to some Company or other; but my old Habit of telling *Truth* has occasioned several Indecorums; for on the first Question, *Was my Mistress at home*, I have said *yes* before I knew what I was about: And when I have denied her, I have done it with such *Fear* and *Trembling*, and with such *Simplicity*, as my Mistress calls it, as any one might easily discern I told a *Lie*. I am afraid, Sir, this will occasion me to lose my Place; and what is worse, I hear there is no Service in *London*, but where this Qualification of *Lying* is most necessary.

Yours, *Sally Bashful.*

Sir, *Queen-street, Westminster.*

I Am Servant-Maid to a Gentlewoman who sees a great deal of Company, and you may consequently suppose I must tell a great many *Lies*. I do indeed, but as for that I value it not a *Rush*. No one can affirm a *necessary Lie* with a better Grace; I have been used to it. 'Tis not of that, Sir, I would complain; but my Mistress very often, after I have with an admirable Confidence affirm'd she was not at home, and the *Visitor* just *going* down Stairs, she will run,——*O my Dear, is it you? Yes Child, I am at Home to you.*—— Now pray, Mr. *Spec.* how must I look, think you? What can I say for myself? Why, to make me amends, my *Mistress* and her *Visitor* laugh at me for looking so *Foolish*. —— This is too much to stand; therefore, Sir, tell my Mistress in one of your *Papers*, either not to make me a *Liar*, or at least not to *prove* me one so openly, and you'll oblige

Susanna Fibber.

P. S. Pray, Sir, desire at the same Time, my Mistress would not talk *louder* just when I *deny* her, than she has Spirits to do all the Day after.

Weekly Register, Sept. 7. N° 237.

Observations on the Multitude of Beggars.

THE incredible Multitude of Beggars, that swarms thro' every Street of this great City, is very shocking; and they are, indeed, an epidemick Plague all over the Kingdom: We see them of both Sexes, of all Degrees, from Infancy to old Age; afflicted with all Maladies, either of Sickness, Pain, Lameness, Wounds, Loss of Sight, &c. They dun you at every Corner, when you take Coach or Water, when you stop at a Shop to buy, as you go or return from Church: In short, where-ever you are, however you are employ'd, you are still liable to their Importunity, and if you pay for your Quiet to all who would levy the Fine, you would soon stand in need of the same Charity yourself.

All Persons have an equal Demand on Nature, for the Necessaries of Life; and, in whatever Society they are born, they may challenge that Provision, unless they forfeit it by their own Indolence and Uselessness. 'Tis, therefore, a peculiar Aggravation of these People's Distress, that they suffer in a Land of Plenty, and pine for the Want of that, which the Luxury of others lavishes away.

These Wretches are of two Classes: One consists of those who really are disabled to support themselves by any Business or Employment; and therefore are compell'd to throw themselves on the Mercy of their Fellow-Creatures, and trust to Providence intirely for their Preservation. Of these, some are so truly Objects of Commiseration, that the generous Heart almost bleeds, that Humanity should be liable to such severe Affliction. One of these poor Creatures I lately saw myself, so depress'd by his Calamities, as not to look upwards, or hope for Comfort, nay unwilling to receive it; as if so painful a Being was not worth preserving, and Death the only Relief that was truly to be wish'd for. As *Shakespear* has it, *sharp Misery had worn him to the Bone*; his Eyes had lost all their Spirit, his Hair and Beard wild and neglected, and

every

very Muſcle of his Face expreſſive of Famine and Deſpair.

The ſecond Claſs is compos'd of ſuch, who turn Beggars thro' Idleneſs and Luxury, and rather chuſe to fatten as Vagrants, than ſweat away their Lives in honeſt Labour and Induſtry. Theſe are Counterfeits of the others, and, if they have not the ſame Pretences to Charity, know how to diſſemble them ſo well, that the moſt penetrating Eye is often deceiv'd. 'Tis impoſſible to enumerate the Arts they have to effect this, and move Compaſſion: Some hire Children, ſome make artificial Sores, others tie up a Leg, and all, in general, underſtand the Dreſs and Guiſe of Wretchedneſs ſo well, that no Painter could help them to a Circumſtance which could heighten the Image.

Now both theſe Claſſes are, I think, alike, worthy the Notice of the Legiſlature; and as they are both equally a publick Nuiſance, the Society has a Sort of Demand on their Governors, to have it remov'd out of the Way. Neither is it at all impracticable, as Experience and Common Senſe will eaſily demonſtrate. The laſt ſhould be kept by Authority to hard Labour, and the firſt ſupported as the Orphans of the Publick, who had a Right to live, tho' Nature or Fortune had deny'd them the Means.

Let this be the Charity of the People as a Body, and, when this is done, the trueſt Objects of Pity will be left unprovided for ſtill. I mean thoſe who are reduc'd from Affluence and Independency to Want, and every Kind of Miſery: Whoſe natural Pride or Modeſty will not ſuffer them to complain: Who pine in Secret, without a Chance for Relief, without a Friend to ſerve them, or the moſt diſtant Proſpect of better Days: Who, perhaps, are forced to appear gay and ſmiling, in the Midſt of Agony, and ſit mournful Witneſſes of the Profuſion of others in Trifles, which would be Support and Happineſs to them.

These are certainly the moſt wretched of Mankind, and have the ſtrongeſt Claim for Compaſſion and Aſſiſtance: Whoever abounds with Fortune ſhould look upon theſe as Perſons who had a natural Right to all he could have, and ſhould beſide make it his higheſt Glory to make them eaſy. There are, in the Number of theſe, Perſons of ſuch great Merit, of ſuch fine Qualities, and reduc'd to this melancholy Circumſtance, by ſuch a Series of ſtrange Accidents, that one would think they were left by Providence on Purpoſe, for Objects, on which the Rich and Great ſhould exerciſe their Humanity and Virtue.

Grubſtreet Journal, Sept. 12. N° 246.

An Emblem *of a* Law-Caſe.

WILLIAM having receiv'd a Letter from *Sarah*, written by *Charles*, ſhewed the ſame to *Roger*; who, upon Peruſal, ſaid, he wondered, that *Richard* ſhould be ſo indiſcreet as to quarrel with *James* about *Abigail*, who was ſo extreamly ugly, and conſequently ſhocking: Becauſe that *Edward* had refuſed, tho' aſked, to go to the Play with *Catherine*. Whereupon *Philip* falling into a Paſſion with *Titus*, ſwore he would be revenged on *Patrick*; and therefore called *Thomas* Rogue, Raſcal, *&c.* *Stephen*, who 'tis thought was an Eye-witneſs to the Abuſe, and being *Chriſtopher*'s Friend, ſlyly tripped up *Rowland*'s Heels, and broke *Jeremy*'s Head. *Cuthbert* on this drew his Dagger at *Edmund*; and *Archibald*, trembling, with much ado recovered his Fright; re-aſſumed his natural Intrepidity; and in a cold Sweat, ſnatched *Gilbert*'s Piſtol from *Lawrence*, and cocked his Blunderbuſs at *Paul*. Whereat *John* being amaz'd, ſecretly adviſed *Samuel* to apply to *Leonard*, with the Help of *George*, privately to make an Affidavit againſt *Arthur*, to take out a Writ againſt *Henry* and *Rachel*, at the Suit of *Timothy*, Executor of the laſt Will and Teſtament of *Jacob*. But *Peter* objected to that, wiſely alleging, that *Robert*, being ſick, had ſent Word to *David*, who was lately married to *Hannah*, to deſire *Jeffrey*, who had been taken in Bed with *Mark*'s Wife, to ſend his Grand-ſon *Ralph* to his Couſin *Bridget*, earneſtly to intreat his Nephew *Joſhua*, to go along with his Brother *Frank*, to make up the Matter amicably with his Aunt *Suſan*. But ſhe refuſed to go with *Jack*; yet nevertheleſs recommended *Frederick* and *Humphrey* to *Andrew*, *Simon*, and *Luke*; who after a long and grave Conſultation, order'd the Muſick to play briſker, and then went unanimouſly to *Bartholomew*. So that having drank plentifully at *Ned*'s, till they were all intoxicated, having nothing to pay the Shot with, they drew their Swords at *Dick* the Land-lord, ſtabbed *Robbin*, fell upon *Lancelot*, lam'd *Iſaac*, and had it not been for *Solomon*, had ſlain *Cornelius*. Thereupon *Nat* ruſhed forward, and ſwearing at *Marmaduke*, who had been aſleep all the Time in *Sally*'s Lap, ſo incenſed *Walter* and *Martin*, that *Miles* and *Zachariah*, without any Regard to *Matthew*, threw Bottles, Glaſſes, *&c.* at one another's Heads. At which *Abraham*, who was *Moll*'s Bully, being inraged, took *Benjamin* civilly by the Throat; kicked *Theophilus* gently down Stairs; picked *Abel*'s Pocket, while he was making his Addreſſes to *Nell*; and at the ſame Time in the higheſt Fury imaginable, ſmiling calmly, ſent *Barnaby*, *Toby*, and *Giles* to the Round houſe. At which *Anthony* half drunk, ſoberly ſtarted up; and having firſt reeled two or three Times round the Room, put on an important wiſe Look, made a fine Speech nothing to the Purpoſe, and then aſked what was the Matter. Whereupon

Bryan

Bryan in a low Voice loudly whiſpered *Aaron*; and perceiving, that *Alexander* was ſtrangely aſtoniſhed at their ſilent Noiſe, told *Francis*, that his Great Grandfather *Joſeph* was dead. At which unexpected News *Nicholas* awaked, and being in an Ill-Humour, writ a ſoft Love-Song; whiſtled an Opera Air; and then withdrew to a neighbouring Ale-houſe, to drink a Diſh of Chocolate with *Dudley*. Which exaſperated *Job* in ſuch a ſurprizing Manner, that none of the Company wonder'd at it: Only indeed *Valentine*, in the Height of his Reſentment, could not forbear going to hang himſelf. However, *Allan* run undeſignedly to the Goal, in order to let out the aforeſaid Priſoners; and having, without any Noiſe, broke open the Doors, freed *Gerrard*, *Margaret*, and *Betty*; who being apprehended at *King*'s, by the timely Aſſiſtance of *Bernard*, were carried next Morning before *Hugh Noodle*, Eſq; a trading Juſtice in St. *Giles*'s, and upon paying a Shilling a-piece, the whole Affair was happily determined: Which is the moſt exact Account that can be given thereof, by

Your humble Servant,

OLIVER PUZZLE-CAUSE.

Free Briton, Sept. 12. N° 254.

Remarks on the laſt Craftſman, *on the Subject of* uncorrupt *and* independent Parliaments. (*See p.* 462.)

AS far from being awed by the Apprehenſion, as infected by the Example of the *injurious* Behaviour of the Writers of the *Craftſman*, I ſhall enter into the Conſideration of their Argument on the Benefits of an *uncorrupt* and an *independent* Parliament, wherein I wiſh, with the greateſt Sincerity, that all Corruption, undue Influence, and Byaſs were baniſhed from the Councils of the Publick: But if this Grievance is the *Vice of Human Nature*, if Men bring with them to Parliaments the Paſſions and Appetites of their Species, if theſe reſide in *Fleſh* and *Blood*, it will be Malice and Injuſtice to inſinuate, that they altogether flow from Courts and Miniſters, who are in ſome Caſes burdened and aggrieved by them, and have ſometimes rather been compelled, thro' Neceſſity, to humour them, than led by Inclination to encourage them.

Thro' that Maze of Words, in which the *Author of the Craftſman* hath bewildered his Readers, let us then come to his *Propoſitions of Independency*, ſuch as ought to flouriſh in all Legiſlative Bodies. Now, firſt, he lays it down, that ſtrict or *abſolute Independency* is only an Attribute of Deity, and that *the Nature of Men will not admit of* abſolute *Independency*. This we know, and to this we agree: But in the next Place, he lays down the neceſſary Independency which he contends for, to be *another Sort of Independency*, namely, that *all Bodies, which conſtitute a legiſlative Power among Men, ſhould preſerve a* free *and* unbyaſſed *Exerciſe of the Juriſdiction* peculiar *to each* conſtituent Party, *as oppoſed to any corrupt Influence of the other conſtituent Parties*.

Here then is Contradiction apparent from the firſt ſetting out in this Argument: For *Dependency* deſtroys *Freedom*, and creates *Byaſs*, in the Exerciſe of any Juriſdiction; and if, as this Author hath aſſerted, human Nature is *incapable* of *ſtrict* or *abſolute Independency*, if it is impoſſible that Men, who have Intercourſes with each other, can preſerve themſelves free from the Byaſs of Affections or Inclinations, in Favour or Prejudice of each other, then it is clear, as any Demonſtration in *Euclid*, that Bodies, which conſtitute a legiſlative Power, *cannot* preſerve a *ſtrict* or *abſolute*, *free and unbyaſſed* Exerciſe of their reſpective Juriſdictions.

It will be allowed and lamented, that from this Infirmity of human Nature, the Publick will always be in ſome Meaſure endangered, that the Freedom of the legiſlative Power will not be ſo truly unbyaſſed, nor the Limits of the executive Power ſo duly reſtrained, as the Happineſs of Nations, and the Security of the People may juſtly make us wiſh, that theſe ſhould ever be.

But then it will not follow, that every wild, unjuſt, or impracticable Scheme which may bring a Nation into Ruin and Confuſion, is to be favoured or allowed, becauſe it is uſhered into the World with a ſpecious Preamble againſt Bribery and Corruption. If it be examined, it may be frequently found the ſureſt Means of carrying on the moſt deteſtable Influence with the higheſt Hand, and making Men unmeaſurably dependent in the moſt ſacred Seats of Liberty.

What was the *ſelf-denying Ordinance* of *Oliver Cromwell*, which had the moſt virtuous, religious and popular Argument that could win the Aſſent of Parliament? What was it but an infamous, treacherous Stalking Horſe to the moſt ſelfiſh Avarice, and unbounded Ambition!

I will not flatter any Gentlemen, ſo far as to think them incapable of this View in their Clamours againſt Corruption, whilſt I ſee, and all Men know them to be engaged in the warmeſt Purſuit of Power. 'Tis that corrupts the Heart of Man, even more than the Enjoyment of it.

In the Reign of K. *William*, when, *Burnet* tell's us, a *Flood of Gold*, yes, a *Flood of* French *Gold* was viſible amongſt us, who came over with the *French* Miniſter, ceaſed at his leaving the Kingdom, were Commons, who carried on every Proceed which could aggrieve their Prince, or injure the publick Affairs, were they free from the publick Suſpicion by the *Vaſt*

…th of *Feb.* 1701-2; *That the aſperſing of* …*the* laſt *Houſe of Commons, or* any Member …*thereof with receiving* French Money, *or being in the* Intereſt of *France, was a ſcandalous, villainous, and* groundleſs *Reflection?* No; this Vote was rather a Confeſſion, that receiving ſuch Money, or *being in ſuch Intereſt,* was a *ſcandalous* and a *villainous Practice.*

There is in *this Journal* a memorable Inſtance how ſenſibly the Charge of this Practice affected the Thoughts of one Mr. *Henry St. John*, who, on the 18th of *Dec.* following, reported an *Addreſs*, which was afterwards made to the Queen by that Houſe, wherein they excuſe themſelves from rewarding the *Duke of Marlborough*, according to her Deſire of giving his Family the Penſion of *five thouſand Pounds per Annum*, which was afterwards granted them; in which Addreſs the eloquent Penman declares, *Their Satisfaction in the eminent Services performed by that great Man, who had not only, by his Conduct of the Army, retrieved the antient Honour of the* Engliſh Nation, *but by his Negotiations eſtabliſhed an entire Confidence, and good Underſtanding between her Majeſty and the States General*; *and therein vindicated the* Gentlemen of England, *who had, by the vile Practices of deſigning Men, been traduced and induſtriouſly repreſented, as* falſe to the Allies, *becauſe they were* true to the Intereſts of their Country.

This *ſhining Patriot*, who thought himſelf and his Collegues ſo happily vindicated, from the Imputation of *French Influence*, by the good Correſpondence and entire Confidence, which the *Duke of Marlborough* had eſtabliſhed between *Great Britain* and the *States General*, was the Man who ſupplanted the *Duke of Marlborough*, and vilified his Reputation; removed him from that Conduct of the Army, by which he retrieved the Glory, and from the Negotiations, by which he vindicated the *Gentlemen of* England; deſtroyed all Correſpondence and Confidence between the *Queen* and the *States General*, and, by his Adminiſtration, proceeded more infamous Lengths, than the Suſpicion of his Enemies had charged upon him; in Breach of Faith to *all the Allies*, and with the baſeſt *Falſeneſs to the Intereſts of* his *Country.*

And that his *Love of Liberty* may be ſeen, let it be remembred, that, when he *violated the Faith* of this Nation with its *brave Allies*, the poor unfortunate *Catalans*, when he ſent a *Britiſh Admiral* to demand the Guns from their Ramparts, which the Queen had lent them for their Defence, and deprived them of thoſe Guns in the midſt of a Siege: This horrid Procedure of abandoning a great, unhappy People, whom the Queen herſelf had drawn into a War, by the ſacred Promiſe of her own Protection: This Sacrifice of the *Catalans* was owing to their Firmneſs, in adhering to their antient Liberties, the *Right which they had by their Conſtitution* over the *Purſe* and the *Sword:* This ineſtimable Privilege *Lord Bolinbroke*, as *Secretary of State*, had demanded, in Conjunction with the *Spaniſh Miniſters*, that they ſhould ſurrender, in Exchange for the *Privileges of Caſtile*, in trading to the *Weſt Indies*, and being capable to hold Employments in *America*; which, ſays *Lord Bolinbroke*, in his Letters to the Queen's *Plenipotentiaries at* Utrecht, *are of infinitely greater Value to thoſe, who intend to live in a due Subjection to Authority.*

This is the Man, behold him well, who, having ſacrificed the Liberties of other Nations, as of *ſmall Value*, to thoſe who would live in *due Subjection to Authority*, is buſying himſelf, and moleſting others with viſionary Schemes, for improving that Conſtitution, which, when it was in his Hands, was, by his wilful Miſmanagement, brought to the Brink of Deſtruction.

Fog's Journal, Sept. 14. N° 306.

A View of the Reign of Henry III.

THE Character given of *Henry* IIId is that he was inſatiably covetous, a Vice more infamous in a Sovereign than in any other; he was humourſome and fickle, inclined to tyrannize over and oppreſs his Subjects; wherefore it is nothing wonderful that he was ſuſceptible of the worſt Principles, and that his Favourite *de Burgh* eaſily effaced thoſe Maxims of Honour and Juſtice, which the good Earl *Pembroke* had endeavoured to inſtil. *De Burgh* knew and flattered the King's Weakneſs, which was graſping at deſpotick Power. The King began, after he had imbibed the deſtructive Principles of his Favourite, to ſqueeze Money from the People under frivolous Pretences; and by revoking the Charters of King *John*, tho' he had ſolemnly, himſelf, ſworn to maintain them. This loſt him very much in the Eſteem of his People, alienated the Hearts of the Nobility, and was productive of a Confederacy headed by his own Brother. Theſe notable Exploits were by the Advice of his prime Miniſter, for which he was rewarded with the Title of Earl of *Kent*. The Ambition of this Miniſter cauſed his Maſter to ſlip the Opportunity of recovering the Dominions which his Father's Negligence had loſt in *France*; for to uſe the Words of *Rapin*; *This Prince ſuffered himſelf to be led blindfold by his Miniſters, who abuſed the Eaſineſs of his Temper, and the Weakneſs of his Capacity, to make their own Fortunes, without the leaſt Regard to the Intereſt of their Maſter.*

Henry was intoxicated with an Idea of arbitrary Government, and to attain to it, liſten'd to the Counſel of Men, who making their own Advantage of this unjuſt Paſſion,

rendered him odious to his Subjects, who held him in such Contempt, that they would not rely upon his Word without Security; and indeed they had little Reason to trust to his Promises, as he had been guilty of Perjury, with Regard to the Charters, and laugh'd at the Credulity of such as thought him incapable of falsifying his Word; but this Meanness was not the only one the Advice of his Favourites had made him guilty of, for by a low Stratagem of *Hugh de Burgh*, he poorly trick'd several of the Nobility, and condescended to a *Chicane*, which an honest Tradesman would blush to be taxed with; but he was persuaded it would contribute to the accomplishing his Wishes, and enable him to make his Will the Rule of his Government; and with what Lenity he would have treated his Subjects may be gathered from his violently seizing on the Estate of, and banishing the Earl of *Pembroke*, Son to the very Man who set and established the Crown upon his Head. After the Disgrace of *Hugh de Burgh*, *Peter de Rupibus*, who succeeded to the King's Favour, to preserve that, and his own Power, struck boldly at the Liberties of the People, advised him to send for a Number of Foreigners, who were put into Places of Trust, marry'd to the King's Wards, to the Prejudice of the *English*, and were thus engrafted into the Families of the Nobility.

Henry being strengthened by the Arrival of 2000 *Poitevins* openly prepared to make War upon such of the Nobility, as represented to him the dangerous Consequence of so unjustifiable a Procedure. He wasted their Estates, destroyed their Parks, plundered their Houses of the Furniture, and divided the Spoil among his Foreigners. These Acts of arbitrary Power forced the Earl of *Pembroke* to have Recourse to Arms, and this convinced the King of the Loss of his People's Affections, as he had the Mortification to be refused their Aid against a Subject, for whom he with his Foreigners were not a Match; but he was taken off by the blackest Treachery of the Minister. His own Disgrace soon followed, and may be a Lesson to all wicked Favourites; for, no Doubt, *Peter de Rupibus*, Bishop of *Winchester*, who had an entire Ascendant over his Master, who had surrounded him with Creatures absolutely dependent on himself, and who had filled all Posts of Honour and Trust with mean Wretches of the same Character, who had an Army of Strangers, his own Countrymen; no doubt, I say, but this Man thought himself above the Reach of the most powerful of his Enemies. *Henry* was indeed in some Measure torn out of the Hands of his pernicious Ministers, but soon relapsed into his former Imprudence, restor'd some of them to Favour, and by their Advice was again guilty of a Baseness unbecoming the meanest Subject, and would a second Time, by a Plea of Nonage annul his own Act. This the Parliament heard with so great Indignation, that they refus'd their Consent, and an Action so much below the Dignity of a crown'd Head, not only enhanc'd the publick Contempt, but laid him open to the Insults of foreign Princes; he was obliged to conclude a shameful Treaty with the King of *Scots*, who haughtily made a Demand of *Northumberland*, and to buy off his Pretensions with a yearly Revenue.

After this inglorious Treaty he servilely fawn'd upon his Parliament; acknowledged his Indiscretions; threw the Blame upon his self-interested Ministers; promised an Amendment of his Conduct for the future, and submissively begg'd a Supply proportion'd to his Necessities: But his Parliament could repose no Confidence in his Words, and he had the Mortification of an haughty Refusal. They reminded him of the many Aids they had granted without having received any reciprocal Mark of his Affection, and that instead of applying the great Sums he had exacted from the People to the Conservation of his Dominions, he had squander'd them away upon Strangers. But notwithstanding this resolute Denial, they were induced to give him a Supply on certain Conditions and Restrictions, which he had no Regard to, for he laid Hands on the Money raised, and gave it among his foreign Favourites, whom he still continued in his Councils, tho' the first Condition on which he obtained this Aid was the turning them out.

Craftsman, Sept. 14. N° 428.

Continuation of the Former. (See p. 462.)

IF it be admitted that the Preservation of the *Constitution* is essential to our *Liberties*, the Conclusions deduced in the last Paper immediately and necessarily follow; and are liable to no Objection; unless some *Hireling* should be so perverse as to deny this Position, *that* pecuniary Gifts, Gratuities, or Pensions *from one Part of the Legislature to another prevent the free and unbiassed Exercise of the Jurisdiction of that constituent Part, to which they are applied*; which trifling Objection includes, what I am sure the *Wretch*, who is so abandoned as to use it, will esteem a fair Answer; since to suppose that such a Distribution of Favours will not bias those who receive them, reflects at once upon the Judgment, as well as the Integrity of the *Distributor*; who aims at a *corrupt End* by *impracticable Means*.

To pursue the Purpose of this Paper, (which is chiefly to illustrate what hath been proved in the former) it will be necessary to consider the real Difference between *oppressive Laws*, and an *oppressive Exertion of Power*

gather; from whence it will appear how much more important it is to the Liberties of the People, that a *House of Commons* ſhould be *independent of the Crown*, than that the *Crown* ſhould even be reſtrained from an *illegal Exerciſe of Prerogative*. This Enquiry becomes the more neceſſary, as it will fully evince both the Folly and Proſtitution of *thoſe*, who may be hired to juſtify *legal Slavery*, by referring the People to the Reigns of thoſe Princes, in which *Law* was diſregarded, and *Prerogative* carried to exceſſive Heights; ſince it is clear to a Demonſtration, that the Oppreſſions ariſing from thence are infinitely more tolerable than thoſe, which have received the Sanction of the *whole Legiſlature*.

It does not ſo much require an Appeal to Hiſtory, as to common Senſe, for a Proof of this Truth; that the ſame Species of Oppreſſion, under the different Appearances of *Prerogative* and of *Law*, will have very different, if not quite contrary Effects; and that enforcing Obedience to *Prerogative*, againſt *Law*, will be attended with *Diſcontent*, *Jealouſy*, perhaps *Reſiſtance*; whereas *Laws*, which the People fondly imagine are the unbiaſſed Reſult of the Judgment of *thoſe*, who repreſent them, will be chearfully obey'd; altho' the only Meaſure of Obedience be an implicit Deference to their *Repreſentatives*.

Thoſe of the moſt inferior Underſtandings, can diſcover the Difference between a *Proclamation*, and an *Act of Parliament*; and, if the Authority of the *former* ſhould require that Submiſſion, which is only due to the *latter*, will not only conclude it a Violation of the *Conſtitution*, and therefore be ſufficiently alarmed with ſuch an Attempt to prevent the oppreſſive Effects of it; but will likewiſe ſee that it is calculated to render the *People's Share in the Legiſlature* intirely ineffectual, and to erect *arbitrary Power* upon the Ruins of the *Conſtitution*.

The Truth of theſe Obſervations is too evident to admit of Illuſtration from Example; and an Appeal to *Hiſtory*, in confirmation of the firſt Principles of *common Senſe*, would be as unneceſſary as to quote a *rigid Moraliſt* to prove the moſt obvious and uncontеſted Principle of *Morality*.

And yet it may be excuſeable, upon this Occaſion, juſt to mention the former Part of the Reign of King *Charles* II. as one Inſtance of the Truth of what hath been contended for. Altho' *this Prince* was complimented by his *Parliaments* with the *Liberties of all the People of England*, by inveſting him with *Power* and *Wealth* ſufficient to have reduced them to *Slavery*; yet ſo different are the Effects produced by illegally extending *Prerogative*, and putting *Laws* in Execution, that thoſe very Oppreſſions imputed to his unhappy Father *Charles* I. and for which he loſt his Life, were now chearfully ſubmitted to under the Appearance of *Law*. Nay, ſo exceſſive was the *Power*, under which the *People* acquieſced, and which the *Parliament* then gave *this Prince*, that his *biggotted Succeſſor* found himſelf in Poſſeſſion of a *Revenue*, ſufficient to attempt the Deſtruction of our *Liberties*, without the farther Aid of *Parliament*.

The Application of theſe general Obſervations ſeems as natural, as the Truth of them unavoidably forces itſelf upon the Mind; but that my Intention may be ſeen in one View, I will take the Freedom to reduce it under three Heads.

Firſt, it is to ſhew, how greatly it concerns the People of *England*, that no *undue*, or *corrupt Methods* ſhould be made Uſe of, to influence the Juriſdiction of their *Repreſentatives in Parliament*; ſince the Sanction, which *Oppreſſion* obtains under the Form of *Law*, ſaps the Foundation of our *Liberties*; which, in this Inſtance, are rendered ſo much the more inſecure, from the Obedience naturally due to *Parliamentary Authority*.

2*dly*, That altho' *an arbitrary Exerciſe of Power againſt Law*, under the infamous Pretence of its being the *King's Prerogative*, may be carried ſo high as to become inſupportable; and therefore to be avoided as an Evil next in Degree to *legal Tyranny*; yet the leaſt Advance of *this Power* beyond its due Bounds is in the Teeth of the *Conſtitution*; and is therefore an open Attack upon the *People's Liberties*; which hath generally been received by them with a becoming Warmth; and which evinces the Truth of what hath been already ſaid, *of how much greater Conſequence it is to the* Liberties of the People, *that a* Houſe of Commons *ſhould be independent of the* Crown, *than that the* Crown *ſhould be even reſtrained from an illegal Exerciſe of* Prerogative.

3*dly*, As the Hiſtory of former Ages bears ample Teſtimony of the many ſcandalous Means, by which *Parliaments* have been *corrupted*, and the more ſcandalous Purpoſes, to which they have been proſtituted, it may from thence be concluded, that it is poſſible, at leaſt, in ſome future Age, the enſlaving Projects of a *rapacious prime Miniſter* may make it neceſſary for him to *corrupt a Parliament*, and thereby attempt the Deſtruction of the *Conſtitution*, in order to protect himſelf from that Vengeance, for which his Crimes had long cry'd aloud.

London Journal, Sept. 14. N° 794.

Reaſons for the Union of the Whigs.

THE *good State* of our Affairs at home (ſays *Oſborne*) is one Reaſon why the Friends of the Government ſhould unite wit

the Court; and the *ill State* of Affairs abroad is another Reason for their Union. This good State of our domestick Affairs flowing entirely from his Majesty's governing upon *Whig-Principles*, and by *Whig-Ministers*, calls aloud for the Union of all the *Whigs* in the Kingdom: for to oppose a *Court* which is absolutely in the Interest of the *Country*, A shews the highest Ingratitude to their *Prince*, and the most shameless Disregard of their *Country*.

The right Management of our Affairs at home, is *in the Power* of the King and his Ministers; and they have used that Power in Subserviency to the Rules of Wisdom and publick Virtue. But the Case is not the same as to *Foreign Affairs*; the State of those B *is not in their Power*, but depends upon the different Understandings, Views, and Interests of the several Princes and sovereign Powers abroad. The greatest political Skill, the best concerted Projects, and the most beneficial and reasonable Treaties, may all be defeated by the *Caprice*, the *Humour*, the *Ambition*, or *Breach of Faith* of one single C Power.

The present Situation of Affairs abroad, is not owing to the *Nature* of any Treaties now existing, but to the *manifest Breach* of those Treaties in one Court, to *Treachery* in another, to *weak* and *ill judged Politicks* in a third; and to the *just Resentment*, as some call it, or to the *boundless Ambition* of a fourth: And, I was going to add, to *mean* D *Neutralities*, *pacific Tempers*, &c. of other Powers. But I forbear ——————— and shall only say, that whatever Causes have produced the present melancholy State of Foreign Affairs, we ought not to look on as *unconcerned Spectators*. The Balance of Power must be preserved. A *general War* may be the Consequence of the present Struggle, and E *must* be the Consequence, unless the confederate Powers, amidst the loud Roar of *Conquest*, will hearken to the low Voice of *Reason*, which is very unlikely: So that 'tis the highest Duty of all the *real Friends* of the Government to unite as one Man, and throw in all possible Assistance to his Majesty in this critical Juncture.

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Grubstreet Journal, Sept. 19. N° 247.

Reflections on the present Method of publishing Books.

Mr. BAVIUS,

I Have heard it said by a judicious Observer, that there is always some prevailing G *Insania* amongst the *English*, in Learning, in Politicks, and in Religion. That in our present Systems of Politicks and Religion, there is at least a Dash of it, I believe no prudent and dispassionate Person will deny. But I don't meddle with them now: I freely leave the former to the *Craftsman* and *London Journal*; and the latter to Dr. *Waterland* and Mr. *Whiston*. In Learning, I think, the national *Insania*, remarked by my Friend, was never more diffusive and petulant than at this Juncture. Amongst several *Monstrosities*, I take Notice to you at present of that strange Madness of printing Books by Piece-Meal, at six or twelve Pennyworth a Week. Translations of *Greek*, *Latin*, and *French* Authors, are retailed after this Manner. You have *Bayle's Dictionary* and *Rapin's History* from two Places, with the daily Squabbles of Book-sellers and Translators about them. The *Bible* can't escape. I bought the other Day, three Pennyworth of the Gospel, made easy and familiar to Porters, Carmen, and Chimney-Sweepers: But how? Why, by Scraps taken out of *Grotius* and *Hammond*, &c. One that runs may read and understand the Scripture with such extraordinary Helps. They are publishing *Burkit's expository Notes*, in the same Way. And why must the common People, may some sensible and religious Author or Bookseller say, be kept in Ignorance of Things necessary to their eternal Salvation, or tending to the Improvement of their Minds, because they happen not to have Money enough to buy a Book in Folio at once? Let them know the History of their own Country from *Rapin*; and that of all other Ages and Nations from *Raleigh*. It nearly concerns them to inform themselves of the *Antiquities of the Jews* from *Josephus*; and of the Opinions of Men in Politics and Philosophy from Mr. *Bayle*. Well, what an Age of Wit and Learning have I the Happiness to live in! In which so many Persons in the lowest Stations of Life, are more intent upon cultivating their Minds, than upon feeding and cloathing their Bodies. You shall see a Fellow spend Six-pence upon a Number of *Rapin*, or Three-pence upon a Bit of St. *Matthew's Gospel*, when perhaps his Wife and Children want a Bit of Bread, and himself a Pair of Breeches. I used to think that nineteen in twenty of the Species were designed by Nature for Trade and Manufactures; and that to take them off to read Books, was the Way to do them harm, to make them, not wiser or better, but impertinent, troublesome, and factious.

For such Readers it is no Matter how Books are translated: And I have been assured, by some who have had the Curiosity to compare several of these Translations with their Originals, that the Instances of Negligence and Stupidity are incredible. 'Tis no Wonder, when Booksellers and Compositors are turned Authors and Editors.

Fro

Free Briton, Sept. 19. N° 255.

The Weight and Credit of popular Opinions, extracted from Mr. *Bayle*'s Reflections on the Comet of 1680, in View of the late Conteſt concerning *the Senſe of the People*. (See p. 365.)

IN his 7th Section, he confutes the Pretenſions to Authority from *univerſal Conſent*: He aſks, where is the Harm of obſerving what paſſes generally in the Minds of Men, when they are about to adopt an Opinion? Sure I am, *ſays he*, were this put in Practice, we might retrench the Suffrages of an infinite Number of People to the Authority of *one* or *two* Perſons, who, having broached a Doctrine which they were of courſe ſuppoſed to have thoroughly examined, have, by the mere Dint of a general Reputation, impoſed it upon all about them, and theſe again upon a great many others, whoſe natural Sloth found its Account in *ſwallowing by Wholeſale* whatever was offered, rather than in examining the Reaſons Article by Article.

By this Means, *ſays he*, the Numbers of credulous and careleſs Followers to any Opinion increaſing daily, it becomes a new Motive to others to ſpare themſelves the Trouble of examining any Opinion which they ſee is grown general, and which they honeſtly imagine is grown ſo by no other Means than the Solidity of the Reaſons made uſe of for its Eſtabliſhment; till in the End one is reduced to the Neceſſity of believing what all the World believes, for fear of being thought a factious Spirit, one that ſets up for being wiſer than the reſt of the World, and who oppoſes his private Sentiments to popular Authority.

He proceeds in the 45th Section, to affirm in a more copious Manner, that there's *no preſcribing againſt* Truth *from univerſal* Tradition, *or the* general Conſent *of Mankind*: Becauſe, ſays he, by this Rule, we muſt receive all the Superſtitions, which the *Roman* People borrowed from the *Tuſcans*, in the Matter of Augury, Prodigy, and all the Pagan Impertinencies in the Point of Divination, as inconteſtable Truths, ſince all the World was once as much prejudiced in Favour of theſe, as they are now in Behalf of any prevailing Opinion: We muſt even allow, that the Father of Lies hath delivered Oracles full of Truth, during the Courſe of many Ages, ſince there was a Time when all the World paid Homage to theſe Oracles.

He goes on to obſerve, in the next Section, Inſtances of prevailing Opinions manifeſtly falſe.

If the Influences, *ſays he*, of any of the heavenly Bodies have a ſecret Virtue with Reſpect to the Earth, thoſe of the Moon undoubtedly have, becauſe ſhe is neareſt. Accordingly, moſt People are perſuaded ſhe hath an Influence over a great Variety of Things. She it is that cauſes the Increaſe and Decreaſe of the Marrow and Brain in Animals; ſhe frets away Stones, governs the Cold and the Heat, the Rain and Wind: For if the Weather be ſet in for Rain at the New-Moon, you muſt not expect fair Weather till the Full. If the Rain does not ceaſe then, you are to reckon it will hold till the next Change; and ſo of dry and froſty Weather, *&c.* upon a Principle, that it belongs to the Conjunctions and Oppoſitions of the Moon to order the Weather and the Seaſon. Hence it is, that becauſe, in common Converſation we frequently fall upon a Diſcourſe of the Rain, or the cold and dry Weather, *&c.* we hear thoſe who complain of the Weather, comfort themſelves, in the mean Time, with the Hopes of the New or Full Moon. It is not to be denied, that theſe are Opinions of all Countries, and common to all Sorts of People.

Nevertheleſs, they who have taken the Trouble, for 30 or 40 Years together, of examining into Marrow-bones, have obſerved (particularly M. *Robault*) that whatever Quarter the Moon was in, they met with ſome Bones which had a great deal of Marrow, and others very little in them; which ſhews, that the Moon hath no Influence on the Subſtances of the Brain or Marrow, nor yet on the Subſtance of the Fiſh in Oyſters, or Lobſters; for, by making their Obſervations on this Point too, they have ſeen that their Fulneſs depends neither more nor leſs upon the Time of the Moon, whatever the *popular Opinion* may perſuade us. I ſay the ſame of the Change of Weather, and maintain, from my own Experience, 'tis not appointed to any Seaſon of the Moon whatſoever: And that there is no certain Day in the Lunar Month, on which the Change, for Example, from wet to dry, or from open to froſty Weather, happens oftner than any Day beſides. Did we make exact Obſervations, we ſhould find, that the Temperature of the Air hath ſo little Sympathy with the New or Full-Moon, that we may count as many Months of dry as wet Weather, when the Return of the Moon was wet, and contrariwiſe; ſo true it is, that the Changes of the Weather are ſubject to no Rule obvious to us. 'Twere eaſy to ſhew, that the Reaſon of the Thing is directly againſt the *popular Opinion*, but I chuſe to argue from Experience, and inſiſt, that whoever appeals to this Argument, will find it *contradicts the general Opinion of the World*: And upon this I beg Leave to obſerve, that there is nothing ſtrange in *Error's becoming univerſal*, conſidering the little Care which Men take to conſult their Reaſon, when they give into what others ſay; and the little Uſe made of Occaſions which are offered of undeceiving them. Will it be allowed me to aſk

ask one Question, Hath any Man ever taken Notice, what Multitudes believe and affirm one after another, that a Man weighs more faſting than full; that a Sheep-ſkin Drum burſts aſunder at the Beat of a Wolf-ſkin Drum; that young Vipers deſtroy the old Females when they come to the Birth, and ſtrike the Male dead at the Inſtant of their Conception, with many other Truths of the ſame Validity? Nor are they content to propagate them as Facts well atteſted, but apply themſelves to find out their natural Cauſes. They break out into Exclamations of Wonder from the Power of Conviction; the Moraliſts have gone into this Party; the Lawyers recommend themſelves at the Bar by citing theſe Maxims; the Pulpit borrows a thouſand fine Similies from theſe; and School-boys in their Claſſes are inſtructed to fill their Themes with them: Nevertheleſs, theſe are all Matters contrary to the moſt certain Experience, as *they* have diſcovered, who have had the Curioſity to inform themſelves.

Without Regard to *Vox Populi, Vox Dei*, an Aphoriſm, which, if followed, authorizes the moſt ridiculous Conceits, I maintain, that we ought firſt to pay no more Regard to a Falſhood, becauſe it is *embraced by all Mankind*, than if it were the Delirium of two or three Perſons only: For, as *Cicero* obſerves, there is no Reaſon for valuing an Opinion upon the Conſent of a Multitude, where each Perſon apart is ſo little capable of knowing the Truth, that his Judgment is of no Weight at all. *An quicquam ſtultius quam quos ſingulos, ſicut operarios barbaroſque contemnas, eos aliquid putare univerſos?* Tuſc. Queſt. 5.

Fog's Journal, Sept. 21. N° 307.

A farther View of the Reign of Henry III.

(See p. 469.)

HENRY's ill Succeſs in *France*, from whence, after he had laviſh'd away great Sums, he return'd with Infamy, and yet would vainly enter *London* in Triumph; the Exactions and Tyranny of the Court of *Rome* over the *Engliſh*; his own frequent Extortions, his Perquiſition, concerning the Foreſts, which was a grievous Oppreſſion; his ſqueezing the *Jews*, his Treatment of the Earl of *Leiceſter*; the Reproaches made him by a Convocation of the Clergy, of Extortions, Tyrannies, and Breach of Oaths and Promiſes; his continual favouring, enriching, and preferring Foreigners, his arbitrary Taxation of the City of *London*; his being enſnar'd and impoveriſh'd, by accepting the Donation of *Sicily* to his Son, which tranſported to *Rome* upwards of 950,000 Marks; his ſuffering the *Welch* to ravage his Frontiers; and his Half-Brothers and the Queen's Relations to pillage his Subjects, with Impunity; all which were owing to his Favourites endeavouring to gratify his Views of becoming Deſpotick, made his Subjects eſteem him both unworthy and incapable of holding the Helm, and his Barons plainly told him they ſhould not truſt to his Promiſes of a Reformation; but had themſelves deſign'd to reform the Government, after ſuch a Manner as ſhould put them above any Apprehenſions of his Breach of Faith. They compell'd him to ſign a Writing, by which he conſented that Articles ſhould be drawn up by 24 Lords, of which Number, he was to nominate half, and promis'd to ſubmit to all the Regulations of theſe Commiſſioners; which were as follows:

1. That the King ſhould confirm the great Charter, which he had often ſworn to do without any Effect.

2. That the Poſt of Chief Juſtice ſhould be conferr'd on a Man of Probity and Capacity, who ſhould adminiſter Juſtice to both Poor and Rich without Diſtinction.

3. That the High Chancellor, the High Treaſurer, the Judges, and all other publick Officers and Miniſters ſhould be yearly choſen by the 24 Lords.

4. That the Cuſtody of Caſtles and all fortify'd Towns, ſhould be left to the Diſcretion of the ſaid 24 Commiſſioners, who ſhould commit them to the Care of Perſons of Fidelity, and well-affected to the Publick.

5. That it ſhould be a capital Crime for any Perſon whoever, and of whatever Quality, to oppoſe directly, or indirectly, the Decrees of the ſaid 24 Barons.

6. That the Parliament ſhould meet, at leaſt once every three Years, to enact ſuch Statutes as ſhould be judg'd neceſſary for the Good of the Kingdom.

Theſe the King found himſelf under an Obligation of approving, (they having receiv'd the Approbation of the Parliament) and the Lords took an Oath of Aſſociation, by which they reciprocally engaged themſelves to maintain the Statutes of *Oxford*, (for ſo were they called) and ſoon after by their Deputies invited the City of *London* to enter into their Aſſociation, which Invitation was readily accepted. Thus was the King cut out of all Share of the Adminiſtration, and the Regal Power which he endeavour'd to extend to the Prejudice of his Subjects, in a great Meaſure aboliſh'd. *Henry*, ſenſible of the Bondage his Miſmanagement had brought him under, gets the Pope to abſolve him from the Oath which he had taken, with Regard to the above Statutes, and attempted with an high Hand to throw off his Yoke; but building on a Foundation which fail'd, he was oblig'd to come to a Negotiation with the Barons; Affairs were in a fair Way of being accommodated, when his own Indiſcretion cauſed a greater Rupture than before, and he narrowly miſs'd falling into

into the Hands of his Subjects; but escaping, and getting safely to the *Tower* of *London*, by his Orders, which he issued from thence, he put the whole Kingdom into Confusion. The Cinque-Ports declar'd against him, on which Part of the History, I cannot pass over Monsieur *Rapin*'s Remark.

'The Cinque-Ports, by their Charter are A 'obliged to fit out fifty Men of War, when-'ever the King's Service requires them: On 'this Occasion, the Governors of these Ports 'interpreting the Service of the Kingdom to 'be that of the King, pretended 'twas for his 'Service they employ'd their Forces against 'him. This Maxim will (says my Author) 'seem nothing strange, when we reflect, that 'in *England* they have ever been perswaded B 'that the King and State make but one Bo-'dy. On this Foundation they pretend that 'whenever the King withdraws himself from 'the Interest of the Publick, he forfeits all 'his Prerogatives; which are rather annex'd 'to the Crown, than to the Person of the 'Sovereign.'

Considering the Situation of the Kingdom C at *Henry*'s Accession, and with what little Difficulty the Barons return'd to their Obedience, we cannot but condemn this Prince as a very ungrateful one, for endeavouring to deprive them of their Liberties, in whose Power it was to have deprived him of the Crown; but this Ingratitude appears much blacker in his Behaviour towards the Sons of the Earl of *Pembroke*, since he owed every Thing to his Vigilance and Prudence. But a Prince, who is once possess'd with the despotick Dæmon, and given up to Flatterers, and self-interested Men, will stick at nothing; and this I think may be proved in the Life of this *Henry*, which also gives us an Example of the *English* Patience in suffering Injuries; for not-withstanding the many Reasons they had for E Complaint, and the little Dependance they could have on the King's Promises, nay, most solemn Oaths, yet they held out forty Years, before their Patience was quite tired, and that they came to Extremities.

A humourous Dissertation on WORDS, *by a Correspondent at* Paris.

ASTrologers and Chymists have shewn us, that all sublunary Bodies are subject to the Influences of Stars; but these great Philosophers, perhaps, never imagin'd that *Words* likewise were under their Government; without doubt it was because they were never regarded as real Beings; and in this, without Offence be it said, they happen'd to be heavi-G ly mistaken; for if Words were not real Beings, which could subsist independently of their Subject, should we see every Day a Crowd of Courtiers making their Happiness consist in a *Word*, that the Prince or first Minister lets fall to amuse them, altho' this Word signifies properly Nothing? Should we see so many Lovers dying away for a Word pronounced thro' Inattention or Caprice, by the Object beloved? Moreover if *Words* were not Beings, should we see so many private Persons, Communities, Towns, Cities, Nations, the whole World, wrangle, tilt, skirmish, and go to cutting of Throats for a *Word*, which was properly speaking no determin'd Sense? Would so much Bustle and Clutter be produced by a *Nothing*? That cannot be; it is evident then that *Words* are Beings, and in this Quality, like all other terrestrial Bodies, they must needs draw their Excellence or Malignity from Stars, which preside at their Birth. But we must support our Hypothesis by Examples, for the World loves Examples; and here we shall be more puzzl'd in chusing one than in finding many, since the History of Times past and even that of our Days furnish us in Abundance. Let us begin then with the Words that have been constellated by the Planet *Mars*.

KIKAJON is one of those Words, whose Signification is obscure, and besides very little important; insomuch, that it does not seem to merit the thousandth Part of the Trouble it has given to explain it: However, St. *Jerome* and St. *Augustin* did not think so; those two Props of the Church thought this Word imported a great deal of Religion, apparently because of some occult Virtue that it contain'd, D which they would not communicate to us: Whatever it may be, they explain'd it each one after his Manner: The first assur'd us that it was *Ivy*, the other a *Gourd*; perhaps it was neither one nor other; no Matter, they grew so warm in their Sentiments, that the Dispute in a little Time became very serious between them, and afterwards throughout the whole Church. Already the People animated with a devout Ardour assembled in Troops, and were just coming to Blows in the Quarrel of *Kikajon*, when the Sovereign interpos'd, and brought them to Order. Nevertheless the two illustrious Combatants continued the War between themselves with mighty Strokes of the Pen. They let flye over all Parts, Satires, and polemick Writings, where the F Gall diffused itself not Drop by Drop, but in great Surges, and much more than if it had been in the Cause of their Country, or even for the Preservation of the Christian Republick itself. But how would it be possible to have accounted plausibly for the Trouble caused by this *Kikajon*, if we were not to have Recourse to our System by proving this Word to be born under the Aspect of *Mars*, and impregnated with the most subtle and warlike Influence of this Planet?

PROPERTY is another *Martial Word* which in the 14th Age had like to have overturn'd from Top to Bottom the famous

Order

Order of the *Cordeliers*. The Godly Party maintain'd that this Term ought to be baniſh'd from their Convent, and alſo from their Refectory or Hall, ſo that according to them it could not be ſaid, that a *Cordelier* had his Spoonful of Soup in Property, becauſe the Pope had the Domain of that Soup of which they had but the Uſe. The Carnal Brothers (for ſo the Godly named their Adverſaries) pretended to retain the Word *Property* which the others would have baniſh'd, and this Diſpute, altho' ridiculous in Appearance, did not fail to cauſe Schiſm, Maſſacres, and violent Wars. Four Popes who interpos'd one after the other in this Affair could hardly finiſh it. *Nicholas* IV. who had been a *Cordelier*, declared againſt *Property*, and the People were ſo provok'd againſt him, that they roſe in ſeveral Places. The Carnal Brothers who protected this fatal *Word* were driven from their Convents of *Narbonne* and *Beziers*. Chance turn'd the Scale however under *Clement* V. for this Pope degraded the Enemies to *Property*, and ſubjected them to a ſevere Penance, in Spight of their Appeals and Proteſtations; he likewiſe had them condemn'd in a Council that aſſembled againſt the Templers. *John* XXII. who ſucceeded *Clement*, was ſtill a greater Favourer of *Property*, and turn'd more rigid againſt the Godly that oppoſed it, for he put them into the Hands of the dreadful *Inquiſition*, and this ſacred Tribunal, in Concert with the Holy Father, made out Proceſſes againſt theſe unhappy Wretches, and burnt them alive, becauſe they would not reconcile themſelves to *Property*. They ſuffer'd the Flames with Conſtancy, in the firm Perſuaſion that they ſhould go directly to Paradiſe for having generouſly fought to their laſt Breath againſt this formidable Word.

If we have been ſeeking for Examples in Times a little remote, it is not for want of a Number of the like Kind, or even Caſes more affecting among the Eccleſiaſticks of our Times; for we may ſay without Exaggeration, that Theology has never had more *Martial* Terms in its Service than at this Day, altho' at all Times it has had alone more of them than all the other Sciences put together. *Janſeniſm*, *Moliniſm*, Appeals, Reappeals, Infallibility, Power of the Keys, and many others of this Nature, are they not ſo many Terms unattach'd to any real Subject; which ſeem to be come into the World, but to ſerve as a Mark to ſome, and a Scare-crow to others, but which fail not at the ſame Time of putting all *Europe* in a Combuſtion? Muſt not theſe Words be furiouſly *Martial*, to arm, as they do, Chriſtians againſt Chriſtians, Brothers againſt Brothers, ſo as Kings and Popes are forced to interpoſe in their Quarrel, and of Neceſſity, in one Faſhion or another, to aſſemble an univerſal Council on purpoſe to decide the Diſputes, and to oblige the Faithful to receive theſe Terms by Heart and Mouth, and that without comprehending them, upon Pain of eternal Damnation. Simple Words could never be capable of cauſing ſo many Diſorders, if *Mars*, terrible *Mars*, did not malignly influence their Nativity.

The Manner in which we have open'd our new Syſtem, and the Examples we have choſen among a thouſand others prove ſufficiently that *Words* are real *Beings*, which have each in particular a Virtue independent of their Subject, and that this Virtue is communicated to them by the Stars. We have moreover made it appear, that Terms that are applicable to nothing, are thoſe to which the Planets ordinarily give the moſt Force, in ſhedding upon them the more abundant Influences.

Craftſman, Sept. 21. N° 425.

Farther Thoughts on the Independency of Parliaments, &c. (See p. 470.)

THE Privilege of *free Enquiry* into every Thing, which is the Object of human Underſtanding, hath long been the peculiar Happineſs of this Country; and ſuch are the Advantages ariſing from hence, that the *true Principles of Government* are now ſo perfectly underſtood by the People in general, that the Force of every Argument, in Defence of their *Liberties* is clearly diſcerned by them; while the little Artifices of *Proſtitutes*, in Vindication of *Slavery*, under the faint Colourings of *Liberty*, are received with ſuitable Contempt and Indignation.

Among the Variety of happy Effects produced by ſo invaluable a Bleſſing as that of *free Enquiry*, may be numbered the following Sentiments:

That the End of all Government *is the* Good of the Governed; *that the* People *were not made for the* Legiſlature, *but the* Legiſlature *for the* People; *and that the Duties of* Allegiance *and* Protection *are reciprocal.*

The *Engliſh Conſtitution*, in particular, is founded, and can only ſubſiſt upon a religious Regard to theſe *popular Principles of Government*; and as the chief Incentive to a warm Concern for our *Liberties* muſt always ariſe from an adequate Knowledge of thoſe *Principles*, upon which the Security of them depends, ſo the natural Comelineſs of *thoſe Actions*, which tend to the Good of Society will upon an impartial View of Things inevitably ſtrike the Mind, and too much influence it, in the Cauſe of *Liberty*, to require any other Reward than what neceſſarily ariſes from the Conſciouſneſs of ſo glorious a Paſſion.

And as the *End* propoſed by a *Government* thus eſtabliſhed upon the *Principles of Reaſon and Virtue*, could only have been ſecured by *Means* equally reaſonable and virtuous

whatever debases the People's Minds, and draws them off that Bias, which the Author of the World originally implanted in their Natures for the just Purposes of Society, must always tend to enslave them; since in that Degree only, in which the *noble Principles* here contended for prevail amongst us, can it be truly said that we are a *free People*; for what is wanting in *Virtue*, must be supplied by *Corruption*.

It cannot be disputed that whatever lessens the Influence, which a just Discernment concerning *publick Affairs*, and the *Liberties of the People*, would have upon the Conduct of *their Representatives*, must in Proportion render them incapable of *disinterested Impressions* for the future; and consequently less solicitous in discharging the Duties of so important a Trust. Without determining whether every *Gratuity*, or *Reward from the Crown to a House of Commons* be included in the Idea of *Corruption*, it is incontestable that the more extensive *such Distributions of Favours* are, the less Influence will *these Principles of Government* have upon their Behaviour in *Parliament*.

The Truth of these Observations was so forcibly conceived even by *those*, who opposed the *Pension Bill*, in the Year 1731, that it may not be amiss to consider the Manner in which their Opposition to it was conducted *within Doors* and *without*.

The *R——d P——te*, who distinguished himself by a memorable Speech on this Occasion, was so far from putting on any Disguise, that he plung'd at once into the Vitals of the Debate, and avow'd *that Dependency*, the Removal of which was aimed at by the *Bill*. But a *noble Duke*, whose Abilities and thorough Knowledge of Men enabled him to speak with more Caution and Sagacity upon so tender a Point, was so far from contending for a *corrupt Dependency of the House of Commons*, that he expressed his Detestation of it, in the warmest Terms; and only opposed the *Bill*, as ineffectual for the Purposes designed by it; upon which Principle alone his Objections seem to be governed; and therefore, to take off the Odium of *Corruption* from those, to whom the *Bill* justly imputes it, he thought necessary to lay it upon the *People*, and insist that to prevent *Corruption* the Axe must be laid to the Root; that the People were the Spring, from whence *Corruption* flow'd, and that 'till their *Luxury* was reduced, their Necessities would always expose them to *this Vice*. These general Observations were endeavoured by many other *noble Lords*, who oppos'd the *Bill*; and altho' it was thus opposed upon *Principles*, diametrically opposite to each other, yet a most *enfeebled Hireling*, who claims the Merit of having first attempted to prove that a *dependent corrupt Parliament* was necessary to the Preservation of the *Constitution*, undertook the Defence of this *contradictory Opposition*.

It must be admitted that the *Cambridge Letter*, written in Defence of the *R——d P——te*'s Speech, and which soon after received its Death's Wound, endeavours to take off the Imputation of the *B——*'s contending for a *corrupt Dependency of the House of Commons*. But the *Prostitute* I have in View, and who was probably retained to defend *this Speech*, justified it upon the Foot of a *corrupt Dependency*. He told us very frankly, *that the Security of our* Liberties *is wholly owing to a* mutual Dependency *of all the Parts of the Legislature upon each other, arising from a* mutual Distribution *of* Favours; *that if the* Places of Profit *and* other Favours, *which the* Debt of the Nation *had thrown into the Hands of the* Crown, *were not distributed in the* House of Commons, *the* King's Voice *would be rendered ineffectual, and the great Security of our* Liberties *gone with it*; *since if the* King *could not oblige the* Commons, *they would not oblige him*; *and that* Corruption *begins with the* People. —— She therefore exhorts them, in a most lamentable Tone, to be *uncorrupt*, without which she propheſies that they will never have an *independent*, *uncorrupt Parliament*.

All these contradictory Positions, mingled with several other absurd ones, were communicated to the Publick by that *renowned old Prostitute Mother Osborne*, in several Journals, soon after the B——'s *Speech*.

This low Shuffling between an Avowal and Disavowal of a *corrupt Dependency of the House of Commons*; between decrying the *Cause*, and justifying the *Effects* of it, cannot be more clearly discerned, than by reducing it into the following Order of Coutradictions.

1*st*, The *Dependency of a House of Commons upon the Crown* is avowed; and consequently all the *corrupt Means*, necessary to compass that *End*, are thereby justified.

2*d*, This *Dependency* is disavowed, and *Corruption* is imputed to the *People* as a Crime, which is the Effect of their *Luxury*; and thus while *Corruption* is justify'd on the one Hand, as necessary to render a *House of Commons dependent*, the *People* are insulted, on the other, for being *corrupt*.

3*dly*, Without these Obligations, conferred by the *Crown* upon the *People's Representatives*, which are only other Words for *Corruption*, the *King's Voice* would be rendered ineffectual; since if the *Crown* could not oblige the *Commons*, *they* would not oblige the *Crown*, and therefore the *Government* must be at an End.

4*thly*, Notwithstanding the Government is so framed, that it cannot subsist without a *mutual Distribution of Favours*, and consequently without *Corruption*; yet the People

are gravely exhorted to be *uncorrupt*, as the only effectual Means to preserve the *Conſtitutional Independency of the Houſe of Commons*.

5*thly*, Altho' the *Debt of the Nation* hath been always thought ſo great a Burthen, as even to endanger the *Conſtitution* itſelf, and the *ſinking Fund*, the whole Merit of which is monopolized by *this Writer's Patron*, was thought abſolutely neceſſary for the Payment of it; yet it ſeems the Diſtribution of *theſe Places* and *Rewards*, in the Gift of the *Crown*, on Account of this *Debt*, is neceſſary to the Preſervation of the *Conſtitution*, and without which the *Government* muſt be at an End; and conſequently,

6*thly*, The Payment of *this Debt* will deſtroy our *Government*; ſince *thoſe Rewards*, in the Gift of the *Crown*, occaſioned by the *Debt of the Nation*, will then ceaſe.

This ſhort Collection contains only *thoſe Contradictions* which are moſt glaring; but there are many other Poſitions equally infamous and abſurd, that might eaſily be pointed out; ſo difficult is it to ſupport, with tolerable Uniformity, a *Syſtem of Error*.

THE *Courant* of the 18th contains an Examination of the Doctrine laid down in the *Craftſman* of the 14th ——— '*That the* 'Oppreſſions *ariſing from a tyrannical Prince, governing his People, not only without a Parliament, but in open Violation of the known Laws, are infinitely more* tolerable *than* 'thoſe Oppreſſions *which have received the* 'Sanction *of the whole* Legiſlature. (See p. 471.)

How have we ſeen (ſays this Writer) an *all-corrupt Prime-Miniſter* deſcribed under the Character of every wicked Miniſter, who, in any Age or Country, has adviſed the Prince to enforce the Obedience of his People to his arbitrary Will, in open Violation of the known Laws and Conſtitution! But when this *Farce* did not anſwer their Expectations, and the People began to enquire, ——— What is the *Occaſion* of all this Outcry? Where are the *Inſtances* of this illegal Oppreſſion? On a ſudden this heavy Charge is dropt. They did not mean an *illegal Slavery* or Oppreſſion; — but *legal Slavery*. They did not intend to give the good People of *England* any Alarm againſt the ſame Oppreſſions of arbitrary Will in the Prince, as were practiſed in the Reign of *James* II, but only to awaken them, and make them apprehenſive of the great Danger of *legal Slavery* being eſtabliſhed by *Parliamentary Authority*, by a *ſecret* Contrivance between ſome *tyrannical Prince* and an all-corrupt *prime Miniſter* in ſome *future* Age, ——— which, by a *Figure* in *Politicks*, always means the *preſent*.

What *harmleſs Creatures* are theſe? Who can find in his Heart to be *angry* with them? What *Miniſter*, but muſt *forgive* them, who have the Art of transforming the *vileſt* Abuſe, into the *juſteſt* Encomium, who thus beſpeak the People of *England*?

Friends, Countrymen, and Fellow-Subjects,

A 'You may remember, how we have formerly endeavour'd to divert you with the 'whole Life and Converſation of every over-'grown, rapacious, corrupt Miniſter, in all 'antient as well as modern Hiſtory, in our 'own as well as every diſtant Age or Coun-'try; giving you a full and true Account (as 'may be ſeen at large in the great Mr. *Old-caſtle*'s excellent Remarks on the *Engliſh*

B 'Hiſtory, wherein he hath exhauſted this 'Subject) how theſe all-rapacious, all-corrupt 'Miniſters have, by their wicked Advice to 'their ſeveral Princes, deſtroy'd the Liber-'ties, and entirely ſubverted the Conſtitution, 'in thoſe Countries in which they have lived. 'You might probably conjecture, that we 'intended to draw a *Parallel* between the il-

C 'legal Oppreſſions of thoſe wicked Miniſters, 'and what you ſee acted in your own Coun-'try. Wherefore we think it highly expe-'dient and neceſſary, at this Time, to declare, 'for the better carrying on our great and noble 'Views of reſtoring us to our antient Conſti-'tution, That where-ever you find Mention

D 'made of *illegal Slavery* and Oppreſſion, ei-'ther in Mr. *Oldcaſtle*'s Remarks, or in any 'of our *other* Writings, we always mean 'and deſigned to be underſtood, as ſpeaking 'of *Legal Slavery*.'

So fare you well.

Is not this, as I ſaid above, to turn the *vileſt* Abuſe into the *greateſt* and *juſteſt* Encomium? For what viler Character can be

E given of any Miniſter, than this, —— That he adviſ'd his Royal Maſter to ſet up his own arbitrary Will againſt the Laws of the Land?

And was not this the Character, which they gave of a certain Miniſter? And what do they ſay now? No ——— We never intended to accuſe him of being the Author of any *Illegal Oppreſſions*. His Crime is, that he has brought *Legal Slavery* upon us. *Riſum teneatis!*

F Or what *greater* Encomium can be given of any Miniſter than this, ——— That ſo far from adviſing his Royal Maſter to ſet up his own arbitrary Will againſt Law, his Advice to his Prince always has been, even in Times of the moſt imminent Danger, not to exert his lawful Prerogative, without firſt aſking

G the Conſent of his Parliament? And is not this the Character that juſtly belongs to the preſent Miniſter? This Writer himſelf allows it.

Let

London Journal, Sept. 21. N° 795.

AS the *good State* of the Kingdom, arising from the *juſt Exerciſe* of Power, is one Reaſon why we ſhould unite, (ſee p. 471.) ſo the *ill State* of the Kingdom, from our Enemies at home and abroad, is another Reaſon; and to this ill State, *(at home at leaſt)* have the preſent *unhappy Diviſions* of the *Whigs* brought us.

The *malecontent Whigs* have, for ſeveral Years paſt, been thruſting Daggers into the very Heart of the *Government*; and with ſo much Force too, that they have reached and wounded the *Conſtitution* itſelf: For they have advanced *Principles* abſolutely *inconſiſtent* with the *legal Monarchy* of *England*; and which, if put in Practice, muſt end in *another Form* of Government and *another Conſtitution*.

The Boldneſs of the *Whig Faction* hath encouraged and rous'd up the *Jacobites* all over the Kingdom, who are now looking out with the utmoſt Eagerneſs for an Opportunity to overturn the Government. Is it not monſtrous to ſee *Whigs* mingle in *Councils* and in *Clubs* with ſuch Men? Not only *Jacobiſm* triumphs and ſpreads itſelf thro' the Kingdom, but *Popery* very much encreaſes among the *common People*, who are the *natural Strength* of a Nation.

In ſuch a State as this, owing chiefly to our *own Diviſions* (for even *Popery* may grow by the *Whigs* Hands being full in fighting with one another) will not every Friend to the Government begin to ſee the abſolute Neceſſity of *the Union* of the *Whigs*? Will they not leave their turbulent Leaders to themſelves? Or rather, will not thoſe Leaders be convinced, that they have carried Things too far, and that 'tis high Time to ſound a Retreat.

They would have the World believe that they are *Patriots*: But can they be *Patriots*, while they *rejoice* in every Misfortune that befalls their Country, and *mourn* at every Succeſs? While they *weaken* the Strength of the Government at Home, and add to the Strength of our Enemies Abroad? I ſay, add to their Strength; for 'tis very probable, that *a certain neighbouring Power* would not have ventured to go ſo deep into the War, had it not thought itſelf ſecure of us, by the *unfortunate Diviſions* among ourſelves. Their *Strength* is founded in our *Weakneſs* which is owing entirely to the *malecontent Whigs*; for were *the Whigs* united, no Faction at Home, nor any Power Abroad dare inſult us, or be bold enough to enter upon Meaſures, which, if not obſtructed by a *vigorous* and *ſeaſonable* Reſiſtance, muſt end in the Loſs of the Balance of Power, and in Conſequence, of *general Liberty*.

The dangerous Situation of Affairs Abroad is aloud for the Exerciſe of all our Wiſdom and publick Virtue: Is this a Time for us to be quarrelling about Miniſters, when all *Europe* is likely to be involved in a War for the Preſervation of the Liberties of *Europe*? When Popery is increaſing at Home, and Proteſtantiſm decreaſing Abroad? When the two great Powers on the Continent are cloſely united, and carrying Conqueſt wherever they carry their Arms?

If the Friends of the Government will unite, we ſhall be able, in Conjunction with *a Power* which ought to be always with us, to defeat the Deſigns of thoſe who diſturb the general Tranquillity. But nothing can *enable* us to do what our *true Intereſt* obliges us to do, but a *hearty and general Union* among ourſelves. Let the *Whigs* join as one Man, and *certain Neutralities*, or *paſſive Alliances*, be turned into *active Powers*, and we ſhall ſoon ſee an Alteration in the Face of Things Abroad; we ſhall have no Occaſion to fear, but ſhall be ſtrong enough to *hold the Balance*, and to *give Law*.

Univerſal Spectator, Sept. 21. N° 311.

Contentment and Diſcontent.

DISCONTENT is the univerſal Bitter of human Life; there are but very few who do not complain of ſome Want or other, tho' the Want ariſes only from the Caprice of their Will; Things go not right if they run not on the Wheels of their Fancy, and turn about with the Windmill of their own Brain: The poor Man thinks he is unjuſtly dealt with to be defrauded, as it were, of Wealth; the rich Man thinks the ſame, becauſe his Wealth doubles his Care: The Divine thinks the Lawyer gets all the Money, the Lawyer envies the Parſon's Eaſe; the Batchelor wants a Wife, the married Man would be rid of his: Thus, thro' every Station of Life, there is ſome one Thing unpoſſeſſed that ruffles our Pleaſure, and puts a Bar to our Contentment. Not to amuſe ourſelves with Hopes or Fears, but to reſt ſatisfied with our preſent Circumſtances, is alone the Way to Contentment, for he who wants nothing, poſſeſſes every Thing. The Bleſſings of Life are within our Reach, but like Fools, we ſuffer ourſelves to be hoodwink'd, gambol in the Dark, and grope about in vain, for what we would catch: It is a contented Mind that will give us Happineſs, as it will give us a Conſtancy in all Conditions.

It is the Part of a prudent Man, not to be elated with Proſperity, nor irreſolute in Misfortunes: Some indeed will ſtruggle with Adverſity, and bear up againſt the Tide of Miſery, and come off victorious: Others again are ſo very delicate, that they think every Thing an unſupportable Misfortune, they will even ſink under Calumny as a

Thing too much to bear, which is the ſame Thing, as if one ſhould quarrel with the Mob for being joſtled in it: A brave Man muſt expect ill Uſage, yet like a wiſe Pilot he is to keep *ſteady*, and bear away againſt Wind and Weather.

Seneca ſays, *optimi milites ad duriſſima mittuntur*, the braveſt Soldiers are put in the hotteſt Service; ſo are the beſt Men upon the ſharpeſt Sufferings: The good Man, like the valiant Soldier, will act up to his Character, and behave bravely, amid his Trials; knowing them to be the Hand of God, therewith he will be content, and ſcorning to repine, will make himſelf happy.

The greateſt Cauſe of Diſcontent is, that Men have no definite Meaſure to their Deſires, 'tis not the Supply of all their real Wants that will ſerve their Turns; their Appetites are precarious, they hunger not, becauſe they themſelves are empty, but becauſe others are full. *Ahab*, one would think, might well have been contented with the Kingdom of *Iſrael*, without *Naboth*'s Vineyard; and *Haman* with the Obeyſance of all the *Perſian* Court, without the additional Bow of a poor *Jew*. We create too often imaginary Wants; could not we, if we ſtrove, create alſo imaginary Satisfactions? The Madneſs would be far happier to think with the crazʼd *Athenian*, who imagin'd all the Ships which came into the Port to be his own, than to be for ever tormenting ourſelves for Things that are unreaſonable and unattainable.

A low Condition in the World ſeems to all a terrible Misfortune; its Sound is ſo, and that's all. How many are really poor amid their Riches, and want in the midſt of Plenty! Is not the Street-Beggar happier? he is more content: He enjoys the *little* he can get, the poor Rich Miſer dares not uſe the *much* he conceals. Poverty is not to be wiſh'd, but if it is our Lot, we ſhould make it ſit as eaſy as poſſible, and ſhow our Reſignation with Bravery. *There is ſomething to this Purpoſe in the*

Weekly Regiſter, Sept. 21. N° 239.

LIFE is very various, and if one Livelihood fails, another may ſucceed: If one Rank of Life cannot be ſupported, we may flouriſh very well in another. 'Tis but deſcending a Step lower, and the Event would abundantly attone for the Condeſcenſion. But this our Pride will not ſuffer us to do, and we rather chuſe to have that very Pride wounded every Day of our Lives, than cruſh it ourſelves once for all.

Nothing can be ſo abſurd as this Behaviour, and yet nothing is more univerſal. We miſtake even our own Paſſions, and take even wrong Ways to indulge them. In my Opinion a Man might be as proud of leaving off his Sword, and going to the Plough, or wearing a Livery, as wearing it ſtill in Want and Wretchedneſs, by laying himſelf open to Inſults, in intreating Obligations.

Neither, indeed, can a Man be ſaid to be poor who poſſeſſes as much as he wants, and the nearer we come down to the Vulgar, the fewer our Demands, and the eaſier ſatisfied of courſe. To this may be added, that to be independent is to be rich, and to deſpiſe Misfortunes is the neareſt Way to be happy. But Men have not Courage enough to undertake ſuch deſperate Cures on themſelves, and they had rather die of the Mortification, than cut off the Limb.

I remember a little Story of a Gentleman of *Gaſcoigne*, who inherited 2000 Crowns a Year from his Father, commenc'd Marquis at *Paris*, and, being a gay volatile Genius, ſoon got the better of his Fortune, and was reduc'd to the loweſt Ebb of Wretchedneſs. Yet, in the midſt of it, never loſt his Spirit and Courage, or impotently repin'd at what was not to be remedied: But with the ſmall Pittance he had left, purchaſed a Mule, and turn'd Water-Carrier. Sometime after which, as he was trafficking his Merchandize up and down the Streets, he happen'd to meet two of his old Companions, who would have avoided him for fear of giving him Pain, or being caught in ſuch an Equipage. But he prevented them, ſprung forward to ſalute them with his uſual Freedom, and, when they ſeem'd to pity his ill Fortune, briſkly interrupted them by ſaying: *That he had 40,000 Crowns Worth of Water in the Sea, but, for Want of Servants, he was oblig'd to ſell it himſelf.*

Weekly Miſcellany, Sept. 21. N° 93.

Continuation of the former. (*See p.* 463.)

WITH Reſpect to the Trinity, *the Exiſtence of Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt in the one Godhead*, we know the Senſe of theſe Words; and we know likewiſe in *Part* the Thing aſſerted in them: We have a general Notion of it, which is, that the Son and Holy Ghoſt are each *truly God* as well as the Father, having the *ſame divine Perfections*, and *united with him in the ſame Nature*. How this is reconciled with the *Unity of God*, we know not; juſt as we are ignorant how *Preſcience* is reconciled with *future Contingents*.

We have as clear Conceptions of the Doctrines, as we have of the *Self-Exiſtence* the *Eternity*, the *Omnipreſence* of God. We underſtand them in the *general*, as clearly and fully, as we do thoſe Attributes of the Deity. Our Ideas reach not to the *particular Modes* or *minute Circumſtances* of them, as likewiſe they do not in the other Caſe. If there

we believe the *Self-Existence*, the *Eternity*, and *Omnipresence of God*, we may also believe these Doctrines: We may believe the one in the same Manner as we do the other; that is, in the *general*, or *so far as we understand them.*

If a Proposition be delivered in Words which we *don't understand*, or in Words which, tho' understood, *convey no Idea*, such a Proposition is to us a *meer Sound*; and we can give no Assent to it more than this, that *it may be true in some Sense or other.* Suppose, for Instance, a Person should say to us in an *unknown Tongue*, that *Charity is a glorious Virtue*, we may believe that he speaks Truth, whatever it be; but we can't believe the *particular Thing* he affirms; to wit, the *Gloriousness of Charity*, because we know not what he says. But are the Doctrines in Question Propositions of this Kind? or, such as we *know nothing of?* Is this Doctrine, for Instance, *the Son is God, and the Holy Ghost is God, as well as the Father*, nothing but a Sound? Are the Words of it unintelligible? Or, have we no Notion of what they mean? It is certain we have a *clear* Idea of this, or perceive *clearly* the *particular Thing* asserted in them; and, I trust, that *what we perceive, we may believe.*

Mr. *Foster*, notwithstanding, all along presumes, that these Doctrines are *perfectly unknown.* He supposes them to be the same, as Propositions delivered in an *unknown Tongue*, of which we can believe nothing more, than that they may be true in some Sense or other. Now this is a very great Mistake; and so all that is built upon it falls to the Ground. Several *Socinian*, and other Writers, have gone before Mr. *Foster*, in supposing *Mysteries* to be Things of which we understand *nothing*, and the constant Answer to these Writers has been, that their Supposition was *false.* The late Dr. *Whitby* happened to fall into this Error. The learned Doctor imagined that *Mysteries* were not understood *at all*, and therefore could not be believed *at all.* In Reply to whom, Dr. *Waterland* entered into an Examination of this Matter. He threw what relates to it into several Cases, explaining the several Kinds of Propositions, to which we cannot, or can give Assent. He shewed that *Mysteries* belong to those Cases, where Assent *may be given*, or are such Kind of Propositions, as we *may*, and *often do*, *believe*, being understood in *some Degree.*

Some People think, that unless a Thing be *fully* revealed, and *fully* understood, it is not revealed or understood *at all*, nor capable of *any Belief*; which is a groundless Imagination. For is it impossible for a Thing to be revealed in Part; revealed exclusively of its *Modus?* Is there no Medium between *perfect* Conception, and *no* Conception? Or, between *adequate distinct* Belief, and *none at all?* Certainly there is. Many Things are *revealed*, or discovered, in Part only, (as well by the Light of *Reason*, as of *Scripture*) their *Modus being a Secret.* Many Things we conceive in *some Measure*, tho' not *perfectly*; and such as are our Ideas, such may be our Faith. It is well observed in a most excellent Book, lately published, concerning the *Importance of the Doctrine of the Trinity*, *That every* common Christian, *professing Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, to be* so distinct, as not to be one the other, and so united as to be one God, *has as clear an Idea of what he says, as when he prays*, Our Father which art in Heaven; *or when he repeats after the Psalmist*, Thou art about my Path, and about my Bed, and spiest out all my Ways. *He would, upon Examination, be able to give as good Account of one as of the other. The Thing is plain, and intelligible, in either Case, but in the* general *only, not as to the* particular Manner. *Ask*, how three are one, *and probably both Catechumen and Catechist will be perfectly at a Nonplus? Or ask*, how God is in Heaven, *and* how about our Path, or our Bed? *and they will both be equally confounded.*

I would farther observe, that *mysterious* Doctrines are no more *abstruse* and *incomprehensible*, than the Things of Nature which we believe.

As for Instance, the *Union of the Soul with the Body*, and their *mutual Action* upon each other, is *inconceivable.* Most of the Operations which we ourselves perform, in Consequence of this Union, are equally *mysterious.* Who can tell, *how* he sees external Objects, and apprehends their several Figures and Dimensions? Who can fully explain, *how* the Blood moves round in the Body? Who can give a *certain* Account, *how* the Earth hangeth in the Air without any Thing to support it? *How* various Kinds of Metals and Stones grow in it? *How* the Seed sown, after dying in the Ground, revives again; *How* the Flowers are so richly and elegantly arrayed? *How* Plants and Trees grow up, and yield their Strength? Or, *how* Birds and Beasts move spontaneously from Place to Place? These are all *Mysteries* to us; and there is hardly *any Thing in Nature* which we *fully understand*; and yet Reason directs us to believe these Things. Let then the *mysterious* Doctrines of *Christianity* have *equal* Treatment; or, let not *Sense* and *Reason* be pleaded in Support of the contrary.

If Mr. *Foster* dislikes these Doctrines, as thinking he *perceives Contradictions* in them, let him *clearly prove* them to be *contradictory*, and then let him condemn them. But if this could be done, he should not complain, that he *understands them not*, but that he *understands*, or *distinctly perceives* them to be *false.* If his Quarrel with these Doctrines is, that they are mere *Sounds*, or *Syllables*, to him, conveying no *Notion*, no *Idea at all*, that

that muſt be a palpable Miſtake. If he demurs to the Belief of them, becauſe he does not *fully* and *adequately* comprehend them, then it is plain, that he will not admit ſo far as he may underſtand, unleſs he may have the Privilege of underſtanding ſomething more. He inſiſts upon the *perfect* Knowledge of what God affirms, as a Term without which he will not believe it: Which, whether it be *reaſonable*, or *decent*, let any wiſe Man judge. If he thinks that theſe Doctrines are not *really* taught in *Scripture*, but coined by Interpreters, then let him cenſure them as *human* and *unſcriptural*, and not as *unintelligible* and *impoſſible to be believed*, and then we may bring the Cauſe to a ſhort Iſſue, by enquiring, whether they are *ſcriptural*, or no.

PHILO-MYSTERION.

Free Briton, Sept. 26. N° 256.

Remarks on certain Paſſages, relating to great Numbers of Jacobites, *in a late* Enquiry into the Conduct of our *domeſtick* Affairs.

THERE is no Topick which the Faction againſt the Government have more endeavoured to ridicule, than the *Fear of bringing in the Pretender*. Theſe Gentlemen are ſo exceedingly nice on this Subject, that they take the moſt diſtant Reflection upon the *Pretender* to be an Imputation on themſelves. We cannot recommend the Care of the *Proteſtant Succeſſion*, or the Means which may moſt effectually defeat the Hopes of its Enemies, but the whole Faction expreſs their Indignation, that ſuch a Thought ſhould be harboured, or that any Man living ſhould be ſuggeſted to be in the Intereſt of the Pretender.

From numberleſs Inſtances of this Nature, where it hath been treated as a capital Crime to mention the *Intereſt of the Pretender*, or the Hopes of the *Jacobite* Faction, I was led to conceive, that this Cauſe was going out like the Snuff of a Candle, and that theſe Gentlemen, having no Benefit from its Light, would not bear the Annoyance of its Scent. But, to my Amazement, on peruſing a Treatiſe, called *An Enquiry into the Conduct of our domeſtick Affairs*, I find there are *Jacobites* ſtill remaining; *Jacobites* to be feared and guarded againſt; *Jacobites* who ought to be awed and reſtrained by the Preſence of Troops: Yes, indeed, *Papiſts* and *Jacobites* too, not lodged in the Clouds like *Gulliver's flying Iſland*, nor p'aced in Ambuſh as, in the *Rehearſal*, an Army *in Diſguiſe at Knightsbridge*; but *Papiſts and Jacobites in Ireland*, whoſe Party the *Enquirer* makes ſo formidable, that the bringing to *England* ſix or eight Regiments belonging to the *Iriſh* Eſtabliſhment hath expoſed the whole Kingdom to Danger: And, in the 61ſt Page of this Pamphlet, we are told, that there are in *Ireland great Numbers of Papiſts and Jacobites*.

What a Revolution hath happened in the *Pretender*'s Affairs! Twenty Years ſince he placed the Hopes of his Reſtoration in his *antient* Kingdom of *Scotland*. He did not conſider the Numbers of his Friends which lay hid in the Bogs of another Country. He made all poſſible Haſte to be crown'd at *Scone*, for which Purpoſe the Ladies of *North Britain* contributed their Jewels with uncommon Zeal and Devotion. But now the *Cauſe of Jacobitiſm* hath taken its Flight amongſt the *wild Iriſh*, and the *Clans of the Highlands* are grown ſuch good Subjects, that the *Author of this Enquiry* ſeriouſly ſets apart his 30th Page, to ſhew the Grievance of keeping up *ſix independent Companies* in the *Highlands*, which he computes to have conſumed the *Land Tax of North Britain* for ten Years together; and ſubmits it to the Wiſdom of Parliament, how long theſe *ſix Companies* are to be kept up in *Scotland*, tho' *Popery* and *Jacobitiſm* are grown ſo rampant, that, in his Account, they render more than *ſix* or *eight Regiments* neceſſary in *Ireland* to ſuch a Degree, as not to be drawn from thence without expoſing the Kingdom itſelf to Danger.

But the Fears of *Popery* and the *Pretender* grow upon this Author, inſomuch that he hath even found out, that there is ſomething of *Popiſh Inſtitution* in the *Academy* of Portſmouth. This Academy, as I have been informed, was eſtabliſhed on this Foundation, that the annual Sum formerly iſſued as Bounty to young Gentlemen, going into the Service of the *Navy* with the King's Letter, ſhould be applied in the proper Care of their Education during three Years, before they enter into that Service; and this Proviſion was judged ſufficient to educate *thirty* at a Time in all the Knowledge requiſite for a naval Officer, ten of whom are *every Year* to go from this Academy into the *Navy*. It is therefore ſubmitted to any Man's Judgment, whether this is not of much greater Uſe to the Publick than the Money which was iſſued to the *Letter-Men*; yet this innocent Deſign hath put the Author in ſo *unſeemly* a *Paſſion*, as to demand, that the Building be applied to another Uſe. Are there not, *ſays he*, Schools in every Street in *London*, and in every *Sea-Port Town*, to teach the Youth of this Kingdom the *Theory of Navigation*? And what Occaſion have we for an Academy, to which the *Projectors* will ſend none but *their own Favourites*?

Would not any Man believe, from ſuch wiſe and deep Reflections, that this *learned Enquiry into the Conduct of our domeſtick Affairs*, was carried on by ſome *little* Academy-*Monger*, and calculated according to the Meridian

ſidian of *Tower-Street*, or ſome ſuch *academical Quarter* of this great *Metropolis*, where the Number of Pupils is leſſened by thoſe who are ſent to be educated on the Royal Foundation at *Portſmouth*?

What an ingenious Objection too he hath made, that thoſe who govern this Eſtabliſhment will ſend none thither but their own Favourites; as if the *Letter-Men*, in whoſe Room they are ſubſtituted, were appointed without Favour.

The original Deſign of *Letter-Men*, which is ſtill carried on in the new Eſtabliſhment, muſt undoubtedly have been to invite Gentlemen of Birth and Family into the Service of the *Navy*, that thoſe who become *Officers at Sea* may be allied in Blood and Intereſt to the *Landed Gentlemen*; on which Account the Expence of this Inſtitution is far from being grievous, ſince it tends to promote what hath always been wiſhed for; and, common as Schools for teaching the *Theory of Navigation* may be, there is none can deny, that the Publick hath an Intereſt in the Education of thoſe who are *deſigned for its Officers*.

This however hath given the higheſt Diſpleaſure to the *Authors of this Enquiry*, as *French* and *Popiſh*, and every Thing bad in its Aſpect. 'Tis the new-faſhioned Language of the Party to bring *Popery* and the *Pretender* into every Thing which they diſlike; So that, in the ſame Breath which inſiſts on *diſbanding the Companies kept up in the* Highlands of Scotland, they ſigh at the Thoughts of our Danger from the *Papiſts* and *Jacobites* in *Ireland*, who abound there, as it is ſaid, in *great Numbers*, tho' there is ſo little Apprehenſion of them, *with Regard to the other Side of the* Tweed.

Craftſman, Sept. 28. N° 430.

The Excellency of our preſent Conſtitution, with the Miſchiefs of Arbitrary Power.

IN all Governments there are, either expreſly or tacitly, certain Conditions between the *People* and their *Rulers*, which they are both bound to preſerve. In the more arbitrary Kingdoms, the Traces of an *original Compact* are leſs diſcernible; and by Length of Time, Deſtruction of Records, or the Artifice of Princes, the Monuments of *antient Liberty* may be deſtroyed; or, which is worſe, the Minds of the People prepared to imagine that either they never had a Right to *Liberty*, or that it hath been cancelled by Preſcription. *Theſe Doctrines* have been always inculcated, with great Art, by *deſigning Princes*; and, upon the Strength of the Invaſion of their Predeceſſors, moſt Kings afterwards think themſelves juſtly intitled to the ſame Powers, which thoſe, who went before them, had notoriouſly uſurp'd. In order to preſerve their arbitrary Sway, they are reduced to maintain an Opinion, which draws after it great Danger, *viz.* That Princes are in themſelves *ſacred*, when once they mount the Throne, tho' the Means, by which they roſe to it, were ever ſo flagitious.

The Princes of Antiquity, particularly the heathen Emperors, uſed to *deify* themſelves, with a View of obliging the People, from a religious Reverence, to ſubmit patiently to their Extravagancies. The *Jus divinum*, and *Sanctity of Perſon*, which ſome of our late Monarchs have aſcribed to themſelves, were but Copies of this Original, and calculated to the ſame Views; but the People have been wiſe enough, in theſe Kingdoms, to explode ſuch dangerous and iniquitous Superſtitions.

Nobody can be ſo weak, or ſo wicked, as to deny that the Proſperity of Mankind is the great End of Government. We are all obliged to promote it in our private Capacities; but it is a Duty more peculiarly incumbent on the *Governor of a People*. If he therefore ſhould play the Tyrant, and pervert his Power to the Deſtruction, or Miſery of a whole Nation, his Crime is infinitely great, even much the greateſt, that Man is capable of committing; and yet, according to this blaſphemous Poſition, the worſt of theſe is ſtill *ſacred and inviolable*.

In whatever Light we look upon *theſe abſurd and dangerous Sentiments*, We may eaſily diſcover their weak Foundation, and monſtrous Tendency. But it is very happy for us that there is not the ſame Occaſion to explode them, at preſent, which there hath formerly been; tho' at the ſame Time, they are not ſo totally eradicated, nor are the Attempts to revive them ſo inconſiderable, as not to deſerve our Attention in ſome Degree.

Such Doctrines have given great Encouragement to the Ambition of private Men. *That Law* which owed its Riſe to the doubtful Title of *Henry* VII. is ſufficient of itſelf to ſtimulate hot Spirits, without the additional Incentive of a *general Conſcience* concurring in the *Opinion* there made legal. *This Law* declares in Effect a King *de Facto* to be a King *de Jure*, and inſtantly annuls the Right of the *precedent Prince* by the Eſtabliſhment of the *Perſon* who obtains his Seat. Upon this was grounded the Advice, given to *Cromwell* by ſome of his Friends, that he ſhould declare himſelf *King*; and upon this likewiſe is founded the Opinion of ſeveral Writers upon thoſe Times, who imagine that he would have maintained the Crown in his Family to this Day, if he had followed that Advice.

But there is ſtill a farther Miſchief in it not only to the *People*, but to the *Prince* himſelf. If he attempts to ground *theſe Sentiments* in the Minds of his Subjects, he muſt either

ther fail, or ſucceed in the Undertaking. If he fails, the Conſequence muſt neceſſarily be the total Alienation of the Hearts of his People; but if he ſhould ſucceed, it will only make him preſume too much upon that Succeſs, and lead him on, by the paſſive Principles of his Subjects, to puſh ſuch Meaſures as will bring Ruin upon his own Head; for Conſcience, when hardly preſs'd, will rebel againſt Principle; of which we have had Inſtances enough in our own Hiſtory.

It was the Dependance upon *theſe Principles*, ſtrongly inculcated and artfully ſpread in the Reign of King *James* I. and propagated with the ſame Aſſiduity by his Son, that brought K. *Charles* to ſo tragical an End. It was this, which induced him to govern ſo long without *Parliaments*; to raiſe Money upon the People, contrary to *Law*; and to ſupport an *evil Adminiſtration*, however odious to the People, from a very wrong Perſuaſion that they were uſeful to himſelf. Thus, I ſay, he fell a Sacrifice to *that Principle*, which he had ſo large a Share in raiſing himſelf, and proved a memorable Example of this great Truth, that *Princes* generally find their Ruin in that, which they fondly think their ſtrongeſt Security. We cannot but lament the cruel Deſtiny of that unhappy Prince, and we know how to acknowledge his private Virtues; but it muſt be confeſs'd, at the ſame Time, that he ow'd his Misfortune to his Fault, and that he had never ſuffered, if he had never aſpired to more than was agreeable to the Conſtitution. If he had expected the *Allegiance* and *Duty of his Subjects* from no other Motive than that, from which it is only due, a Return of *Protection* and a *juſt Adminiſtration*, he might have lived and died in Peace. Nay, he might even have gone ſome Lengths with Safety. But endeavouring to force their Conſciences to Submiſſion, he only ripen'd the *popular Diſcontents*.

K. *James* II. had a better Fate, tho' his Conduct deſerved a worſe. The Calamities of his *Father* could not deter him from walking in the ſame dangerous Path. That deſperate Example was too weak to bridle his Luſt of Power. May this be a Leſſon to all ſucceeding Princes not to deſire the Temptation! May it be an everlaſting Inſtruction to all People never to give it to their Princes! This Temptation was the ſame, that had undone his *Father*. It was an Adherence to the ſame *falſe Opinions*, which his *Brother* and *himſelf* had labour'd to encourage from the Reſtoration to that Time. They were carry'd higher, at that Æra, than they had ever run before. He rely'd ſo much upon them, that when thoſe, who were Friends both to him and the Publick, adviſed him, in the Career of his arbitrary Meaſures, to act with more Caution; he told them *that he knew the Conſcience of the People would keep them quiet*. How far he was miſtaken, and how fatal his Error proved to himſelf, Experience has ſufficiently demonſtrated. I have here particularly mentioned but one of the Means, which are uſed to attain that unwholſome Kind of Sovereignty; but the ſame Hazard attends all other Methods, by which the ſame End is to be purſued. The Danger lies not ſo much in the Manner of the Attempt, as in the Attempt itſelf.

The whole Tendency of *theſe Diſcourſes* is to inculcate a rational Idea of the Nature of our Government into the Minds of my Countrymen, and to prevent the fatal Conſequence of *ſlaviſh Principles*. He, that labours to blind the People, and to keep them from all Inſtruction, may be juſtly ſuſpected of bad Intentions; but he, who makes it his Buſineſs to open the Underſtandings of Mankind, cuts up all *Faction* by the Roots; for it is eſſential to Wiſdom and Knowledge to ſupport an *equal* and *juſt Government*.

Our *Conſtitution*, as now eſtabliſhed, is founded on a moſt excellent Model. We have all the Advantages of a briſk Execution from the *monarchical Part*: From the *Ariſtocratical* all the Conveniencies, which are to be found in *that Form of Government*; and the Miſchiefs, which uſually attend it, where it is abſolute and unconfined, are in a great Meaſure blunted by the Power of the *Commons*. This is the *Democratical Part of our Conſtitution*. Their Share in the Balance is vaſtly great, as it muſt be in all good Eſtabliſhments; and thus we partake of all the Benefits and Securities to Liberty, which reſult from theſe different Kinds of Government.

It hath been obſerved, indeed, that our Work was, in ſome Meaſure, left imperfect upon the laſt great Change of Affairs; nor is it ſurprizing that in a Time of ſuch Confuſion, and from the Variety of Opinions upon theſe Points, ſome Errors, or Omiſſions, might have happened. Yet we may with Pleaſure affirm that beſides the Advantages, then procured, we likewiſe obtained the Power of redreſſing any farther Grievances and Abuſes, which might be then overlooked, or might hereafter ariſe in the Adminiſtration of Government. In ſhort, as we have the Happineſs to live under an *excellent Conſtitution*, ſo it is very much in our own Power, by a proper Conduct, to ſecure the Enjoyment of it to ourſelves, and to tranſmit it to the latest Poſterity.

Fog's Journal, Sept. 28. N° 308.

A Wizard's Harangue in Praiſe of Poverty.

LANCASHIRE was formerly famous for Witches and Wizards, but till of late Years, we have heard nothing of thoſe unhappy Wretches in any Part of *England* except in *Nor-*

Norfolk, where we are inform'd that a noted Wizard appeared and did very conſiderable Damage, not only in that Country, but quite thro' this Iſland. This Wizard has a great Number of Imps, which he can call together at a Minute's Warning, ſome in the Shape of Greyhounds, but many more reſembling Lobſters, and with theſe he torments the poor People, who dare contradict him, or even mutter at the Cruelties he exerciſes over ſuch as he thinks his Enemies. Theſe wicked Practices have given him the Nick-Name of *Robin the Devil*, and made him as terrible, to ſome People, as the Devil himſelf. Not long ſince, at a Horſe Race, he pretended to Inſpiration, and under Pretence of telling Fortunes, was rubbing People's Palms with his *Pulvis Aureus*, but finding a Counter Charm, he immediately put on another Shape, and with an Air of Sanctity, began to harangue upon the Advantages of Slavery; but, ſays he, I ſhall be more diffuſive on this Subject at ſome more proper Opportunity, and now, as Poverty is the Harbinger to the Bleſſings of Slavery, ſhew you how much Mankind are deceived, when they fly from it as an Evil.

Poverty, my Friends, was the Founder of the *Roman* Empire, which was ruined by Riches; and among the *Papiſts*, who are right in nothing elſe, they look upon Poverty as a ſure Guide to Paradiſe.

If you but look among the Poets, both ancient and modern, you will find the beſt have been the pooreſt. *Homer*, who is reckoned the Prince of Poets, was ſo poor that he ſang Ballads for his Living. *Ariſtides* the juſt, the humane *Plato*, the wiſe *Socrates*, many others I could name, and all the modern Writers, whoſe Works are worth reading, were, and are as poor as Church-Mice; and I can attribute the Dulneſs of *Oſborne* and *Walſingham*, and of ſome other Orators, to nothing but their being too well paid.

If nothing elſe could make us in love with Poverty, its baniſhing Flatterers, and diſtinguiſhing between the true and falſe Friend, is ſufficient to recommend it. What Virtues accompany this Bleſſing! How humble, modeſt, cautious of giving Offence, humane and obliging does it make us. Poverty makes us induſtrious, ſkreens us from Envy, renders us healthy, and protects us from that torturing Diſeaſe the *Gout*, drives all Luxury, Vanity and Extravagance from our Doors.

Oh! curſed Gold, of what Evils art thou productive; what Families, nay, what Nations haſt thou ſubverted, what Sacrileges, what inhuman Murders haſt thou committed; what Envy, what Hatred haſt thou ſtirr'd up; with what Toil, what Care art thou acquired; with how much Care and Pain art thou retained; and with what Sighs, what Grief, what Anguiſh art thou loſt!

Seneca ſays, that he is a great Man, who can uſe Earthen Veſſels, as if they were Silver; but he is a much greater Man, who can uſe Silver as if it were Earth. I would have you ſuch my Countrymen, deſpiſe the ſhining Earth, which if you ſpend, is no longer yours, and if you lock it up, can be of no Uſe to you. Embrace a Bleſſing which I have laboured, and ſhall continually labour to bring upon you, I mean that of Poverty, which I have proved the only Thing can make you an happy and a truly rich People.

He was going on, when ſome of his Diſciples were diſcovered picking Pockets, which put his Auditors into ſo great a Rage, that if he had not delivered himſelf and them, by going off in a *Fog*, they had certainly been torn to Pieces.

Part of a Speech in Parliament, upon the Penſion-Bill, *in the Year* 1731.

THE only Evil, deſtructive of the Freedom of Parliaments, propoſed to be remedied by this Bill, is *Corruption*; but if it ſhall appear, that a *wicked* and *deſperate* Oppoſition has done infinitely more Miſchief than the moſt *baſe* and *mercenary* Compliance, then this Bill muſt be very defective, and, for that Reaſon, ought not to paſs this Houſe.

Conſult the Hiſtory of former Reigns and former Parliaments precedent to the *Revolution*, and you will find our Anceſtors bravely, and honeſtly oppoſing the Court; becauſe it purſued Meaſures deſtructive of our Liberties. But carry your Enquiry no further back than the *Revolution*, and you ſhall hardly meet with one remarkable Inſtance of Oppoſition, but what was founded on Party, Revege, or Diſappointment.

Could it have entered into the Heart of Man to conceive, that a Nation reduced to the Brink of Deſtruction, ſhould earneſtly invite and implore the Aſſiſtance of a neighbouring *Prince*, and after that he had generouſly, at the Hazard of his Life, interpoſed between them and their Deſtruction, that then this very People ſhould enter into a ſerious and ſolemn Debate, whether they would ſet the *Crown* on his Head; a Debate, in which this great Point, on which all that was dear and valuable to them *abſolutely* depended, was carried but by *one* ſingle Voice. Nor did the wicked *Oppoſition* of thoſe Times ſtop here. No, it purſued that *Great Prince* thro' the whole Courſe of his Reign. It gave his Enemies Encouragement to be continually forming Conſpiracies to take away his Life. It gave *France* the Advantage almoſt every Year to take the Field before him, and drove him to thoſe Difficulties, for want of Money, from the *treacherous Delays* of his Parliaments to grant the neceſſary Supplies, as not only *length-*

ened out the War, and forced him to conclude a *ſhort-liv'd* Peace, but laid the *Foundation* of that heavy Load of Debt we now labour under.

In the next Reign, in which the Glory of this Nation was carried to that Height, as no Hiſtory nor Age can parallel in this or any other Country, this reſtleſs Spirit of *Oppoſition* never ceaſed, till it had, by Degrees, worked itſelf into the Councils of the *Princeſs* then on the Throne, prevailed with her to diſmiſs thoſe *faithful* Servants, who had been the Inſtruments of her own and the Nation's Glory; and to give up moſt of thoſe ſtrong Fortreſſes, which had coſt ſo much Blood and Treaſure, into the Hands of the great Oppreſſor of *Europe*, *Louis* XIV. on purpoſe that he might be in a Condition to lend his Aſſiſtance in placing the *Pretender* upon the Throne of *Great Britain*; to facilitate which, not only the Army was diſbanded, and thoſe brave and honeſt Officers diſplaced, who would not concur with their execrable Schemes; but the *Queen* had been prevailed upon, by *proper* Arguments to fill her Head with Doubts and Scruples, to give her Conſent. What Man, who ſeriouſly conſiders this, that will not ſay, ſome Proviſion ought to have been made by this Bill, to reſtrain the *Madneſs* of ſuch an Oppoſition for the future?

But this is not the only *Defect* in this Bill, nor the *worſt* Part of it; for as, on the one hand, no ſober Man would give his Conſent to any Bill, that ſhall make a Houſe of Commons dependent on the Crown; ſo, on the other, he never will concur in the paſſing of any Bill, which ſhall make the Crown become abſolutely dependent on a Houſe of Commons.

Whenever ſuch a Bill as this ſhall paſs into a Law, there is an End of the Conſtitution, and a *King of England* is no longer a *King*; he is no more than a *Stadtholder* of *Holland*.

Such is the Bill now before us; a Bill, which indeed, by the Title of it, carries with it the moſt *plauſible* Pretences; but, by the *expreſs* Words of it, inveſts this Houſe with the moſt *diſcretionary* and *arbitrary* Power; a Bill calculated for no other Purpoſes, but to erect a ſort of *Commonwealth* upon the *Ruins* of Monarchy.

In the Parliament in 1641, there was not above one Part in ſix of the Members left in either Houſe. This could never have been brought about but by the *Ordinances*, as they were called, of thoſe Times, for the more effectually preventing of *Delinquents* and *corrupt* Members, from ſitting and voting in either Houſe. And I defy any Man to ſhew me, that any of thoſe *Ordinances* gave ſo great a Latitude of Power to that Parliament, as is given to all future Parliaments, by thoſe general Words of this Bill, —— *Indirectly to take or receive any Reward or Gratuity whatſoever.* —— As it is impoſſible to limit or determine, what it is, *indirectly* to receive *any Gratuity*; or, *what* ſhall be *deemed* a *Gratuity*. And how any Gentleman can ſatisfy himſelf, to inveſt a Houſe of Commons with that very *individual* Power, which deſtroy'd even the Parliament itſelf, and overturn'd the Conſtitution, is beyond my Comprehenſion. For I do in my Conſcience believe, that if this Bill ſhould paſs into a Law, as it gives the very *ſame* Powers, which were given by thoſe famous *Ordinances*; ſo it would, at one Time or other, produce the very *ſame* Effects.

But farther, as the Bill now ſtands, it muſt be the greateſt *Infamy* and *Reproach* to us, if it paſſes this Houſe; and this, for the following Reaſons. There have been *Times*, when Members of this Houſe have been too *juſtly* ſuſpected of holding *Correſpondence* with, and receiving *Gratuities* and *Rewards* from a *Foreign* Power, then at *Enmity* with this Nation. How *ſoon* theſe Times may return again, I ſhall not take upon me to determine. But ſurely, in a Bill, where the *Honour* and *Dignity* of the Crown is expoſed to the Cenſure and Judgment of the People, and this at a Time, when his Majeſty little *deſerves* ſuch Returns; it had well become thoſe Gentlemen, who brought in this Bill, to have had ſo much Regard for the Honour and Safety of their own Prince, and of their Country too, as to have inſerted a *Clauſe* in the Oath, —— *for the more effectual preventing any Members of this Houſe from holding any ſecret Correſpondence with, or receiving any Reward or Gratuity from any Foreign Power, at Enmity with this Nation.*

Upon the whole, it is an eaſy Matter to *declaim* againſt *Corruption* in general; but ſuch Declamations are really nothing to the *Purpoſe*, or to the *Merits* of this Bill. For, unleſs this *Clauſe* in the Bill can be ſupported, which is, I think, impracticable; there is little Reaſon for Gentlemen to be afraid, that, by *rejecting* of this Bill, they ſhall be ſuſpected of voting in *Favour* of *Corruption*; when, it is plain, they are only *oppoſing* the erecting a moſt *dangerous* and *exorbitant* Power, a Kind of *ſupreme Judicature* in the Houſe of Commons.

This is ſo *ſelf-evident*, that I might venture to reſt this Bill upon this ſingle Queſtion, Whether the Power, which will be lodg'd in the Houſe of Commons by this Bill, may not, in *future* Parliaments, be made uſe of to *overturn* the Conſtitution?

In the laſt Parliament of *Charles* I. there was perhaps as great a Number of *wiſe* and *good* Men, as ever ſat, at any *one* Time, within theſe Walls. But when once thoſe Men had *opened* the Way for *purging* the Houſe, as it was call'd, of *Delinquents*, and *corrupt* Members, the Exerciſe of that Power never *ceaſed*, till it ended in their own Expulſion; which ſoon brought on all the terrible Calamities of a long and bloody Civil War.

Ca

On the Riddle in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for *June* laſt, Page 328.

IN ſome vile brothel, frantick, leud, and drunk,
His bottle Helicon, *his muſe a punk,*
The bard, with charcoal ſketch'd the ſmutty ſcrawl,
And, like his own bad mind, debauch'd the wall:
A pen, (like what we read of Aaron's *wand,)*
Had grown a ſerpent in his teeming hand;
With ſecret venom tainted ev'ry thought,
And poiſon'd chaſtity with what he wrote.
But Urban, *fond of the laſcivious rhime,*
Corrupts the preſs, and multiplies the crime:
Calls on the fair and good to view the ſtrain;
The ſenſe a riddle, but the lewdneſs plain!
The fair and good, diſguſted at the ſight,
Lament that they could read, or he could write;
Exclaim, th' offence admits of no excuſe,
And half condemn the art for the abuſe.

Epigram on the *Gentleman's Magazine.*

LIKE t--d of quality in gilt cloſe-ſtool,
Said the bright bard of brighteſt ridicule;
And tho' thy labour, C--e, *he could not mean,*
It ſuits full well thy monthly Magazine.
Thy title page the gilded ſtool explains,
Where all within is excrement, not brains.

ANOTHER.

CAVIUS and Bavius *differ but a letter,*
Compare their works you'll underſtand 'em better!
If Bavius *dulneſs pleads 'tis with deſign,*
But Cavius *birth-right pleads in every line.*

To the *Poet Laureat* at *Scarborough*, on his late Epigram on *Dolcia* and *Darcia*. (See p. 443.)

WHEN Dolcia's *praiſe and* Darcia's *you rehearſe,*
The limping fair ones hobble in thy verſe.
The LIVELY *this, nor that the* GRACEFUL *ſhines:*
To life, no grace is ſhadow'd by ſuch lines.
Thy crazy muſe, unfit for praiſe, or ſatire,
For ſack to ſtrength reſtores, nor Scarborough *water.*
Here, as in town, in rime-tagg'd proſe, call'd ſong,
Thy vein of muddy fancy creeps along.
Be not ſo laviſh of diſcordant rhyme;
Or claim our ſcorn before the proper time;
Dulneſs and contempt thy title clear
Ode ſtands well aſſerted twice a year.

Smyrna Coffee-Houſe.

Written extempore on reading the News.

IN vain th' indulgence of a warmer ſun,
On Italy *hath with ſuch vigour ſhone,*
That foreign armies have her ſoil undone!
In Poland, *golden harveſts riſe in vain,*
While hoſtile troops deſtroy the ripen'd grain,
That neither party may the crop obtain.

On Rhine's *fair banks, in vain, the vines appear,*
Big with the gen'rous juice that crowns the year,
While the contending hoſts diſtribute fear.

War! hideous war! defeats the ſun's kind ray
Vain is the fertile ſoil, the lengthen'd day;
If peace be abſent, ev'ry joy's away.

In Britain's *beauteous, ever-charming iſle,*
Warm is the ſun, and fruitful is the ſoil,
And, thanks to Walpole's *care, ſucceſs attends their toil.*

Our yellow fields the farmer's wealth encreaſe,
Acquir'd with labour, 'tis enjoy'd in eaſe,
The ſtateſman's wiſdom ſtill preſerving peace.

Such is our ſtate, and let it be our care,
That none on us may this reflection ſpare,
All things but gratitude can proſper there.

ARRIA and PÆTUS.

PÆTUS and Arria, *envy'd for their life,*
The fondeſt huſband, and the chaſteſt wife,
Nero *condemns to die by their own hands;*
Nor fear the pair t'obey his ſtern commands:
But Arria, *whilſt her laſt* adieu *ſhe took,*
The ſhining poiniard graſp'd, and thus ſhe ſpoke:
Victims to love, we yield our lateſt breath,
Happy in life, and happy e'en in death:
For e'en in death we'll play the *Roman* part.—
--She ſaid, and launch'd the poiniard to her heart.
Then ſmiling *on her* Pætus, *from her ſide*
The bloody dagger drew, and thus ſhe cry'd:
I find no tortures from *my* piercing ſteel,
But thoſe which *yours* will give, 'tis *thoſe* I *feel.*

A Poem by Monſ. *le Pretre*, on having his Ears ſyring'd by Mr. *Pearſe*, with a ſilver Pipe, and an Injection of green Tea.

LET flutes and flagellets give way,
Which only breath inſpires:
The pipe well fill'd with good green tea
Far ampler praiſe requires.

O piper Pan, *thy guidance bring*
To my advent'rous verſe,
Without thy aid, how can I ſing
The Pipe of Jerry Pearſe?

Without his pipe what could the throat
of plaintive Philomel?
What could the lark's, or linnet's note,
Or ſhepherds reed avail?

Without his pipe I ſhould in vain
Still liſten to the lyre:
And Strada's *voice might ſtill have been*
To me but common air.

To Jerry's *pipe is violin*
Or bow of Bononcini
To be compar'd? compar'd to him
Ev'n Handel *is a ninny.*

His far excells their inſtruments;
Theirs only pleaſe the ear:
But his recalls its abſent ſenſe,
And makes the deaf to hear.

SAUNEY the SCOT.

A merry Tale. By the Author of *Ned Wealthy*'s Will. (See p. 443.)

TWO men, one Yorkſhire, t'other Scot,
What were their names it matters not;
Heedleſs of wet and windy weather,
Friendly jogg'd on the road together:
And to make journey ſeem more eaſy,
In politicks were mighty buſy;
Till night extends her ſable wings,
And ſtorms and darkneſs with her brings;
When not a town nor cottage nigh,
Nor moon nor ſtar can they deſcry;
But pattering hail comes down by buſhels,
And cloud with cloud now thund'ring juſtles:
Long had they thus in woeful plight,
Contented, born the frowns of night;
Long had they trudg'd thro' thick and thin,
(For not a glimpſe of light was ſeen;)
Till to their joy and great ſurprize,
Yorkſhire *at length a chimney ſpies;*
The ſtars appear, the ſtorm now over,
An antique ſign they ſoon diſcover,
At which both caper'd high to think
Of briſk wood-fire and potent drink;
Says Sauney *with a pleaſant grin*
Yorkſhire! weel worth yeur bonny eyn,
For au my ſol mon as twa brether,
In ſike like caud ond waeful weather,
We'll be by *Ondrew*'s crooſs as merry,
As lairds are o'er a cup of ſherry.
So to the door in haſte they go,
A houſe of trade, good uſage too;
The hoſteſs who was fat and jolly,
Roger *her man, and daughter* Dolly;
Half wak'd to th' window run undreſt,
For they had long been gone to reſt;
Wond'ring who 'twas that came ſo late,
With loudeſt clamour cry who's that;
Whom Scotchman *anſwer'd full of wrath*
Me name is *Sawney* o' the noarth,
Odſwarbit ope the heck neu ſtrait,
Gin I hant Eal, I'ſe gang nea gate.
Yorkſhire *mean time ſtood mute as fiſh,*
In expectation of his wiſh;
Whilſt landlady in haſte puts on
Her petticoat but ne'er a gown;
Calls then half dreſt her man and daughter
Deſirous both to know the matter.
But as confus'd i' th' dark they roſe,
Dolly *put on her ſweetheart's boſe,*
The courtſhip all the pariſh knows:
And without cap in haſte came down,
Her gown pinn'd cloſe, for ſmock ſhe'd none;
Whilſt after oaths and execrations,
The bent of looſe unbridl'd paſſions;
Roger *at laſt, tho' ſlow of foot,*
Without his ſtockings or his coat,
Appears courageous as a hero,
As grim as Hercules *or* Nero:
And whatſoe'er this ſtrange alarm is,
Swore z——ds he'd ſtand it vi & armis.
With that all arm'd Hodge *with a rope,*
Miſtreſs took broom, and Doll *the mop;*
And to the door run in great pother,
Firſt Doll, *then man, and laſt the mother;*
Where Sauney's *phiz and highland gear*
Diſcover'd ſoon th' effects of fear,
In Dame's poſteriors, and her daughter,
Who ſent down copious ſtreams of water;
Whilſt Roger *moſt renowned chief,*
Stood trembling like an aſpine leaf.
As haughty victors Scot *and crony,*
Enter'd the houſe ſans ceremonie;
Where landlady her ills redreſſes;
(For vent both grief and fear ſuppreſſes.)
And Doll *blows up a rouſing fire,*
Which makes her coats more ſweet and dryer,
Then brings out what their houſe afforded,
With compliments moſt finely worded:
Gentlemen fall to, pray never ſpare,
Fit for a king I vow and ſwear:
Nice hock of bacon; cold grey peaſe,
A brown-bread loaf; beſt *Suffolk* cheeſe;
And as much drink, Sirs, as you pleaſe.
Scarce had ſhe curt'ſied and gone back,
Ere Sauney's *thoughts were on the rack,*
How the whole hock he might obtain,
By dint of fiſt or dint of brain;
Whence ſoon aroſe high words and buffing,
That often end in kicks and cuffing:
So had this prov'd to ſome one's coſt,
Had not our hoſteſs rul'd the roaſt;
And reconcil'd this wrangling couple,
By arguments, and reaſons duple:
Then forthwith ſhe propos'd, nem. con.
That it for breakfaſt ſhould be won,
By him that had the better dream
In her unbrib'd and wiſe eſteem:
Both now were pleas'd, the conteſt ceaſes,
And Scot *gives hoſteſs ſtore of kiſſes;*
While Yorkſhire *bugg'd* Doll *like a devil,*
In ſpight of Hodge *his envious rival.*
To tell the courſe of each amour,
How ſtruggl'd one, how t'other ſwore,
Would only ſerve to tire my muſe,
Without juſt reaſon or excuſe:
In ſhort, delighted with the jeſt,
They both betook themſelves to reſt;
But ſcarce well had they got to bed,
Ere Yorkſhire *faſt aſleep was laid:*
Whilſt Sauney's *eyes ſhun'd all repoſe,*
Nay even caſual wink or doſe;
Reſtleſs he lay in heavy taking,
Nor thought of ought but hock of bacon;
'Length up he got and ſearch'd the dairy,
Ranſack'd each ſhelf till almoſt weary;
When in a diſh the hock he ſpies,
Secure from hungry mice or flies:
So to't he fell and made great ſlaughter,
Nor e'er ſaid grace 'fore meat or after;

And when he'd done ſtreight up he goes,
With gentle pace on bare tip-toes;
Creeps into bed, there ſtudying lies
What tale 'gainſt day light to deviſe:
And now the morning bluſhing roſe,
Sauney *pulls* Yorkſhire *by the noſe,*
Who wak'd therewith, turn'd toſs'd, and tumbl'd,
Broke wind, then rubb'd his eyes and grumbl'd;
Whom Sauney *in his native tone,*
Aſk'd what his thoughts had gaen upon;
What dream he'd had to win the prize,
Who anſwer'd ſoon with half ſhut eyes;
Methought, quath he, from earth below,
To heaven I went 'midſt Lord knows who;
Cherubs and ſeraphs in bright ſtation,
But not ſo much as one relation
Was there; nor Scot *ſince the creation.*
Be th' laird, ſays *Sauney*, thilk you've tauld,
Is lik mi ean for aw the warld;
I thought I kenn'd ye gang ith' cleud,
But wotted not if bad or geud:
Whilk way o'th' twa he's gaen quo I,
He'le ne be hungry nor a dry;
Ond gin he is, or I'm miſtaken,
He'le ne come back for hock of bacon.
Sae *Yorkſhire*' ſbled yeur onger ſtem,
For I e'en neu have kedg'd my wem,
Ond for yeur breakfaſt e'en gae heam,
Or be content with thilk ſeam dream.
Yorkſhire *roſe ſtrait with angry brow,*
To tell his tale to dame below:
Who when ſhe'd heard the caſe related,
And the whole matter clearly ſtated;
Laught heart'ly at the biter bit,
And prais'd the Scotchman *for his wit.*

E. C.

An *Epiſtle* to the Right Hon. the Lord *Clinton*, on the Death of the Worthy Mr. *William Carſwell*, from

His Lordſhip's moſt Devoted,

My Lord, *R. L.*

FORGIVE *th' ambition of an humble friend,*
His tributary tears with yours to blend:
So ſome ſmall rivulet is proud to join
Its nameleſs waters with the glorious Rhine.

Brave Forfar's *noble mother will not read,*
Her tender heart unmov'd, that Carſwell's *dead,*
With well-plac'd care who form'd the hopeful youth
To gentle manners, learning, and to truth:
Watch'd when the dawn of reaſon firſt began
The forward promiſe of a finiſh'd man:
Pleas'd to behold in his lov'd pupil ſhine
Th' hereditary virtues of his line.

To ſeek his ſire, Ulyſſes' *duteous ſon,*
From iſle to iſle, did thro' th' Ægean run:
Sage Mentor *made* Telemachus *his care,*
His father's, kingdom's, and his wiſdom's heir;
Safe he eſcap'd the danger's of his tour,
In camps, in courts, and fair Calypſo's *bow'r.*
Such was the guardian you in Carſwell *choſe,*
(And the ſucceſs your happy judgment ſhows)
When you, my lord, thro' Europe's *courts wou'd go,*
Their laws, their manners, and their arts to know.

So bees awhile their waxen cells forſake,
To diſtant groves their buſy journey take,
Each painted flow'r and od'rous plant explore,
And ſafe return'd, enrich th' ambroſial ſtore.

Whilſt you the diff'rent ills maturely weigh,
Or in republicks, or deſpotick ſway,
Pleas'd, in Britannia's *well pois'd ſtate you find*
Prerogative with liberty is join'd.
Knowledge your end, and all that cou'd adorn
Your ſtate, and titles, more than yet you've born.
In whom the patriot *does outſhine by far*
The ſtaff, the key, the garter, and the ſtar,
With ev'ry badge of pow'r that fav'rites wear.

Abroad who viſit, ignorant at home,
Cannot be ſaid to travel, *but to* roam.
Raw, unfledg'd things, their neſt they raſhly quit:
Their minds chartblank, *for all impreſſions fit,*
They dreſs---fence---fiddle---ſometimes aim at wit.

The ramble's finiſh'd---but we bluſh to find
They've left their native innocence behind.
Whilſt every country furniſhes ſome vice,
Germany *drinking*; Gallia *cards and dice*;
Th' Italian's *hate*; *the* Spaniard's *pride, and* Rome
Looſe atheiſts, or fierce bigots ſends 'em home.
From Calvin *their weak heads this doctrine raiſe,*
The will's controll'd; *nor merits blame, nor praiſe:*
Virtue, and vice impute to rigid fate:
Alike the mitre, and the crown they hate.

Whom Carſwell *guides, are to their country brought*
With uſeful knowledge and experience fraught.
The learn'd he knew, not to the learn'd unknown:
(Each country to the wiſe man is his own)
With foreign zealots never wou'd engage,
Who want of argument ſupply with rage.

Of travels tir'd, with you he thankful choſe
The proffer'd comforts of a ſweet repoſe;
Where eaſy freedom did the boon enhance;
Where nature's ſafeſt phyſick, temperance
(Whilſt bounteous heav'n allow'd) ſecur'd his health.
Wiſdom his ſole purſuit, he aſk'd not wealth,
Nor with a cynic's ſurly pride diſdain'd:
Happy, to Agur's *golden mean attain'd.*

But I in vain, bleſt ſoul, attempt to raiſe,
In feeble verſe, a monument of praiſe:
To eternize thy name, it ſhall be ſaid,
That Clinton, *great and good, laments his* Carſwell *dead.*

Sept. 6, 1734. SENEX.

On ſeeing a little Boy: Spoken extempore.

SEE *his black and ſparkling eyes,*
See his noble forehead riſe;

See

See his golden curling hair,
See his blushing cheeks so fair;
See his even milk-white teeth,
And the dimpled chin beneath;
See his ruby coral lips,
From which each pretty accent ships;
See his small his handsome shape,
Nor can his legs your view escape,
Shapely legs with calves so neat,
Fit to bear a form so sweet:
But search within, and there you'll find
A far more beauteous form of mind.

E. K.

In Answer to a *Lady*, who asked a Gentleman whom he liked best in Mr. *B*——'s *Family*.

WHERE such equal spirits shine;
Each a pious care employs;
Wit, and sense, and manners join:
Who will dare to make a choice?

Parents, children, age and youth,
Male and female, but one soul,
Fraught with honour, virtue, truth,
Seems to animate the whole.

Thus to form the milky way,
Where so many worlds conspire;
'Midst the radiance, can you say.
Which the star you most admire?

Blended orbs a lustre yield,
That confounds the mortal sight;
By their numbers thus conceal'd,
And obscur'd by their own light.

Verses occasioned by Mr. *Budgel*'s modest Proposal, in the *Daily Post-Boy* of *Aug.* 31. to give the Publick a new and accurate Translation of a late celebrated *French* Treatise, on the Causes of the Grandeur and Declension of the *Romans*, and which has been already translated.

DULNESS, *good goddess, chanc'd to see*
The product of a belle esprit,
Which clearly does the causes mention
Of Roman *grandeur and declension,*
Pen'd in pure French *so very sprightly,*
She judg'd 'twould take, and judg'd it rightly.
Quoth she, so much I hate his nation,
I'll damn this author in translation;
Then, to concert her purpose well,
She hasten'd to Oblivion's *cell,*
And found her moping over Tindal,
For she reads all who e'er have been dull.
Sister, said she, you must befriend me,
And some spare blockhead *quickly lend me;*
Lay by that old religion-hater,
And let me have your worst translator,
Some drudging foe to wit and merit,
Most fit to damp an author's spirit.
Oblivion, *smiling, cry'd, I have*
The flower of dunces *in my cave,*
And one who, I can safely swear,
Will suit your purpose to a hair;
He is your darling, or I judge ill;
Here —Humdrum — *call your brother* B—el.

An Epitaph, *for Miss* R. P. *To be inscribed on her Grave-Stone.*

STAY, christian, stay, nor let thy haste profane
The humble stone that tells thee life is vain:
Here beauty lies in mould'ring ruins lost,
A blossom nipt by death's untimely frost:
Unwarn'd, yet unsurpriz'd, found on her guard,
A prudent virgin watching for her lord.
In early youth she wisely sought her God,
And the safe path of smiling virtue trod:
In bloom of beauty, humbly turn'd aside
The incense flattery offer'd to her pride.
Her front with blushing modesty she bound;
And on her lips the law of truth was found:
Fond to oblige, too gentle to offend;
Belov'd by all, to all the good a friend:
The bad she censur'd by her life alone,
Blind to their faults, severe upon her own:
In others griefs a tender part she bore,
And with the needy shar'd her little store:
At distance saw the world with pious dread,
And to God's temple for protection fled;
There sought that peace which heav'n alone can give,
And learn'd to die, ere others learn to live.
Tho' clos'd those eyes, by which all hearts were charm'd,
Tho' every feature of each grace disarm'd;
Yet think not, that her piety was vain:
Her soul survives, her virtues still remain;
O'er vanquish'd death th' immortal saint prevails,
And op'ning heav'n the new-born angel hails.

The following Poem *having been generally esteem'd, and having never yet appear'd in any other Work but that to which it was originally prefix'd, viz.* Dr. *Pemberton's* View of Sir *Isaac Newton's* Philosophy; *we hope it will not be unacceptable to our Readers.*

A Poem *on* Sir ISAAC NEWTON.

TO *Newton*'s genius, and immortal fame
Th' advent'rous muse with trembling pinion soars.
Thou, heav'nly truth, from thy seraphic throne
Look favourable down, do thou assist
My lab'ring thought, do thou inspire my song.
Newton, who first th' almighty's works display'd,
And smooth'd that mirror, in whose polish'd face
The great creator now conspicuous shines;
Who open'd nature's adamantine gates,
And to our minds her secret powers expos'd;
Newton demands the muse; his sacred hand
Shall guide her infant steps; his sacred hand
Shall raise her to the Heliconian height,

Where,

Where, on its lofty top inthron'd, her head
Shall mingle with the ſtars. Hail nature, hail,
O goddeſs, handmaid of th' ethereal power,
Now lift thy head, and to th' admiring world
Shew thy long hidden beauty. Thee the wiſe
Of ancient fame, immortal *Plato*'s ſelf,
The Stagyrite, and Syracuſian ſage,
From black obſcurity's abyſs to raiſe, [works)
(Drooping and mourning o'er thy wondrous
With vain inquiry ſought. Like meteors theſe
In their dark age bright ſons of wiſdom ſhone:
But at thy *Newton* all their laurels fade,
They ſhrink from all the honours of their names.
So glimm'ring ſtars contract their feeble rays,
When the ſwift luſtre of *Aurora*'s face [light.
Flows o'er the ſkies, and wraps the heav'ns in
The deity's omnipotence, the cauſe,
Th' original of things long lay unknown.
Alone the beauties prominent to ſight
(Of the celeſtial power the outward form)
Drew praiſe and wonder from the gazing world.
As when the deluge overſpread the earth,
Whilſt yet the mountains only rear'd their heads
Above the ſurface of the wild expanſe,
Whelm'd deep below the great foundations lay,
Till ſome kind angel at heav'n's high command
Roul'd back the riſing tides, and haughty floods,
And to the ocean thunder'd out his voice:
Quick all the ſwelling and imperious waves,
The foaming billows and obſcuring ſurge,
Back to their channels and their ancient ſeats
Recoil affrighted: from the darkſome main
Earth raiſes ſmiling, as new-born, her head,
And with freſh charms her lovely face arrays.
So his extenſive thought accompliſh'd firſt
The mighty taſk to drive th' obſtructing miſts
Of ignorance away, beneath whoſe gloom
Th' inſhrouded majeſty of nature lay.
Hedrew the veil and ſwell'd the ſpreading ſcene.
How had the moon around th' ethereal void
Sang'd, and eluded lab'ring mortals care,
Till his invention trac'd her ſecret ſteps,
Whilſt ſhe inconſtant with unſteady rein
Through endleſs mazes and meanders guides
Its unequal courſe her changing carr:
Whether behind the ſun's ſuperior light
She hides the beauties of her radiant face,
Or, when conſpicuous, ſmiles upon mankind,
Unveiling all her night-rejoicing charms.
When thus the ſilver-treſſed moon diſpels
The frowning horrors from the brow of night,
And with her ſplendors chears the ſullen gloom,
While ſable-mantled darkneſs with his veil
The viſage of the fair horizon ſhades,
And over nature ſpreads his raven wings;
Set me upon ſome unfrequented green
While ſleep ſits heavy on the drowſy world,
Seek out ſome ſolitary peaceful cell, [brows
Where darkſome woods around their gloomy
Bow low, and ev'ry hill's protended ſhade
Obſcures the duſky vale, there ſilent dwell,
Where contemplation holds its ſtill abode,
There trace the wide and pathleſs void of heav'n,
And count the ſtars that ſparkle on its robe.
Or elſe in fancy's wild'ring mazes loſt
Upon the verdure ſee the fairy elves
Dance o'er their magick circles, or behold,
In thought enraptur'd with the ancient bards,
Medea's baleful incantations draw
Down from her orb the paly queen of night.
But chiefly *Newton* let me ſoar with thee,
And while ſurveying all yon ſtarry vault
With admiration I attentive gaze,
Thou ſhalt deſcend from thy celeſtial ſeat,
And waft aloft my high-aſpiring mind,
Shalt ſhew me there how nature has ordain'd
Her fundamental laws, ſhalt lead my thought
Through all the wand'rings of th' uncertain moon,
And teach me all her operating powers.
She and the ſun with influence conjoint
Wield the huge axle of the whirling earth,
And from their juſt direction turn the poles,
Slow urging on the progreſs of the years.
The conſtellations ſeem to leave their ſeats,
And o'er the ſkies with ſolemn pace to move.
You, ſplendid rulers of the day and night,
The ſeas obey, at your reſiſtleſs ſway
Now they contract their waters, and expoſe
The dreary deſart of old ocean's reign.
The craggy rocks their horrid ſides diſcloſe;
Trembling the ſailor views the dreadful ſcene,
And cautiouſly the threat'ning ruin ſhuns.
But where the ſhallow waters hide the ſands,
There ravenous deſtruction lurks conceal'd,
There the ill-guided veſſel falls a prey,
And all her numbers gorge his greedy jaws.
But quick returning ſee th' impetuous tides
Back to th' abandon'd ſhores impel the main.
Again the foaming ſeas extend their waves,
Again the rouling floods embrace the ſhoars,
And veil the horrours of the empty deep.
Thus the obſequious ſeas your power confeſs,
While from the ſurface healthful vapours riſe
Plenteous throughout the atmoſphere diffus'd,
Or to ſupply the mountain's heads with ſprings,
Or fill the hanging clouds with needful rains,
That friendly ſtreams, and kind refreſhing ſhow'rs
May gently lave the ſun-burnt thirſty plains,
Or to repleniſh all the empty air
With wholeſome moiſture to increaſe the fruits
Of earth, and bleſs the labours of mankind.
O *Newton*, whither flies thy mighty ſoul,
How ſhall the feeble muſe purſue through all
The vaſt extent of thy unbounded thought,
That even ſeeks th' unſeen receſſes dark
To penetrate of providence immenſe.
And thou the great diſpenſer of the world
Propitious, who with inſpiration taught'ſt
Our greateſt bard to ſend thy praiſes forth;
Thou, who gav'ſt *Newton* thought; who ſmil'dſt ſerene; [ſoul;
When to its bounds he ſtretch'd his ſwelling
Who ſtill benignant ever bleſt his toil,
And deign'd to his enlight'ned mind t' appear
Confeſs'd around th' interminated world:

To

To me O thy divine infusion grant,
(O thou in all so infinitely good)
That I may sing thy everlasting works,
Thy inexhausted store of providence,
In thought effulgent and resounding verse.
O could I spread the wond'rous theme around,
Where the wind cools the oriental world,
To the calm breezes of the zephir's breath,
To where the frozen hyperborean blasts
To where the boist'rous tempest-leading south
From their deep hollow caves send forth their storms.
Thou still indulgent parent of mankind,
Left humid emanations should no more
Flow from the ocean, but dissolve away
Through the long series of revolving time;
And left the vital principle decay,
By which the air supplies the springs of life;
Thou hast the fiery visag'd comets form'd
With vivifying spirits all replete,
Which they abundant breathe about the void,
Renewing the prolifick soul of things.
No longer now on thee amaz'd we call,
No longer tremble at imagin'd ills,
When comets blaze tremendous from on high,
Or when extending wide their flaming trains
With hideous grasp the skies engirdle round,
And spread the terrors of their burning locks.
For these through orbits in the length'ning space
Of many tedious rouling years compleat
Around the sun move regularly on;
And with the planets in harmonious orbs,
And mystick periods their obeysance pay
To him majestick ruler of the skies
Upon his throne of circled glory fixt.
He or some god conspicuous to the view,
Or else the substitute of nature seems,
Guiding the courses of revolving worlds.
He taught great *Newton* the all-potent laws
Of gravitation, by whose simple power
The universe exists. Nor here the sage
Big with invention still renewing staid.
But O bright angel of the lamp of day,
How shall the muse display his greatest toil?
Let her plunge deep in *Aganippe*'s waves,
Or in *Castalia*'s ever-flowing stream,
That re-inspired she may sing to thee,
How *Newton* dar'd advent'rous to unbraid
The yellow tresses of thy shining hair.
Or didst thou gracious leave thy radiant sphere,
And to his hand thy lucid splendours give,
T' unweave the light-diffusing wreath, and part
The blended glories of thy golden plumes?
He with laborious, and unerring care,
How diff'rent and imbodied colours form
Thy piercing light, with just distinction found.
He with quick sight pursu'd thy darting rays,
When penetrating to th' obscure recess
Of solid matter, there perspicuous saw,
How in the texture of each body lay
The power that separates the diff'rent beams,
Hence over nature's unadorned face
Thy bright diversifying rays dilate
Their various hews: and hence when vernal rains
Descending swift have burst the low'ring clouds,
Thy splendors through the dissipating mists
In its fair vesture of unnumber'd hues
Array the show'ry bow. At thy approach
The morning risen from her pearly couch
With rosy blushes decks her virgin cheek;
The ev'ning on the frontispiece of heaven
His mantle spreads with many colours gay;
The mid-day skies in radiant azure clad,
The shining clouds, and silver vapours rob'd
In white transparent intermix'd with gold,
With bright variety of splendor cloath
All the illuminated face above.
When hoary-headed Winter back retires
To the chill'd pole, there solitary sits
Encompass'd round with winds and tempests bleak
In caverns of inpenetrable ice,
And from behind the dissipated gloom
Like a new *Venus* from the parting surge
The gay-apparell'd Spring advances on;
When thou in thy meridian brightness sit'st,
And from thy throne pure emanations flow
Of glory bursting o'er the radiant skies:
Then let the muse *Olympus*' top ascend,
And o'er *Thessalia*'s plain extend her view,
And count, O *Tempe*, all thy beauties o'er.
Mountains, whose summits grasp the pendant clouds,
Between their wood-invelop'd slopes embrace
The green attired vallies. Every flow'r
Here in the pride of bounteous nature clad
Smiles on the bosom of th' enamell'd mead.
Over the smiling lawn the silver floods
Of fair *Peneus* gently roul along,
While the reflected colours from the flow'rs,
And verdant borders pierce the lymph waves,
And paint with all their variegated hue
The yellow sands beneath. Smooth gliding o'er
The waters hasten to the neighbouring sea.
Still the pleas'd eye the floating plain pursues
At length, in *Neptune*'s wide dominion lost,
Surveys the shining billows, that arise
Apparell'd each in *Phœbus*' bright attire:
Or from afar some tall majestick ship,
Or the long hostile lines of threat'ning fleets,
Which o'er the bright uneven mirror sweep,
In dazling gold and waving purple deckt;
Such as of old, when haughty *Athens* power
Their hideous front, and terrible array
Against *Pallene*'s coast extended wide,
And with tremendous war and battle stern
The trembling walls of *Potidæa* shook.
Crested with pendants curling with the breeze
The upright masts high bristle in the air,
Aloft exalting proud their gilded heads.

[*The Rest another Time.*

The GENTLEMAN's *Monthly Intelligencer.*

SEPTEMBER, 1734.

AT the Aſſizes at *Cardiffe*, for the County of *Glamorgan*, on the 30th paſt, a Boy of about 16 Years of Age was convicted of Felony and Burglary; but was reprieved by the Judges, in order for Tranſportation, in Regard of his tender Years. One *John Maddocks* was arraigned for the Murder of his Father and Mother, but he appearing very wildly in Court, a Jury was impannell'd to enquire whether he was then, and before he committed the Fact, a Lunatick; and after a ſhort Deliberation, they brought in their verdict *Lunacy*; ſo that he was not try'd for the Fact, but order'd to be kept in Cuſtody till the next Aſſizes.

MONDAY, Sept. 2.

The Princeſs *Amelia* ſet out from *Kenſington* for the *Bath*.

WEDNESDAY, 11.

This Night the Corpſe of her Grace the Dutcheſs Dowager of *Albemarle* and of *Montagu*, after lying in State in the *Jeruſalem-Chamber*, was interr'd in a private Manner in King *Henry* VIIth's Chapel, near the Bodies of General *Monk* Duke of *Albemarle*, and her Conſort *Chriſtopher* Duke of *Albemarle*, the General's Son. (See p. 449.)

About the ſame Time was finiſhed a very great Monument, to the Memory of *Samuel Mead*, Eſq; (See Vol. II. p. 163.) which is affixed to the Northern Part of the Wall in the Round which makes the Paſſage from the Weſt Gate to the *Temple* Church, of exquiſite Workmanſhip in curious Marble, in which is a hollow Oval which contains a beautiful Buſt of the Deceaſed, on the Top whereof is placed a Vaſe, and beneath, his Coat of Arms; under which in two Columns is the following Inſcription, the Whole ſecur'd with Iron Rails;

M. S.
Samuelis Mead I. C.
Matthæi celebris theologi fil.
Hujus Societatis Alumni
Inter Hoſpitii vero Lincolnienſis
Adſeſſores cooptati
Qui honeſtam & antiquam familiam
Ex qua in Agro Buckinghamienſi ortus eſt
Non ſplendidis titulis
Sed egregiis ſuis virtutibus
Et præclaris animi dotibus ornavit
Pietate integritate vitæ
Prudentia morumqne gravitate
Summæ facilitati conjuncta conſpicuus
Non univerſi tantum juris peritus
Sed & omni literarum genere excultus
Interque doctiſſimos hujus ſeculi
Merito numeratus
Ob amorem in ſuos fidem erga amicos
Liberalitatem in pauperes
Quorum patronus erat certiſſimus
Benevolentiam erga omnes
Caritatem denique in patriam
Uſque in exemplum clarus
Obiit XIII Kal. April. A. D. MDCCXXXIII
Ætatis ſuæ quam cælibem egerat LXIII
Viro incomparabili fratri ſuo germano
Natu maximo de ſe optime merito
Affectus & honoris cauſa
Richardus Mead Archiater
Hoc monumentum mœſtiſſimus poſuit.

FRIDAY, 13.

At the Seſſions at the *Old Baily*, the ſeven following Perſons received Sentence of Death, *viz. John Green*, for robbing *J. Weſt* of 3*s*. 6*d*. and a Pair of Buckles, and *Eliz.* and *Mary Cowley* of Wearing Apparel and 3*s*. on the Highway. *Anthony Longlodge*, alias *Porta Anthony*, an *Italian*, for ſtealing 13 Guineas out of the Deſk of *Joſeph Taddy*. *Thomas Macguire*, for ſtealing a black Gelding near *Barnet*, the Property of *John Skipworth*. *Robert Colſon*, for robbing *Eliz. Bedford* of 6*s*. and ſome wearing Apparel; and alſo for robbing *Timothy Fowle* on the Highway, of his

Fiddle and a Shilling. *Mary Gill*, for ſtealing out of the Houſe of *William Ovett* 22 Guineas and other Things. *William Howard*, for breaking open thy Houſe of *Thomas Taylor*, and ſtealing ſeveral Things of Value. And, *Thomas Armſon* (a Boy) for ſtealing from *John Ward* about 11l. at his Lodgings at *Harrow on the Hill*.

At *Briſtol* 3 Perſons received Sentence of Death, *viz.* one Man for Murder, a Woman for the Murder of her Baſtard Child, and a Man for uttering two promiſſary Notes of Hand, one of which was a Counterfeit of the other for 10l.

SATURDAY, 14.

Came on at *Hicks's Hall*, the Trial of Capt. *O Neal*, his Man Servant, and one *Bowers*, who kept an Ale-houſe in *Roſemary Lane*, for enliſting Men into foreign Service; and after a Trial, which laſted five Hours, the latter was acquitted, and the Captain and his Man were committed to *Newgate* for a Year and a Day, to pay four Marks each, and to find Security for their good Behaviour for two Years. (See p. 447.)

MONDAY, 16.

The *Indians* from *Georgia*, went to *Eaton College*, and were received by Dr. *George*, Dr. *Berriman*, and the reſt of the Fellows preſent; they went into the School-Room among the Scholars, where *Tomo Chachi* begg'd them an Holiday, deſiring it might be when the Dr. thought moſt proper, which cauſed a general Huzza in the School; they were ſhewn the ſeveral Apartments in this College, and afterwards went to *Windſor*, where they were very kindly received, and after having ſeen the Royal Apartments there, went to St. *George's* Chapel, where the Prebendaries preſent named Dr. *Maynard* to compliment the Micho from the Dean and Chapter. They went to *Hampton Court* the next Day, ſaw the Royal Apartments there, and walk'd in the Gardens, where was a great Concourſe of People to ſee them. (See p. 447.)

WEDNESDAY, 18.

The *Middleſex* Jury met at the Seſſions Houſe in the *Old Bailey*, purſuant to their Adjournment, in order to proceed to the Tryal of *Roger Arnold*, *Iſaac Burridge*, and *Sarah Pembroke*, late Servants to the unhappy Mr. *Cantillon*; when Mr. Sollicitor General inform'd the Court that the Evidence for the King was not ready, and alſo of ſeveral other weighty Matters; on which Account it was agreed the ſame ſhould be put off till next Seſſions. Then the Counſel for the Priſoners moved that they might be admitted to Bail, and ſeveral Debates ariſing thereupon, the Court was of Opinion, that as the Bill was found againſt them for Murder at *Hicks's Hall*, it was not proper to admit them to Bail; and ſo they were remanded back to *Newgate*. (See p. 385.)

THURSDAY, 19.

His Majeſty was pleaſed to order in Council, that the Parliament, which ſtood prorogued to the 26th Inſtant, ſhould be farther prorogued to *Nov.* 14.

Micajah Perry and *John Salter*, Eſqs; Aldermen, having been choſen Sheriffs for *London* and *Middleſex*, gave Bond on this Day to ſerve accordingly. (See p. 385.)

A general Court of the *Bank of England* was held on this Day, in which a Dividend of 2 3 4ths *per Cent.* was propoſed and agreed to, for the half Year ending at *Michaelmas*.

SATURDAY, 28.

This Day Sir *Edward Bellamy*, Knt. and Alderman, was elected Lord Mayor of *London* for the Year enſuing.

MARRIAGES and BIRTHS.

THE Counteſs of *Dyſart*, about the End of *Auguſt*, ſafely deliver'd of a Son.

——— *Sadler*, Eſq; of the *Exchequer*, married to Miſs *Suſannah Dubart*, Grand-Daughter of Sir *John Fleet*, Knt. Lord Mayor of *London* in 1693.

Counſellor *Hopkins* of *Lincoln's Inn*, Nephew to Judge *Probyn*, to Miſs *Howell*, only Daughter of ——— *Howell*, Eſq; Secretary to the Commiſſioners of Bankrupts, a 6000l. Fortune.

The Daughter of *Joſeph Windham Aſh*, Eſq; to the ſecond Son of his Brother —— *Windham*, Eſq;

Thomas Hope, Eſq; who ſerv'd in the laſt Parliament for *Maidſtone* in *Kent*, to the Widow *Saunderſon* of *Hammerſmith*.

John Harper, Eſq; eldeſt Son of Sir *John Harper*, of *Chalk-Hall* in *Derbyſhire*, Bart. to the Lady *Caroline Manners*, Siſter to the Duke of *Rutland*.

The Lady of the Right Hon. the Lord Viſcount *Weymouth* delivered of a Son and Heir.

The Lady of *Thomas Scawen*, Eſq; Member of Parliament for *Surrey*, brought to Bed of a Son and Heir.

Lady *Clifton*, Relict of the late Sir *Jervaſe Clifton*, and Mother to the preſent Sir *Robert Clifton*, Knight of the *Bath*, married to *William Blackbourn*, of *High Ongar* in *Eſſex*, Eſq;

Rev. Mr. *Emerſon*, Rector of *Little Hallingbury* in *Eſſex*, to Mrs. *Kemble*, a 1600l. Fortune.

DEATHS.

MR. *Joſeph Downing*, Printer to the Society for propagating the Goſpel in Foreign Parts, the Reformation of Manners, &c. reckon'd worth near 10,000l.

James Hawley, of *Brentford* in *Middleſex*, Eſq; ſole Proprietor of the Market there.

Capt. *Newland*, late of *New-England* in *America*, reputed worth 50,000l.

The

The Hon. *John Montagu*, Esq; of the Earl of *Sandwich*'s Family, Member of Parliament for *Stockbridge* in *Hampshire*, suddenly, at the *Bagnio* in St. *James*'s-*Street*.

The Wife of *Thomas Edwin*, of *Dover-Street*, Esq;

Capt. *John Webb*, Deputy Governor of *Tilbury-Fort*, and who had the Command of an Independent Company of Invalids.

At his Seat in *Wales*, aged about 25, Sir *Thomas Bond*, Bart.

At *Ware*, *Anthony Rodney Buckeridge*, Esq; a Gentleman of 400 l. *per Ann.*

Henry Selwin, Esq; Treasurer of his Majesty's Customs.

Mr. *Cassels*, in *Newgate*, who was one of the 5 who were committed to that Prison in 1695, for being concern'd in the Plot for assassinating the late King *William*, and continued there by Virtue of several Acts of Parliament: Mr. *Blackburn* and Major *Bernardi* are the only two surviving Prisoners on that Account.

At his Seat at *Hyde-Hall* in *Hertfordshire*, Sir *Strainge Jocelyn*, Bart.

Richard Horsey, Esq; one of the Directors of the *South-Sea* Company in the memorable Year 1720.

Theophilus Grice, Esq; Purveyor of Wood and Coals to his Majesty.

John Geering, Esq; in the Commission of the Peace for the County of *Middlesex*.

Mr. *Richard Harris*, an eminent and wealthy *Jamaica* Merchant.

Mr. *William Seward*, late one of the Burgesses of *Westminster*, and a Commissioner of the Land-Tax.

At his Seat near *Drumlangrig* in *Scotland*, the Rt. Hon. the Earl of *Panmure*, a *Scots* Peer.

The Rev. Dr. *Barton*, Rector of St. *Andrew*'s, *Holborn*, and Lecturer of St. *John*'s in *James*-*Street*, *Red-Lion-Street*; the Lectureship attends the Rectory, both which are in the Gift of his Grace the Duke of *Montagu*.

Mr. *Auverquerque*, a Gentleman of Foreign Extraction, who has made a considerable Figure at this Court.

Francis Drew, Esq; Member in the last Parliament for *Exeter*.

John Dyer, Esq; an eminent Attorney at Law, and Clerk to the Company of Pewterers.

At *Leesthorpe* in *Leicestershire*, *John Brown* of *Lincoln*'s-*Inn*, Esq;

Sir *Robert Dalrymple* of *Castletoun*, eldest Son to the Lord President of the Session, in *Scotland*.

Thomas Morgan, Esq; one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace for *Middlesex*.

Sir *William Meredith*, who was in the Commission of the Peace in the Reign of King *James* II.

In St. *James*'s-*Street*, Mr. *Pickering*, an eminent Grocer, reputed worth 15,000 l.

Mr. *Thomas Simpson*, aged 99, late Keeper of *Bushy-Park* near *Hampton-Court*, which Place he enjoyed above 60 Years. His Wife died in *Jan.* 1732, aged 107.

At *Stanford* in *Northamptonshire*, Sir *Verney Cave*, Bart.

At *Oxford*, the Rev. Mr. *West*, Fellow of St. *John*'s College.

The Rev. Mr. *Fiddes*, Vicar of *Barking* in *Essex*.

Dr. *Thomas Fuller*, Author of the *Medicina Gymnastica*, *Treatise on the Small Pox*, &c. aged about 80.

At *Bath*, *Charles Bave*, an eminent Physician.

—— *Elford*, Esq; at his House in *Carey-Street*, *Lincoln*'s-*Inn-Fields*.

The Hon. Mrs. *Anne Leigh*, Sister to the Lord *Leigh*.

The Rev. Mr. *Piddington*, Curate and Lecturer of St. *Bartholomew* the *Great*; he was found dead in his Bed at his Lodgings in *Red-Cross-Street*, having went to Bed the Night before seemingly in good Health. He attended *Sarah Malcolm* in *Newgate* and at her Execution.

Gabriel Green, Esq; one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace for *Middlesex*: In the Reign of Queen *Anne*, he was one of the Clerks of the Board of Green Cloth.

In the 94th Year of her Age, Madam *Terwitt*, Relict of Counsellor *Terwitt*, formerly Solicitor to K. *Charles* II.

At his Seat in *Bugbrooke* in *Northamptonshire*, *Thomas Whitfield*, Esq; *Turkey* Merchant.

At *Birkenbog* in *Bamffshire*, *North Britain*, Sir *James Abercromby*, Bart.

The Lady of the Right Hon. *Daniel* Earl of *Winchelsea* and *Nottingham*.

Capt. *William Shirley*, in the 93d Year of his Age, Master-Attendant of his Majesty's Yard at *Woolwich*.

Ecclesiastical PREFERMENTS.

THE latter End of last Month, Dr. *Benjamin Hoadley*, Lord Bishop of *Salisbury*, was translated from that See to the See of *Winchester*, in the room of Dr. *Willis*, deceas'd.

Mr. *Evans* inducted into the Donative of *Woburn*, *Bedfordshire*.

Mr. *Cummyns* presented to the Living of *Paul*'s *Walden*, *Hertfordshire*.

Mr. *Lewis Evans* to the Rectory of St. *Elves*, *Pembrokeshire*.

Mr. *Sutton*, a Prebendary of *Bristol*, to the Rectory of St. *Augustins* in that City, in the room of the late Mr. *Taylor*.

Mr. *Cutts Barton* to the Rectory of St. *Andrew*'s, *Holborn*, in Place of his late Brother Dr. *Barton*.

Mr. *Brown*, Minister of *Town-Malling* near *Maidstone*, to the Vicarage of *Cheshunt* in *Hert-*

Hertfordshire, vacant by the Death of Mr. *Chapman*.

A Presentation passed the Seals to enable Mr. *Nicholls Carter* to be Rector of *Ham*, in the Diocese of *Chichester*.

Mr. *Barons* appointed Chancellor of *Exeter*, in the room of Dr. *Stuart* deceased.

Mr. *Mosley* the younger presented to the Rectory of *Wiggington*, in the room of Mr. *Walker*, deceased.

PROMOTIONS *Civil* and *Military*.

HIS Grace the Duke of *Argyle* appointed Mr. *Cox* to be Master Gunner of his Majesty's Ordnance at *Windsor Castle*, in the room of Mr. *Harris* deceased; and also to be Armourer Keeper at *Hampton-Court* and St. *James's*.

His Majesty has been pleased to appoint Col. *Langdale*, Col. of an independent Company of Invalids, to be Deputy-Governor of *Tilbury Fort*, in the room of Capt. *Webb*, deceased.

Capt. *George Oglevie*, Lieutenant-Colonel of the third Regiment of Foot Guards, is nominated by his Majesty to succeed to Colonel *Manning's* Company.

The Lords of the *Admiralty* were pleased to appoint Lieutenant *Knight*, of the *Pearl* Man of War, to be Captain of the *Deal Castle*, in the room of Capt. *Sborting* deceased.

——— *English*, Esq; First Clerk of his Majesty's Wood-Yards, is appointed Yeoman of his Majesty's Wood-Yards at St. *James's*, *Hampton-Court*, *Richmond*, &c. in the room of Mr. *Grice* deceased.

His Majesty has been pleased to grant unto *John Eckersall*, Esq; the Office of Receiver General and Cashire of his Majesty's Customs in the room of *Henry Selwin*, Esq; deceased.

His Grace the Duke of *Dorset*, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, was pleased to appoint the Earl of *Middlesex*, his Grace's Son, to be Governor of *Walmer Castle* in the County of *Kent*, in the room of Mr. *Furnese*, who resigned the same,

George Rhodes, Esq; appointed Keeper of his Majesty's Mint at *Edinburgh*, in the room of Mr. *James Bruce*, deceased.

Persons declared BANKRUPTS.

JOSEPH *Stavely*, of *Sherborn*, in *Dorsetshire*, Merchant.

Eliz. Langley, of St. *Giles's in the Fields*, *Middlesex*, Coachmaker.

Joseph Devis, of *Gravel Lane*, *Southwark*, Hat-maker and Chapman.

William Paget, of *Fleet-Street*, *London*, Tobacconist.

Ebenezer Corr, late of *Hackney*, *Middlesex*, Merchant.

Samuel Massingarb, late of *Thorney-Abbey*, in the Isle of *Ely*, Cornfactor and Chapman.

Francis Scaddan, of *Rotherhith* in *Surry*, Timber-Factor, and Dealer in Timber.

Henry Hosey, late of *Colnbrook*, *Bucks*, Innholder and Chapman.

Charles Cottingham, late of *Chester*, Skinner.

Lawrence Cook, late of *Redborough*, in *Gloucestershire*, Clothier.

James Wilding, of *Manchester*, in *Lancashire*, Mercer.

John Bentley, late of St. *Ives*, in *Huntingdonshire*, Brewer.

James Downes, of St. *Sepulchre's*, *London*, Chapman.

John Chapman, of *Nicholas-Lane*, *Lombard-Street*, *London*, Painter and Chapman.

John Snatt, of *East Grinstead* in *Sussex*, Chapman.

Benjamin Webb and *Richard Russel*, late of *Carnaby-Market* in the County of *Middlesex*, Vintners and Co-Partners.

John Hyde, late of *Mugwell-street*, *London*, Warehouseman and Chapman.

Thomas White, late of *Portsea*, in the County of *Southampton*, Merchant.

Emanuel Weston, of *Castle Alley*, near *Laurence Lane*, *London*, Warehouseman.

John Baker, of *Wood-street*, *London*, Innholder and Vintner.

Alexander Blackwell, of the *Strand*, in the County of *Middlesex*, Printer and Chapman.

James Willis, late of the Parish of St. *Margaret Westminster*, Taylor and Dealer in Cloth.

William Cole, of the Parish of *Stroude*, in the County of *Gloucester*, Clothier.

William Staples of *Lambeth*, in the County of *Surrey*, Farrier and Victualler.

William Marsden, late of *Liverpool*, in the County of *Lancaster*, Merchant.

Towards the End of the Month.

STOCKS.

S. Sea 81 ¼	*Afric.* 20
—*Bonds* 72*s* Prem.	*Royal Aſſ.* 98
—*Annu.* 106	*Lon. ditto* 12 ⅜
Bank 140	*Y. Build.* 3 ¼ a ½
—*Cirt.* 3 2 6 a 5	3 *p. C. An.* 93 ½ a ¼
Mil. Bank 108 ½	*Eng Copper* 1*l.* 15*s.*
India 145	*Welſh* Books ſhut
—*Bonds* 75*s*	

The Courſe of EXCHANGE.

Amſt. 35 10 a 11	*Bilboa* 40
D. Sight 35 8 a 9	*Leghorn* 50 a 49 ⅞
Rotter. 35 11 a 36	*Genoa* 52 ⅜
Hamb. 35 9	*Venice* 49 ¼
P. Sight 32	*Lisb.* 5 5 ⅜
Bourd. & Nantz 31	*Oport.* 5 4 ¼
Cadiz 40 ¼	*Antw.* 36 1 a 2
Madrid 40 ¼	*Dublin* 10 ¼ a 10

Prices of Goods at *Bear-Key*.

Wheat	30 34	*Oates*	9 13
Rye	15 17	*Tares*	18 23
Barley	14 17	*Peaſe*	20 22
H. Beans	16 20	*H. Peaſe*	16 19
B. Malt	17 20	*B. Malt*	16 19

Abſtract of the *London* WEEKLY BILL, from *Aug.* 27 to *Sept.* 24.

Chriſtned	Males 669	Females 646	1315
Buried	Males 1098	Females 1176	2274

Died under 2 Years old			1097
Between	2	and 5	209
	5	10	118
	10	20	86
	20	30	162
	30	40	185
	40	50	126
	50	60	110
	60	70	91
	70	80	54
	80	90	29
	90	and upwards	7
			2274

Prices of Goods, &c. in *London*. Hay 36*s. to* 42*s.* a Load.

Coals per Chaldron 24 *a* 26
New Hops per Hun. 5*l. a* 6*l.* 10
Old Hops 3*l.* 10*s. a* 4*l.*
Cape Seed 10 *a* 11
Lead the Fodder 19 *Hun.* 1 *half on board*, 14 *a* 14*l.* 10*s.*
Tin in Blocks 3*l.* 16
Ditto in Bars 3*l.* 18
Copper Eng. beſt 5*l.* 5*s.*
Ditto ordinary 4*l.* 16*s. a* 5*l.*
Ditto Barbary 85 *a* 95*l.*
Iron of Bilboa 15*l.* 5*s. per Ton.*
Ditto of Sweden 16*l.* 10*s.*
Tallow 30 *a* 31*s*
Country Tallow 30*s.*
Cochineal 18*s.*

Grocery Wares by the C.

Raiſins of the S. new 32*s.*
Ditto Malaga Frailes 17*s.*
Ditto Smirna new 22*s.*
Ditto Alicant 18*s.*
Ditto Lipra new 19*s.*
Ditto Belvedera 29*s.*
Currants 35*s.*
Prunes French none
Figs 20*s.*

Sugar Powder beſt 54 *a* 59*s.*
Ditto ſecond Sort 46*s. a* 50
Loaf Sugar doubleref. 12*d.*
Ditto ſingle refine 56*s. a* 64*s.*

Grocery Wares by the lb.

Cinamon 7*s.* 8*d.*
Cloves 9*s.* 1*d.*
Mace 15*s.* 0*d.*
Nutmegs 8*s.* 7*d.*
Sugar Candy white 14 *a* 18*d.*
Ditto brown 6*d.*
Pepper for home conſump. 16*d.*
Ditto for Exportation 12*d.* 1 4*lb*
Tea Bohea fine 10*s. a* 12*s.*
Ditto ordinary 8 *a* 9*s.*
Ditto Congo 10 *a* 12*s.*
Ditto Pekoe 14 *a* 16*s.*
Ditto Green fine 9 *a* 12*s.*
Ditto Imperial 9 *a* 12*s.*
Ditto Hyſon 20 *a* 25*s.*

Drugs by the lb.

Balſam Peru 14*s.*
Cardamoms 3*s.* 6*d.*
Camphire refin'd 9*s.* 6
Crabs Eyes 1*s* 8*d.*
Jallop 2*s.* 8*d.*
Manna 2*s.* 6*d. a* 4*s*
Maſtick white 4*s.* 0*d.*
Opium 9*s.*
Quickſilver 4*s.* 3*d.*
Rhubarb 18 *a* 25*s.*
Sarſaparilla 3*s.* 0*d.*
Saffron Engliſh 22*s.* 6*d.*
Wormſeeds none
Balſam Copaiva 3*s.* 0*d*
Balſam of Gilead 20*s.*
Hypocacuanæ 4*s* 6*d. a* 5
Ambergreece per oz. 8*s.*

Wine, Brandy, and Rum.

Oporto red per Pipe 25*l. a* 26*l.*
Ditto white none
Liſbon red 35 *a* 40*l.*
Ditto white 26 *a* 28*l.*
Sherry 26*l.*
Canary new 25 *a* 28*l.*
Ditto old 32 *a* 34*l.*
Florence 3*l.*
French red 30*l. a* 40*l.*
Ditto white 20*l.*
Mountain Malaga old 24*l.*
Ditto new 20 *l. a* 21
Brandy Fr. per Gal. 7*s. a* 8*s.*
Rum of Jam. 6 *a* 7*s.*
Ditto Leew. Iſlands 6*s.* 4*d. a* 6*s.* 10*d*

FROM

FROM *Heidelberg*, *Sept.* 16. A Detachment of *Imperial Huſſars*, ſupported by 200 Horſe under Gen. *Petraſch* fell lately on 600 *French* Foragers in the *Kinzigerthal*, kill'd 400 on the Spot, took 80 Priſoners, and carried off 200 Horſes.

Frankfort, *Sept.* 27. N. S. Tho' moſt of our Accounts ſeem to aſſure us the Peace between the *Turks* and *Perſians* is concluded, our Letters from *Vienna* tell us, thoſe two Nations are bent on purſuing the War with Vigour; and that *Kouli-Kan* inſiſts on having all the Conqueſts made by the *Turks* on the Empire of *Perſia*, reſtored, before he concludes a Peace and lays down his Arms. They add, that the Grand Seignior would not meddle with the Affairs of *Poland*; and that his Sublime Highneſs was reſolved to cultivate and maintain the Peace with the Emperor.

Strong Redoubts and Lines are making about *Heidelberg*, to ſecure that Town, and the Troops who are to quarter there, againſt any Inſults.

Hague, *Oct.* 1. N. S. It is written from *Namur*, that the Garriſon of *Luxemburg* makes frequent Excurſions on the Frontiers of *France*, and even as far as the Gates of *Sedan*; where, and in *Champagne* they have carried off a great Number of Cattle, and at different Times made ſeveral Priſoners, and a conſiderable Booty.

Our Letters from the *Upper Rhine* of the 24th paſt adviſe, that the *French* Army, commanded by the Marſhal *d'Aſfeldt*, was encamped in the Plain of *Weil*, between *Kentzingen* and *Endingen*, within two Leagues of *Old Briſac*: The *Imperial* Army, commanded by Prince *Eugene*, continued in the ſame Poſts; but 16 Battalions had been detached, and were on the March for *Italy*, under the Command of the Count *de la Lippe*.

From *Paris*. A Courier arrived here which brought the News of the *Spaniards* Deſcent into the Kingdom of *Sicily*, which as yet has coſt them little. They landed 2000 Men, the greateſt Part of them at *Solento*, between *Palermo* and *Thermeni*, under the Command of the General Duke of *Bitonto*, who was received with open Arms by the *Sicilians*; the reſt of the Forces debarked at *Faro* near *Meſſina*, under the Command of M. *de Marſillac*.

Hague, *Oct.* 1. Count *Zinzendorff* died ſuddenly on the 23d paſt, at the Caſtle of *Aſperen*.

From *Peterſburg*. General *Iſmoyloff* has attacked and entirely routed 6 or 7000 *Poles* near *Grodno*, which were commanded, the Day before the Battle, by the Regimentary of *Lithuania*, *Potezie*, who thought proper to leave the Command to the Cup-bearer of *Lithuania*, not caring to hazard his own Perſon in the Action. About 1000 *Poles* were killed on the Spot, and all their Tents, Baggage, and Train of Artillery, being 13 Pieces of Cannon, taken.

About the Middle of the Month, there happen'd another Action, or Actions, in *Italy*, between the *Imperialiſts* and the Allies (*viz.* *French*, *Spaniards* and *Savoyards*.) According to the firſt Advices, even from *Paris*, the *Germans* had the better; but ſucceeding Accounts gave the Advantage to the Allies: And the *German* Accounts were full of the Advantages obtain'd by the *Imperialiſts*. The Accounts continu'd to differ greatly even to the End of the Month: However, we ſhall ſet down ſome of them.

From *Paris*. The *Imperialiſts*, the Night between the 14th and 15th, ſurpriſed the Marſhal *de Broglio*'s Quarters near *Bondanello*: The Marſhal ſaved himſelf in his Shirt; his Plate to the Value of 80,000 Livres, his ſtrong Box, in which were his Jewels and 40,000 Livres in Money were taken; as were M. *de Caraman*, two Aids de Camp, 3 Battalions, the Horſes that were at Graſs, and all the Marſhal's Baggage.

From *the Imperial Camp at* S. Benedetto, *Sept.* 17. N. S. The 14th, about Five o'Clock in the Evening, our General Count *Konigſegg* ſent for all the Generals to his Quarters, and told them, he had certain Advice, that the Enemy, who were encamped on the other Side of the *Secchia*, were encamped only in one Line; that the greateſt Part of their Cavalry had been ſent into Quarters of Refreſhment in the Duchy of *Modena*; and that the *Secchia* being fordable in ſeveral Places, might be paſſed without great Difficulty; and therefore propoſed to them, to attempt the Paſſage of that River, and to attack the Enemy's Army: Which having been unanimouſly reſolved upon, Count *Konigſegg* ordered the Generals every one to his Poſt, the Tents to be ſtruck, and to keep themſelves ready to march (as ſoon as the Signal of the Retreat or Tap-tow was given) with their reſpective Brigades, towards the Places which the General appointed: All the neceſſary Diſpoſitions being made, the Army marched without Noiſe or Beat of Drum immediately after Midnight, and advanced to the Banks of the *Secchia* without being perceived by the Enemy. A Brigade was immediately detached from the Right Wing, to attack the Poſt of *Quiſtello*, where the *French* were entrenched: This Attack was but a Feint, in order to alarm the Enemy, and give Time to the Left Wing to paſs the *Secchia*, which was done by Break of Day with ſo much Succeſs, that the Allies, who did not expect us, hardly made any Reſiſtance, and retired in Confuſion, abandoning their Camp with ſo much Precipitation, that the Marſhal *de Broglio*, who commanded on that Side, had much ado to ſave himſelf in a Caſſine oppoſite to the Place where our Troops had paſſed: His

Guard,

Guard, consisting of 50 Men, and a Pair of Colours, was taken, as well as all his Equipage, and many Officers. The Troops that were at *Quistello*, made some Defence at first, but having heard that our Troops had passed, and seeing they were going to attack them in the Rear, they retired with the same Precipitation, excepting only six Companies that were made Prisoners of War. The Number of the Dead on the Part of the Enemy amounts to near 800; about 1000 were made Prisoners, among whom there are four Officers of Distinction. We had in this Action but about 50 Men kill'd or wounded; General Count *Waldeck* is among the Number of the former. The Enemy's Army, after this Rout, being gone to post themselves behind the *Cassines* and *Ditches*, Count *Konigsegg* thought it proper to attempt nothing further, tho' we were far advanced. The Enemy remained in Order of Battle all that Day.

The 16th, by Break of Day, our Army marched to pursue the Enemy. The Right Wing advanced to the Bank of the *Secchia*, over-against *San Benedetto*: We found a *Cassine* there possessed by the *Allies*, who at our Approach fired from their Cannon upon our Troops: We judged by the Motion of the Enemy, that they were advantageously posted behind that *Cassine* and between the *Ditches*; that we could not attack them without hazarding the Lives of many of our Men; therefore the General ordered the Troops to move to the Left, in order to draw the Enemy into the Plain, and attack them with Advantage, or to attack them in Flank, in Case they remained in their Post. The *Allies* perceiving our Motion, began to file off; but seeing our Army advance in good Order, they abandoned their Posts, leaving some Troops in the *Cassines*, who were made Prisoners of War; and our Army pursuing its March in Battle Array, towards *S. Benedetto*, found that the Rear-Guard of the Enemy was retiring: Thereupon, General *Stunkenberg* was attached with the Regiments of *Altban*'s Dragoons, and *Merig*'s Cuirassiers, who pursued their Rear-Guard, and routed it. The Enemy lost more Men that Day, than the Preceding, and it is reckoned the Number of Prisoners amounts to near 2000, a great Number of Officers included, amongst whom many of Distinction; three Battalions of Montemeze are fallen into our Hands, with their Colours. The Troops under the Command of the Marshal *de Broglio* were about 25 Battalions, all whose Baggage and Tents have been taken.

P. S. The Prisoners made since Yesterday to this Time, being Nine o'Clock in the Morning, exceed 3000 Men. We are this Moment going to march in Pursuit of the Enemy.

Turin, Sept. 23. The Count *de Rogue*, who was dispatch'd by the King of *Sardinia* to the Queen, arrived here with the agreeable News, that on the 18th we had utterly defeated the *Germans*: The Particulars were not yet made publick, but what we learn in general is as follows:

After the Action of the 15th, the Enemy drawing near, we expected to be attack'd the 17th, and therefore our Troops were drawn up in Battalia; but the Enemy not appearing, we remain'd all Night under Arms: Our Precautions prov'd not unnecessary, for the next Morning the *Germans* advanc'd towards us, and attack'd us in good Order: The Battle began at Ten o'Clock, and about Four in the Afternoon the Enemy began to lose Ground, and by Six they were routed. It is reckon'd that 7 or 8000 of them are left upon the Place, with their Cannon and Equipage. The Remainder of the Army is retir'd to *Luzara*, tho' the Cuirassiers and Dragoons of our Army are in Pursuit of them. 'Tis said the Prince of *Wirtemberg* is dead; and Lieutenant-General *d'Affry* on our Side.

Paris, Sept. 26. The *Imperialists*, who had marched to *Luzara*, attacked the Allies the 19th in their Intrenchments between *Crostola* and *Luzara*: The Action began about 10 in the Forenoon with great Warmth, and lasted till 4. The Enemy returned thrice to the Charge, and were repulsed, and retir'd towards *Luzara*. Count *Konigsegg* was dangerously wounded, and 7 general Officers of the Emperor were killed; among whom it is said is Prince *Lewis* of *Wirtemberg*. All the Horse and Dragoons were detach'd in Pursuit of the *Germans*: 9 Pieces of Cannon, 4 Pair of Kettle-Drums, and 16 Colours or Standards were taken.

A private Letter from *Paris* dated the 20th tells us, that the *Germans*, on the 19th being Sunday, with uncommon Valour attack'd the Allies in their Intrenchments at *Guastalla*. At 10 the whole Armies were engaged, Sword in Hand. The Fight lasted till 5 in the Afternoon, when the *Germans* retired, without being pursued, to *Luzara*, and left behind them some Pieces of Cannon, and a few Colours and Standards. That 15,000 Men were killed on both Sides, among them 800 Officers. That Marshal *de Coigny* was wounded, and M. *d'Harcourt* lost one Arm. 'Tis agreed on all Hands, that the Allies were much superior in Number, notwithstanding which, putting the two Actions together, the Loss on both Sides was supposed to be equal.

The

ENTERTAINMENT *and* POETRY.

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THE LONDON MAGAZINE.

OCTOBER, 1734.

PROCEEDINGS and DEBATES in the *laſt Seſſion* of PARLIAMENT; continued from *Page* 457.

PROCEEDINGS *againſt the Rev. Mr.* Noble.

ON *Feb.* 19. Complaint being made to the Houſe of Commons, that *William Noble*, Clerk, had aſſerted, in a publick Coffee-houſe, that Sir *William Milner*, Bart. (a Member of that Houſe) received a Penſion from the Court; and that he, the ſaid *William Noble*, knew the Perſon who paid it, in Diſhonour of the ſaid Sir *William Milner*, and in Breach of the Privilege of that Houſe: And Mr. *James Farrer* and Mr. *Brudenell Greenwood*, the two Gentlemen who, it ſeems, had heard and reported this Piece of Converſation, being attending at the Door, they were called in, and examined; and upon declaring that they had heard Mr. *Noble* publickly aſſert, that Sir *William Milner* was a Penſioner, and received 500*l. per Ann.* for his voting in Parliament, and that he knew from whom he received the ſame, it was ordered, That the ſaid *William Noble*, Clerk, ſhould be ſummoned to attend that Houſe forthwith, to anſwer the ſaid Complaint.

Mr. *Noble* having been before appriſed that ſuch a Complaint was to be made againſt him, was therefore attending; and being called in and examined, he acknowledged, That he might perhaps have ſaid in a private Converſation, that he had heard of Sir *William Milner* having a Penſion from the Court, or ſomething to that Effect; but as what he had ſaid upon that Occaſion was ſaid only curſorily in Converſation, and without any Deſign of reflecting upon any Gentleman, he could not remember the very Words he then made Uſe of: Whereupon, after he was withdrawn, it was reſolved, *Nem. Con.* That it appeared to that Houſe, that *William Noble*, Clerk, had publickly aſſerted, that Sir *William Milner*, a Member of that Houſe, was a Penſioner, and received 500*l. per Ann.* for his voting in Parliament; and that he knew from whom he received the ſame.

Then, without any further Enquiry, it was immediately reſolved, *Nem. Con.* That the ſaid Aſſertion was falſe and ſcandalous, highly reflecting upon the Honour of the ſaid Sir *William Milner*, and of that Houſe, and a Breach of the Privilege thereof: And it was ordered that the ſaid *William Noble*, Clerk, ſhould, for the ſaid Offence, be taken into the Cuſtody of the Serjeant at Arms.

Mr. *Noble* was accordingly taken into Cuſtody, and upon the 27th, a Petition from him was preſented to the Houſe, expreſſing his Sorrow for the ſaid Offence, and begging Pardon of the Member, and of the Houſe for the ſame, and therefore praying to be diſcharged out of Cuſtody; whereupon it was ordered that he ſhould be brought up next Morning to the Bar of that Houſe, in order to his being diſcharged. Accordingly he was brought up next Morning to the Bar of the Houſe, where he, upon his Knees, received a Reprimand from Mr. Speaker, and was ordered to be diſcharged, paying his Fees; which were as follows,

	l.	s.	d.
The Caption Fee	3	6	8
8 Days in Custody to the Serj.	8	0	0
8 Days to the Messenger	2	13	4
Clerk of the House	1	0	0
Speaker's Secretary	1	0	0
Serjeant bringing him to the Bar	0	6	8
House-keeper and Door-keeper	0	10	0
2 Orders for attending the House	0	13	4
Petition drawing	0	2	6
8 Days Diet and Lodging at the Messenger's, Wine, Coach-hire, &c. at least	2	6	6
Total	19	19	0

Qualification Bill dropt.

On the said 19th of *Feb.* the Bill to amend and render more effectual an Act made in the 9th Year of Q. *Anne*, intitled *An Act for securing the Freedom of Parliaments, by the further qualifying the Members to sit in the House of Commons*, was read a second Time: And a Motion was made for its being committed; upon which, after some Debate, the Question was put, and passed in the Negative; so that the said Bill was dropped, as it had been in the preceding Session. (Vol. II. p. 603.)

Salt Duty continued.

Next Day the House resolved itself into a Committee of the whole House, to consider further of Ways and Means for raising the Supply granted to his Majesty; when, after some Debate, they resolved, That towards raising the Supply granted to his Majesty, the several Duties on Salt, and also on red and white Herrings, delivered out for home Consumption, which, by an Act of the 5th of his present Majesty, were revived and granted to his Majesty, until *March* 25, 1735, should be further continued and granted to his Majesty, his Heirs and Successors, from *March* 24, 1734, to *March* 25, 1742; which Resolution was next Day agreed to by the House, and a Bill ordered to be brought in, pursuant thereto; and accordingly a Bill was brought in and passed into a Law. Thus was that Duty continued for 7 Years without any great Opposition, notwithstanding the violent Opposition that had been made to the reviving it, in both Houses of Parliament, but two Sessions before. (See Vol I. p. 381 to 384, and 429 to 452.)

The same Day his Majesty gave the Royal Assent to the Malt-Tax Bill; *and for making forth Duplicates of Exchequer Bills, Lottery Tickets, and Orders, lost, burnt, or otherwise destroyed.*

Petition and Bill about Mr. Buckley's Thuanus.

On the 18th a Petition of *Samuel Buckley* was presented to the House of Commons setting forth, That he had at his sole Expence, and several Years Labour, by the Assistance of some learned Persons abroad, and of this Kingdom, made Collections of many original Papers and Letters relating to *Thuanus*'s History written in *Latin*, in order to a new and accurate Edition thereof, in 7 Vols. in Folio, which was finished; that the Act of the 8th of Q. *Anne*, for the Encouragement of Learning, by vesting the Copies of printed Books in the Authors or Purchasers of such Copies, extends only to the Authors, Purchasers, or Proprietors of the Copy of any Book in *English*, published after *April* 10, 1710, and allows the Importation, vending, or selling of any Books in *Greek*, *Latin*, or any other foreign Language printed beyond the Seas; so that any Book first compiled and printed in this Kingdom in any of those Languages, may be forthwith reprinted abroad, and imported into, and sold in this Kingdom, to the great Damage of the first Printer or Proprietor; and that it is the constant Practice of foreign Governments to grant their own Subjects the sole Privilege of Printing and Selling Books, and to prohibit the Importation into their own Dominions of such Books reprinted in other Places; therefore praying he may be allowed the same Benefits in his Copy of the History of *Thuanus* in *Latin* for 14 Years. Thereupon a Bill was order'd to be brought in, which passed both Houses, and had afterwards the Royal Assent. (See p. 217.)

DEBATE *upon the Stock-jobbing Bill, in the H—se of L—ds.*

On *March* 7, the Bill *to prevent the infamous Practice of Stockjobbing*, was read the third Time in the House of Commons, and Sir *John Rushout*, who had been one of the chief Supporters of it, both in the former Session and in this last, was ordered to carry it up to the House of Lords.

This Bill had met with so much Opposition in the preceding Session, that it was dropped for that Time, (See the *Debate* on it, in our APPENDIX to the Year 1733, from p. 649 to 657.) and even in this last Session met with a good deal of Opposition in both Houses, tho' it had been a little altered from that which was proposed the preceding Session.

On *March* 28. the House of Lords went into a Committee upon the said Bill, when the E—l of *W——ch*, the L—d *H——ey*, and the E—l of *C——ley* spoke against it; and the E—l of *S——rd*, the L—d *H——*, the L—d *B——ſt*, the E—l of *I—a*, and the E—l of *W——ea* spoke in Favour of it.

The Arguments chiefly made Use of against the Bill, were, That the Grandeur and Strength of a Nation depended upon public Credit, which was a Thing of a very ticklish Nature, and did not always depend upon Reason, but the Opinions of Men; and therefore it was very dangerous to make an

Innovations with reſpect to our publick Funds; for tho' one Man might have a good Opinion of the Innovation propoſed, yet he could not tell what Opinion others might have of it.

That all human Regulations, all human Affairs, were ſubject to Imperfections and Inconveniencies, and therefore Legiſlators had in all Countries been forced to ſuffer ſmall Inconveniencies for the Sake of greater Conveniencies; which was really the Caſe then before them; for tho' Stock-jobbing was an Inconvenience, yet conſidering how much it contributed to the ready Circulation of Money, and to the ſupporting the Credit of our Funds, it was therefore to be tolerated.

That the Credit of our Funds depended very much upon the ready Acceſs that People had at all Times to their Money, and that this ready Acceſs was chiefly owing to the Practice of Stock-jobbing; by this Practice it was, that every Man was always ſure of finding a Purchaſer for his Stock whenever he had a Mind to ſell, and by this only it was, that there was always a certain and fixed Market Price upon every one of our publick Funds; whereas, ſhould this Practice be entirely deſtroyed, it might ſoon become as difficult to find a Purchaſer for Stock, or to aſcertain the Price of it, as it it is now with Reſpect to Land; and the concluding of a Bargain might become as tedious in the one Caſe as it is now in the other.

That at preſent our People got by Commiſſion and Brokerage from Foreigners at leaſt 80,000*l. per Ann.*, which would be entirely loſt to the Nation, if that Bill ſhould paſs into a Law; becauſe all Tranſactions of that Nature, even in our own publick Funds, would then be carried on upon the Exchange of *Amſterdam*; and when any Branch of Trade is turned out of its old Channel, it is no eaſy Matter to bring it back again; and therefore, tho' the Bill was to continue but for 3 Years, they could not agree to it, becauſe if the Trade of buying and ſelling any of our publick Funds ſhould be turned out of this Kingdom for 3 Years only, it might not be in our Power to bring it back again.

That if the Creditors of the Publick were not allowed as free and uncontrouled a Liberty of diſpoſing of their Properties in the publick Funds, as of any other Part of their Property, it would not only prevent People's becoming Purchaſers of any of our preſent Funds, but it would prevent People's lending their Money to the Government upon any future Emergency, which might be attended with the moſt fatal Conſequences.

That in all other Branches of Trade, there was free Liberty allowed to every Perſon that had a Mind to inſure his Stock in Trade: That the ſelling of Stock for Time, and the giving of Money for the Put of Stock (as it was called in *Exchange-Alley*) was nothing elſe but a Way of inſuring the principal Money which a Man had in the publick Funds; and the preventing a Man from taking that Method of ſecuring his Property in the Funds, would be a very great Hardſhip upon all the Creditors of the Publick. And,

That it was doing an Injuſtice to the Perſons concerned in the publick Funds; becauſe it was a ſubjecting them to Conditions and Reſtraints which they were not ſubjected to, nor could poſſibly dream of, when they lent their Money to the Publick; which was in Effect taking ſo much of their Property from them; for it was certain, that every Sort of Property was of the leſs Value, the more Conditions and Reſtrictions it was ſubject to: Nor could any Argument in favour of the Bill be drawn from that Law which had been made againſt laying Wagers about publick Affairs; becauſe thoſe that might be concerned in ſuch Wagers had never purchaſed from the Publick a Privilege to lay any ſuch; whereas the Creditors of the Publick had in ſome Manner purchaſed a Privilege of taking any Method they thought proper for making the moſt of the Property they had in the publick Funds.

The Arguments made Uſe of in Favour of the Bill, were, That there was really no Difference between Stock-jobbing and Gaming; or if there was any, it conſiſted in this, that the former was much more fatal in its Conſequences, and much more deſtructive than the other; for that if any Man frequented Hazard-tables, Horſe-racing, Cock-fighting, or any other Sort of publick Gaming, it became ſoon known in the World, and thereby every Man was adviſed to draw his Effects out of ſuch a Man's Hand, and not to give him any Truſt or Credit; ſo that if ſuch Men came to be ruined, they generally could loſe nothing but their own Eſtates, and none ſuffered by their Folly or ill Conduct, but themſelves and their own Families; whereas in the Tranſactions in *Exchange-Alley*, they might be, and generally were carried on in the Dark; it was not known who were principally concerned; by which Means a Man might game for Thouſands, without its being ſo much as ſuſpected that he had ever ventured a Farthing in that Way; whereby it generally happened that not only the Gameſter himſelf was ruined, but many other innocent Men, concerned with him in an honeſt and fair Way of Trade, found themſelves undone, when they had good Reaſon to think themſelves abſolutely ſecure.

That Stock-jobbing was worſe than Gaming in this other Reſpect, That Gaming of any other Kind might be carried on upon a fair and equal Footing, but it was impoſſible that Stock-jobbing ever could; for there

would always be ſome Perſons behind the Curtain, who muſt neceſſarily know a great deal more of the Game than it was poſſible for the other Adventurers to know; by which Means they always had an Opportunity of cheating their Fellow Gameſters out of what Sums they had a Mind; and it was but too well known that Men had often made an unjuſt Uſe of the Knowledge they had in this Way. And

That by Means of this infamous Practice of Stock-jobbing, it was always in the Power of ſome of our foreign Neighbours to lay a heavy Tax upon this Nation, and to draw a great deal of Money out of it, whenever they thought proper; for as the Prices of all our publick Funds muſt always depend in ſome Meaſure upon the Circumſtances of foreign Affairs, and muſt vary according as thoſe Circumſtances vary, it would always be in the Power of the Miniſters of ſome of the foreign Courts of *Europe*, by Means of their Correſpondents here, to raiſe large Sums of Money, by giving out a little for the Refuſal or for the Put of ſome of our publick Funds.

And in Anſwer to the Arguments made Uſe of againſt the Bill, it was ſaid, That publick Credit, 'twas true, depended on the Opinions of Men, but then thoſe Opinions were alway founded upon Reaſon, when People were truly informed, and had Time to think cooly about the Matter; which could not well happen, as long as the Game of Stock-jobbing was allowed; for thouſands of Lies would be daily invented to deceive the Weak and Ignorant; and Men would always run headlong into the Buying or Selling, or dealing in Puts and Refuſals, not according to the real intrinſick Value of the Thing to be bought or ſold, but according to their Opinion of the Price's being about to fall or riſe.

That the Credit of our Funds did not depend upon the Gaming or Stock-jobbing in them, but rather ſuffered by it, as appeared evidently from this, that the *South-Sea* Annuities, in which there was little or no Gaming, had always bore a higher Price than the Stock, in Proportion to the Dividends made upon both; and it was certain, that every Man who had not ſomething of the Spirit of Gaming, would put a greater Value upon that Security which he was ſure of ſelling again for what it coſt him, than upon a Security by which he run the Riſque of loſing or winning a great deal: And as to the Certainty and Invariableneſs of the Price, the Price of Annuities had always been more certain and invariable than the Price of any other publick Fund; which ſhewed that Stock-jobbing rather tended to unſettle than fix the Price of any of our publick Funds.

That the Facility of finding a Purchaſer for any Thing, depended on People's being certain as to the Value, the Right, and the Method of Conveying of the Thing ſo to be ſold; and to this Certainty with Reſpect to our publick Funds, it was owing that the Proprietors had then ſo ready an Acceſs to their Money, and not at all to the Practice of Stock-jobbing; therefore, as this Certainty could not be in the leaſt diminiſhed by the Bill then before them, the Proprietors of the publick Funds would without Doubt have as ready Acceſs to their Money after the paſſing of it, as ever they had before.

That it could not well be ſuppoſed that ever our People had made in any one Year 80,000*l.* by Brokerage and Commiſſion from Foreigners dealing in our Funds; but whatever had been made in that Way could not by the Bill be diminiſh'd; for Buying and Selling in the Gaming Way could not be carried on by Commiſſion, there could be no Commiſſion or Brokerage paid by Foreigners to our People here but when a Transfer was actually made; and when a Transfer is to be made, ſome Truſtee or Correſpondent here muſt ſtill be employed; ſo that nothing but the Game of Stock-jobbing could be carried to the Exchange of *Amſterdam*; and if all our Gameſters, as well as the Game, were tranſported thither, it would be no great Loſs to the Nation.

That it was to be hoped the publick Credit of this Nation depended upon a much more ſtable Foundation than that of Stock-jobbing; and it was not to be preſumed that the Creditors of the Publick had purchaſed or that they ever intended by their lending Money to the Government, to purchaſe a Privilege of ſetting up a Gaming-Table in the Middle of the City of *London*; and to pretend that the preſcribing a certain Method by which the Property of the publick Funds was to be transferred from one to another, was a Reſtraint upon the Liberty of diſpoſing of ſuch Funds, or that it would any Way diminiſh the Value of them, was the ſame Thing as to pretend that the Statute of the 29th of *Charles* II. againſt fraudulent Conveyances of Land Eſtates, was a Reſtraint upon the Liberty of diſpoſing of ſuch Eſtates; or that the Act for regiſtering ſuch Conveyances within the County of *Middleſex*, had diminiſhed the Value of Land within that County; whereas it was never yet imagined but that the Proprietors of Land Eſtates had as full a Liberty of diſpoſing of ſuch Eſtates ſince the ſaid Act of *Charles* II. as ever they had before; and it was well known that the Act eſtabliſhing a Regiſter within the County of *Middleſex* had rather increaſed than diminiſhed the Value of Land within that County.

That as Bargains for Time were ſtill to be allowed, the publick Creditors might theſe inſure their principal Money in the publick Funds in the ſame Manner as before; but for the Practice of giving Money for the

of Stock, if it was to be called an Inſurance it was a very odd Sort of one; for by that Method a Man was to inſure not only his own Property in the publick Funds, but in ſome Manner the whole publick Funds of *England*; which was juſt the ſame as if a Man concerned only in one Ship ſhould give a Premium for the Inſurance of ſuch a Sum of Money upon the ſafe Return of all the Ships belonging to *Great Britain*.

Upon reading the laſt Clauſe, by which the Bill was made to continue for 3 Years, the L—d *D——are* moved, that it might be made to continue but for one Year, and to the End of next Seſſion of Parliament.

L—d *B——ſt* was againſt this Amendment, becauſe he ſaid, ſuch a ſhort Term might very probably encourage the Stock-jobbing Gameſters to enter into a Combination for raiſing Inconveniences and evil Conſequences, which they might perhaps be able to ſupport and keep up for ſo ſhort a Time by ſome fraudulent and artful Management, in Order to make People ſick of the Bill, and thereby prevent its being continued; whereas if it was made to continue for 3 Years, Things would in that Time take their natural Courſe; the Gameſters could not hope to keep up by Art and Management any Sort of Inconveniences, but thoſe which really proceeded from the Nature of the Bill; and therefore in order to know the natural and real Conſequences of it, it was neceſſary to give it a Continuance for at leaſt 3 Years.

The E——l of *I——a* ſpoke for this Amendment, and the E——ls of *S——rd* and *P——let* againſt it. At laſt the Queſtion was put, upon which there was a Diviſion, but it was carried againſt the Amendment propoſed, 27 againſt 16.

As this Affair was much diſputed without Doors as well as within, we ſhall give our Readers the following Piece, which appear'd ſeveral Times in our News-Papers during the Time that this Bill was paſſing, *viz.*

Some occaſional Thoughts concerning the Bill to prevent Stock-jobbing.

WHERE the Happineſs and Grandeur of a Nation depend on publick Credit, any Thing that is barely ſuſpected to interfere therewith, or the moſt minutely to affect it, ſhould be examined with the utmoſt Caution, and every Circumſtance thoroughly conſidered.

All human Things are ſubject to Imperfection, and therefore I think it has always been a Rule with Legiſlators to ſuffer the leſſer Inconvenience for the greater Convenience; otherwiſe it's difficult to conceive how any Government could ſubſiſt.

When the publick Funds were firſt eſtabliſhed, or more properly the National Debt firſt contracted, the Government muſt have been ſoon ſenſible of the Abuſes that might be practiſed therein by Jobbing; and ſince that Time, many Years Experience has ſufficiently appriſed them thereof; yet it has been ſuffered to continue, which muſt certainly ariſe from theſe Conſiderations: That the Advantages accruing to the whole Nation, were infinitely more conſiderable than the Inconveniences: That the very Nature of the Conſtitution expoſed them to theſe Imperfections, and no Debts muſt have been contracted, or theſe ſubmitted to. For,

1*ſt*, If the Creditors of the Government are not allowed as unlimited a Circulation, and uncontrouled a Diſpoſal of their Properties, as in other Caſes, it will always prevent People from lending, and diſcourage them from ſupporting it in any Emergency.

2*dly*, To prevent a Proprietor of the Government Securities to ſecure his Property at Pleaſure is a Hardſhip and Reſtraint, that is perceivable in no Caſe; other Traders having always that unlimited Privilege, and without it, I apprehend, few would riſque the Accidents human Events are ſubject to. The Fluctuations and Accidents of Government Securities are not leſs, but rather greater, and always will be, than in other Trades; for whenever the Government is affected, the Debts of the Government muſt be ſo likewiſe, and their Wants muſt produce a like Variation in their Credit, conſequently in the Value of their Debts; therefore to prevent any from the Advantage in this Caſe, of ſecuring himſelf, is, I conceive, the greateſt Diſcouragement and Hardſhip.

3*dly*, Common Methods of Aſſurance of Property in Trade are thought right, and even Aſſurance without Property is eſteemed juſt. Now the latter may be conſidered as great an Abuſe, as any that can ariſe in the Funds, it is no leſs productive of falſe News, Impoſition, and Game; all which was conſpicuous in two late Affairs, the Loſs of the *Spaniſh* Flota, and the Return of the *South-Sea* Ship: Yet to prevent it would ſubject the Trader to much greater Inconveniences, therefore no one preſumes to find Fault with it.

4*thly*, What muſt be the Caſe, when the greateſt of our foreign Lenders to the Government, the *Dutch*, find, that they cannot at Pleaſure demand their Properties? Their Wants, it's well known, are temporary, and they frequently change in and out of the Funds for the Sake of Intereſt and Trade; which perhaps is their greateſt Inducement to be ſuch large Proprietors; but when the preſent Circulation is ſtopped, and all the Funds reduced in the State of the 3 and a half *per Cent.* Annuities, Long Annuities and Navy Bills at preſent, ſhould they on an Emergency want 5 or 10,000*l.* of any Stock to be ſold, it may be many Weeks before it can be effected, which will make them willing to diſpoſe

pose of their Properties, but I dare say not so easily induce them to reinvest; and the same must inevitably occur to every other Stock-holder, as was most justly apprehended by the many considerable Proprietors who petitioned the Hon. House of Lords last Session. Nay, the Consequence must be much worse, for upon the sudden Apprehensions of a War, or a popular Fright, they'll all be so pressed and desirous to sell, the Price must necessarily receive a prodigious Shock, and probably fall one Third in Value before a single Bargain is transacted; as happened at the present Juncture in the *French* Actions which fell from 1280 to 1100, and but two Bargains made; and which was entirely owing to the like Prohibition intended by this Bill.

5thly, If this is such a glaring Evil, it is worth enquiring, how the *Dutch*, as wise a Republick, as sollicitous of their Welfare as any, suffer Jobbing, not only in their own Funds, but even in ours; and that infinitely more than what is transacted here; the Reason can surely be no other, than that they find it beneficial, and a general Good. It supports their Credit, fills their annual Lotteries, and in Case of a War, will facilitate the providing the necessary Supplies; for it is highly probable, if it was not for the Turns and Advantages a constant Circulation admits, few would be tempted to lend them.

6thly, This Bill will not only stop the Currency of the Market and free Circulation, embarass the Government, and be grievous to the Proprietor, but likewise be a considerable real Loss and Detriment to the Nation, since it was made appear before the Right Hon. the House of Lords last Session, that even the *Dutch* have paid about 80,000 *l.* annually in Commission and Brokerage, *&c.* for Transactions here; besides, it will not only be the Loss of such a Profit, but likewise an actual dead Loss of a considerable Sum more, which will probably be paid to these very People, the *Dutch*, in Commission and Brokerage, *&c.* for Men who are disposed to act in the Funds, may and will do it, as well in *Holland* as here.

7thly, This Bill will not only cramp and restrain the Market, but even create a Monopoly for Stock-jobbing, putting the real Proprietors of the Funds under great Disadvantages, subjecting them to Usurers and Men of over-grown Fortunes, who will set what Price they please on them; whereas now it is so open and free, that it cannot be subject to the Power of those few whose Interest is always to impose upon Mankind.

8thly, Advices of War and Peace are as useful in other Cases as this; Cochineal, Indigo, *&c.* may and are sold upon a View of Peace, and bought on the View of a War, and that for a fixed Time, and on probable Advices; many other Sorts of Goods are sold without the Sellers being actually possessed thereof: Thus Coffee, Hops, *&c.* nay, most of our Contracts with the Navy are thus performed; those therefore, if they are Evils, may be justly esteemed as great or greater than any other; so that the Whole, the very Nature of Trade requires as great an Amendment as this does; but I am apprehensive, in this will be found the very Essence of publick Credit, and consequently whatever prejudices the one, will the other likewise.

No Answer was publish'd to the above Piece while the Bill was depending, but soon after it was passed, the following Piece appear'd in Print, *viz.*

THE Bill for preventing *Stock-jobbing* is now passed both Houses, and will this Day have the Royal Assent; (see p. 217.) and as that infamous Method of Traffick, by which the Weak and Ignorant were made the Prey of the Knavish and the Crafty, has reduced Multitudes of innocent People and Families, who have lived in Credit, to the utmost Distress, the putting an effectual Stop to so great and crying an Evil, reflects the highest Honour upon those who had any Share in that Transaction, and will be a lasting Monument of Praise to the present Parliament, and an illustrious Example of Virtue, Integrity and publick Spirit, to those that shall succeed them.

There is certainly no Difference, but in Name, between *Stock-jobbing* and *Gaming*; or if there is any, it consists in this only, that the former is more universally destructive, than the other; like *Saul* and *David*, one has slain his Thousands, but the other its Ten Thousands; if a Merchant, or a Tradesman frequents Hazard-Tables, Horse-Racing, or Cock-Matches, it will be immediately known, his Character will be blasted, and his Creditors will have timely Notice to draw their Effects out of his Hand. As his Ruin will be intirely owing to his own Folly, so no Body will be involved with him in it, but his Family; for as the Laws of Society consider them as a Part of himself, there is no discriminating in this Case between the Innocent and the Guilty, but they must necessarily participate in the Punishment, tho' they had no Share in the Crime, for which it was inflicted.

But in the dark and mysterious Negotiations of *Exchange-Alley*, every Thing is transacted with such Privacy and Caution, that a Man may play for more in a Week, than he trades for in a Year, or lose more in a Morning, than he was ever worth in his Life, and yet preserve his Credit unsullied; if he has but Sense enough to keep his own Secret, he may still have the Fortunes and Properties of others at his Disposal, tho' he has long since

ſince laviſhed away his own, and may eaſily prevent any Enquiry into his Affairs, till they are become ſo deſperate, that the Diſcovery will be of no Uſe to thoſe that are concerned to make it; they will have no Notice of the Storm, till it breaks upon them, and the Rock lies too deep to be perceived, till they are ſhip-wrecked upon it.

If a publick Gaming-Table was to be erected in the Middle of *Exchange-Alley*, notwithſtanding the natural Propenſity which Mankind generally have for Play, there would be very little Reſort to it; the Citizens of *London* would univerſally exclaim againſt it as a Nuſance, and even thoſe, who traffick for Thouſands every Day in the Stocks, would be aſhamed to ſhew their Faces there; they know how deſervedly odious the Name of a *Gameſter* is among trading People; but as that Word, in the common Acceptation of it, is taken in a very reſtrained Senſe, they think they do not fall within that Deſcription, unleſs they actually throw the Dice, or deal the Cards; and therefore many an honeſt Citizen, who would deem it Matter of great Scandal to hazard a Shilling in that Way, would not make the leaſt Scruple to ſell an hundred Bears in a Morning.

In this prepoſterous Manner is the World miſled by meer Sounds; thus the very ſame Thing often appears in different Lights, as it paſſes under different Denominations, and the Act itſelf is not ſo much conſidered, as the Manner in which it is done. If a Man loſes but 5 *l.* in one Day, or but 100 *l.* in a whole Year, at any Manner of Game, and after becomes a Bankrupt, he is excluded from the uſual Allowances, which are given to others under the ſame Circumſtances, upon a fair Diſcovery of their Effects; but if he throws away all he is worth in *Exchange-Alley*, and ruins many more beſides himſelf, he lies under no legal Diſqualifications upon that Account, but is entitled to the ſame Favour and Indulgence, to the ſame Advantages, as the honeſt and induſtrious Trader, who is undone by unforeſeen and unavoidable Misfortunes.

Thus, as the Law has hitherto ſtood, while a Mark of Reprobation and Infamy has been fixed upon Gaming, and all imaginable Means have been uſed, by ſeveral ſevere Penalties, to deter Men from that Practice, *Stock-jobbing*, by much the greater Evil of the two, has not only been ſuffered to paſs with Impunity, but has been looked on at leaſt as a juſtifiable, if not as a laudable Profeſſion; and an Eſtate procured in that Manner, tho' whole Families have been plundered to raiſe it, gives the Owner the ſame Rank and Credit, and he commands as much Reſpect and Diſtinction, in this Metropolis, as if it had been acquired in a fair Way of Trade, by which Multitudes have been maintained in the mean Time; and the Stock-jobber, who has no Dealings beyond the Limits of *Exchange-Alley*, who preys upon every Body, and employs no Body but his Broker, may ſwagger about in his Chariot with as much Satisfaction to himſelf, and in as good Eſteem with others, as the Merchant, who gives Bread and Subſiſtence to Thouſands, and whoſe Commerce extends to the fartheſt Part of the World.

Many Objections have been made againſt this Bill to prevent *Stock-jobbing*; and tho' it is eaſily to be believed, that they were drawn up with as much Art as the Nature of the Thing would admit, and by the acuteſt Perſons of the Profeſſion, yet, if they were to be ſtripped of the popular Sounds, which are induſtriouſly thrown in to gain the Favour of the Publick, ſuch as deſtroying publick Credit, Reſtraints upon Property, Hardſhips upon the Proprietors of the Funds, and the like; there is not one, which would not be as ſtrong an Objection againſt a Bill for preventing Gaming; and the Sharpers that attend upon a Faro-Bank, or an Hazard-Table, might declaim in the ſame Manner, and almoſt in the ſame Words, upon ſuch an Occaſion, as the Gentlemen of *Exchange-Alley* have done upon this, and by their Arguments prove the Analogy that there is between them.

For Example; the Hardſhips complained of in the preſent Caſe are, That the Creditors of the Government are not allowed as unlimited a Circulation and uncontrouled Diſpoſal of their Properties as other Perſons: That other Traders have always the Privilege to inſure their Property at Pleaſure; and that there is more Reaſon why the Proprietors of the Funds ſhould have ſuch Privilege, than other Traders, becauſe the Fluctuations and Accidents in Government-Securities are not leſs, but rather greater, than in other Trades: That the foreign Lenders, particularly the *Dutch*, will draw their Money out of our Funds, when they find they cannot at Pleaſure command their Properties: That the Nation will loſe a very conſiderable Profit, which is now paid for Commiſſion and Brokerage: That the common Methods of Aſſurance of Property in Trade are thought right; and that even Aſſurance without Property is eſteemed juſt; and yet this may be conſidered as great an Abuſe, as any that can ariſe in the Funds: And laſtly, That many Sorts of Merchandizes are ſold, without the Sellers being actually poſſeſſed thereof, which is as much Gaming, and as productive of as many Frauds, as the ſame Manner of dealing in the Stocks can poſſibly be.

Theſe are the principal Arguments that have been brought in Favour of *Stock-jobbing*, and againſt any Bill to prohibit it; every one of which might with as much Reaſon be made uſe of in Defence of Gaming, and would be equally ſtrong in one Caſe as in the other:

For

For can it be said, that a Man has an unlimited, uncontrouled Power over his own Property, who is restrained by penal Laws from disposing of it in such a Manner as is most agreeable to his Humour, and, as he may think, most conducive to his Advantage? Why may not he lay a Wager which Number comes up first, in a Pair of Dice, or who has the best Trump at Cards, as what the Value of any Stock will be at a future Time, if one is as much uncertain and as much subject to Chance as the other? And if a Man is liable to be cheated by false Dice or false Cards, is not he equally liable to the same Frauds by false News, fictitious Intelligence, and by the usual Arts and Mysteries of *Exchange-Alley*? By which Methods those that are in the Secret may accumulate a greater Heap of Wealth in a Day, than the most subtle and dexterous Sharper ever could do in the Course of his Life.

But as other Traders have the Privilege of insuring their Properties at Pleasure, why should this be refused to those that trade in the Stocks, a Trade exposed to as many Hazards as any other? Why truly, if these Gentlemen who use this Argument can make it appear that *Stock-jobbing* is a Trade, there is no manner of Reason why they should not have the same Privileges which other Traders have: But I believe, till now, they were always understood to be two distinct Things; and a Man that lends Money upon a Mortgage may with as much Propriety be called a Trader, as one who lends Money on Government-Securities; and if it were not for *Stock-jobbers*, and People who will make a Trade of a Thing, whether it is a proper Subject for it or no, there would be as small a Variation in the Price of Stocks as of Land, the Government-Creditor, if he would be contented with the Interest of his Money, might assign his Security, and be paid his Principal, with as little Loss, and perhaps with less Difficulty, than the Mortgagee of Lands; and therefore the Fluctuations and Casualties, complained of in the Funds, are only owing to the Manner of dealing in them; for they are in their own Nature as fixed and permanent, of as settled and established a Value, as any Security whatever can be.

For while the present Government subsists, the publick Creditors are safe; their Interest is constantly and regularly paid, and their Principal secure: This is admitted even by those who make the Changes and Accidents, which they alledge these Securities are subject to, an Argument for *Stock-jobbing*, or, to use their own Words, for allowing the Proprietors of the Funds the Privilege of insuring their Property at Pleasure: If the Government then is in no Danger, they can be in none; and if it is, whose Property can be said to be safe? Will not all the Purchasers of forfeited Estates, all those that have Mortgages upon them, or Annuities payable out of them, all who have obtained Grants from the Crown, or who have afterwards bought them of such Grantees, for valuable Considerations; in a Word, will not all who have got Fortunes under the Government since the Revolution, or who claim under those that have, be involved in the same common Calamity, if ever another should happen? The Properties of these Creditors of the Publick are as well secured as the Government itself; and tho' *Stock-jobbing* was to continue in its utmost Latitude, nobody would be able to insure their Properties by such Means, if that was in any real Danger: It may indeed be the Occasion of spreading of false Alarms, and filling the Proprietors with groundless Apprehensions, in order to depreciate the Value of the Funds, when there is no Danger, but will never give them a Currency when there is.

If Foreigners, upon passing this Bill, should, as it is alledged they will, draw their Money out of our Funds, our Comfort is, that they will draw none of ours along with it, which it is impossible to prevent them from doing, while the Market is open in *Exchange-Alley*: And shall we for the Sake of Commission and Brokerage give them Opportunities to raise Contributions upon us, whenever they please, for ten times the Sum? There would be little room to boast of keeping the Box, if a Sharper should come, every now and then, and strip the Bank. As to what is alledged of Assurances without Property, and of selling Goods in Trade without being possessed of them, and instancing those as parallel Cases with *Stock-jobbing*, and as Precedents to support the Practice of it, it will be sufficient to say, that if they are Evils, and a Prejudice to Trade, they ought to be restrained, as well as *Stock-jobbing*, and I make no Question but they will: But because we can't do every Thing at once, must we do nothing? Must one Abuse be suffered to continue, because no Method has yet been proposed to prevent another?

Upon the Whole, this Law will be such a general Benefit to the Publick, it will save so many unhappy Persons from falling into the Hands of those Harpies, who are daily lying in Wait for their Destruction, that the most grateful Acknowledgements are due to the Authors of so great a Good: and it ought to be remembered, to the Honour of the Administration, that they not only concurred in it but heartily promoted it. This is an undeniable Instance of their Disinterestedness; for they could never want Opportunities of raising what Sums they pleased, by Dealings in *Exchange-Alley*, if they were inclined to make Use of them: But by being such zealous Advocates for this Law, they have given sufficient Testimony, how much they detest

even the greatest Acquisitions that might be made, if not strictly consistent with Justice and Honour, however Custom and the Practice of former Ministers might have warranted them in it.

MOTIONS *and* DEBATES *about the Election of the* Scotch Peers.

Soon after the Beginning of last Session the E--l of *M*——*nt* moved, That the House of Lords might resolve to go into a Committee, to take into their Consideration the Election of the 16 Peers to represent the Peerage of *Scotland* in the Parliament of *Great Britain*; and upon its being represented that some Irregularities had crept in, particularly as to the Method of claiming the Right of Peerage, the House agreed to the Resolution proposed; and accordingly, on *March* 8, their Lordships went into the said Committee, and the said Earl made a Motion to this Effect, That none but those descended from the Body of a Peer or Peeress, who had actually enjoyed the Title since the Year 1900, should be admitted to vote at the Election of the 16 Peers thereafter to be chosen for representing the Peers of *Scotland* in the Parliament of *Great Britain*, until their Title had been in a proper Way laid before, and approved of by that House.

The L—d *H*——*ck*, D—ke of *N*——*tle*, L—l of *I*—*a*, and L—d *H*——*ey*, spoke against this Motion; and the M——s of *T*——*le*, E—l of *W*——*ea*, D--ke of *A*——*se*, and E—l of *C*——*d* spoke for it; the E—l of *S*——*gb*, and D—ke of *M*——*le* spoke for putting it off, which at last was agreed to, and the Motion dropt.

After which the M——s of *T*——*le* moved to this Effect, That for the future the said 16 *Scottish* Peers should always be chosen by Balloting. This Motion occasioned a considerable Debate, in which the D—ke of *M*——*le*, D--ke of *N*——*tle*, and L—d *H*——*t* were the principal Speakers against it. And the M——s of *T*——*le*, L—d *H*——*ſt*, and L—d *C*——*t* for it. But the Question being put, it was upon a Division carried in the Negative, 75 to 39.

And on *March* 18 the said House resolved itself again into a Committee upon this Affair, when the D—ke of *B*——*rd* moved to this Effect, That the giving or promising any Sum of Money, Post, Pension, or other Reward, to any of the Peers of *North-Britain* for giving his Vote in the Election of the 16 Peers to represent them in the Parliament of *Great Britain*, was a high Insult upon the Crown, a great Indignity to the Peers, and a Breach of the Privilege of the House.

The chief Speakers in Favour of this Motion, were the D—ke of *B*——*rd*, E—l of *St*—*r*, L—d *W*——*by* of *B*—*k*, E—l of *C*——*ld*, L—d *B*——*ſt*, L—d *C*——*t*, and E—l of *W*——*ea*; and the chief Speakers against it were, the the D—ke of *N*——*tle*, L—d *H*——*ey*, E—l of *C*——*ley*, L—d *T*——*t*, D--ke of *A*——*le*, and E--l *P*——*let*. But upon a Division the Question was carried, against the Motion, 73 *Not Contents*, to 43 *Contents*, of the Lords then in the House; and of Proxies 26 *Not Contents*, to 17 *Contents*; so that in all there were 99 against agreeing to the Motion, and 60 for agreeing. (See the *Protests* on this Occasion, p. 170, 171.)

Those who spoke in Favour of the Motion, spoke in Substance thus:

It is well known, that by the Constitution of this Kingdom all Elections, of whatever Nature, ought to be made with the utmost Freedom: we have many Laws, both ancient and modern, for establishing the Freedom of Elections, and for preventing any undue Influence that may be made, either by Money, by Threats, , or by Promises upon the Electors: The very Nature of the Thing requires it should be so; for every Man who is allowed a Vote at any Election, is by Law presumed capable of determining within himself, who is the most proper Person for that Post, Office, or Employment, to which he is to elect; and if he be directed in his Voting, either by Money, by Threats, or by Promises, it is he who directs that is properly the Elector, and not he who is made the Tool upon that Occasion; by which Means that Election, which by Law ought to be made by a great Number of Persons, may come to be directed, and consequently made by one single Man.

Therefore it has always been deemed to be a Maxim of the common Law of *England*, *That Elections shall be regularly and freely made, without any Interruption whatever*; and this Maxim has been confirmed and inforced by most of the great Kings that ever reigned in this Kingdom. Under our glorious King *Edward* I. was that Statute made, which is called the first of *Westminster*; and by the 5th Chap. of that Statute it is ordain'd, *That no great Man, or any other Person, shall by Force, by Malice, or by Threats, any Way disturb the Freedom of Election, under the Pain of grievous Forfeiture*; which Law is still in Force, and relates to all Elections made or to be made within this Kingdom; and so careful were our Ancestors of preserving this Freedom of Election, that even Requests and earnest Solicitations were in such Cases deemed unlawful, as may appear from the Statute made in the 7th of *Henry* IV. and from the 14th Chapter of the Statute called *Articuli Cleri*, which was made in the Reign of *Edward* II. For it was most rea-

ſonably by them concluded, that if any great or powerful Man was allowed but to requeſt or ſollicit a Man for his Vote at any Election, it would have the ſame Effect as if he had actually threatened that Man, or made Promiſes to him for giving his Vote as directed; becauſe every Man would naturally preſume, that if he complied with the great Man's Requeſt, he might expect his Favour; and if he denied his Requeſt, he muſt expect his Malice.

From hence it is plain, that by the very Nature of the Thing, as well as by the Common and Statute Law of this Kingdom, it is highly criminal in any great Man to requeſt or ſollicit Votes at any Election; but it muſt be ſtill more highly criminal in any Man actually to give or promiſe any Money or other Reward upon ſuch an Occaſion, eſpecially in any Thing that relates to a Right of ſitting in this Houſe; and what appears to be the undoubted Law of *England* is ſo far from being derogated from by the Union between the two Nations, that it is in the particular Caſe now before us, expreſly confirm'd by that Act which was made in the Parliament of *Scotland*, for ſettling the Manner of electing the 16 Peers; and which Act is by the Parliaments of both Nations declared to be as valid as if the ſame had been Part of the Articles of Union.

Since then it appears that the Reſolution now propoſed is nothing but a Declaration of what is now the Law of *Great Britain*, we can ſee no Reaſon for our not complying with the Motion which the noble D—ke has been pleaſed to make; but on the contrary, we ſee many and ſtrong Reaſons for our agreeing to it, for it will certainly enforce the Laws now in being; it will put People in Mind that there are ſuch Laws, and will contribute greatly towards terrifying thoſe who may hereafter have evil Intentions, from being guilty of thoſe Practices which they know to have been ſo lately condemned by this Houſe: And ſuch a Reſolution is at preſent the more neceſſary, becauſe of the great Complaints now ſo generally made over the whole Nation againſt ſuch Practices: Bribery and Corruption in Elections of all Kinds are now ſo univerſally complained of, that it is become highly neceſſary for this Houſe to come to ſome vigorous Reſolutions againſt it, in order to convince the World, that it has not as yet got within theſe Walls: It has already, 'tis to be fear'd, got too firm a Footing in ſome other Parts of our Conſtitution; what is now propoſed may not be a ſufficient Barrier, but if ſomething be not ſpeedily done, if ſome effectual Meaſures are not ſoon taken againſt that deadly Foe to our Conſtitution, in a ſhort Time Corruption will become ſo general, that no Man will be afraid to corrupt, no Man will be aſhamed of being corrupted.

Tho' it cannot be affirmed, that any undue Influence has as yet been made uſe of in the Election of the 16 Peers for *Scotland*; tho' it cannot be ſuſpected that any ſuch Influence will ever be allowed of, much leſs approved of by his preſent Majeſty, yet no Man can tell how ſoon ſuch a Thing may be attempted; and the Circumſtances of many of the Peers of that Nation give us great Reaſon to be jealous of ſuch Attempts: It muſt be allowed there are many of them who have the Misfortune of having but ſmall Eſtates; many of them have Commiſſions in the Army, or Places in the Government depending on the Pleaſure of the Crown; and it muſt be granted that ſome of them cannot well ſupport the Dignity of their Titles, and the ancient Grandeur of their Families, without ſuch Commiſſion in the Army, or Poſt in the Government: If then any future ambitious Prince ſhould think of ſecuring by illegal Means a Majority in this Houſe, in order to deſtroy the Liberties of his People; or if any wicked Miniſter who had got the leading of a weak Prince, ſhould think of getting a corrupt Majority in this Houſe, in order to ſecure him againſt an Impeachment from the other, are not we naturally to conclude, that the firſt Attempt of ſuch a King, or ſuch a Miniſter would be to ſecure the 16 Peers from *Scotland*.

In ſuch a Caſe a Court-Liſt, or rather a miniſterial Liſt, would certainly be ſent down, and every Peer of *Scotland* that did not vote plumb for that Liſt, would be under-hand threatened with being turned out of his Commiſſion in the Army or Navy, or out of his Employment under the Government; and others would be induced to vote for it by ſecret Promiſes of Preferment, or of being provided for. The noble Families of *Scotland* are antient, and have always behaved with much Honour, as the Nobility of any Nation under the Sun; but in ſuch a Caſe, how hard might be the Fate of ſome of the Repreſentatives of the noble Families of that Kingdom! They muſt ungratefully vote againſt the Man who perhaps procured them the Commiſſions or the Poſts they enjoy, they muſt vote for thoſe whom they know to be Men of no Worth nor Honour, Men whom they know to be meer Tools of Power; or otherwiſe they muſt expect to be ſtript of all their Preferments under the Government, and thereby rendered incapable of ſupporting themſelves in their native Country as Noblemen, perhaps even as Gentlemen. This is a Misfortune which certainly may happen; and which, in Regard to our Country, in Regard to the Honour and Dignity of this Houſe, in Regard to our own Families, we ought to provide againſt; and we cannot provide againſt it too ſoon.

It is a Misfortune, which in Regard even to our own Families, we ought to provide againſt; for there is but ſeldom any Difference between the Royal and the Miniſterial Power: There never can be any Difference between the two, but when there is a juſt, a wiſe and an active Prince upon the Throne; for when there is an ambitious and unjuſt Prince on the Throne, his Miniſters will readily ſubmit, he will make every Thing ſubmit to his Power, if he can; and when a weak or an indolent Prince happens to be on the Throne, the whole Royal Power will always be lodged in the Miniſters, generally in one prime Miniſter; and as ſuch Miniſters always endeavour to act in an arbitrary Way, they never will employ any but thoſe who will meanly ſubmit to be their Tools; all others they will endeavour to oppreſs or deſtroy: Men of great Families and Fortunes, who have any Senſe or Penetration, will never ſo eaſily ſubmit to the arbitrary Views of an ambitious Prince, nor will they ſo eaſily ſubmit to be the Tools of an overbearing Miniſter, as Fools or mean Upſtarts; and therefore no ſuch Prince or prime Miniſter will ever employ any of them, if they can do without: While the antient Dignity and Weight of this Houſe are preſerved, the antient and great Families of the Kingdom will always be able to confine the Views of an ambitious Prince, and to force him to delegate a juſt Proportion of his Power to them; and they will always be in a Condition to force themſelves in upon a prime Miniſter, not as his Tools but as his Partners in Power: But if it ſhould once come to be in the Power of a Prince or Miniſter to ſecure by diſhonourable Means a Majority in this Houſe, the greateſt Part of our Poſterity will for ever be excluded from all Share in the Government of their Country; none but mean Tools of Power, and knaviſh Upſtarts will be employed in the Adminiſtration; and perhaps even our next Succeſſors may ſee a wicked and over-bearing prime Miniſter of State at the Head of a Parcel of Fools and Knaves, carrying Things in this Houſe by a Majority, contrary to the Opinion of the Generality of Mankind without Doors, and of every honeſt Man of Senſe within.

To me, my Lords, it is as clear as any Demonſtration, that an utter Excluſion of all the Nobility in *Great Britain*, who had either Honour or good Senſe, from any Share in the Adminiſtration, would be the certain Conſequence of the Court's getting it in their Power to ſecure by Corruption a Majority in this Houſe; but I am much afraid the Misfortune would not ſtop here; I am afraid that ſuch a Court would ſoon begin to think of getting rid of every Family in the Nation which could be any way troubleſome to them; and of ſuch a Reſolution, ſupported by ſuch a Majority, how fatal might the Conſequences be to every one of your Lordſhips Families, which happened unfortunately at that Time to have a Repreſentative beloved in his Country, and eſteemed for his great Honour and his good Senſe: Of ſuch Conſequences I have the moſt terrible Apprehenſions: I hope no ſuch Caſe will ever happen; but I muſt deſire your Lordſhips to conſider how great an Influence a Number of 16 ſure Votes might have upon all the Reſolutions of this Houſe: Look into your Journals, look into the Hiſtories of this Nation, and you will ſee how many Queſtions, Queſtions in which the very Being of our Conſtitution was deeply concerned, have been carried againſt the then Enemies of our Conſtitution by a Majority of a much ſmaller Number, perhaps by a Majority of not above two or three. Can we then be too jealous of the Method of electing the 16 Peers for *Scotland*? Can we refuſe or neglect to uſe all thoſe Means that lie in our Power for preventing their being ever choſen by miniſterial Influence? Can we ſuppoſe that all thoſe who are choſen under ſuch an Influence, will not vote in this Houſe under that Influence by which they were choſen?

Cuſtom is of a mighty prevalent Nature; even Virtue itſelf owes its Reſpect in a great Meaſure to Cuſtom; and Vice, by being openly and avowedly practiſed, ſoon comes to diſguiſe itſelf, and aſſume the Habit of Virtue: If miniſterial Influence, if private and ſelfiſh Views, ſhould once come to be the ſole Directors in voting at the Election of the 16 Peers for *Scotland*, the Practice would ſoon get even into this Houſe itſelf; and as Inferiors are always apt to imitate their Superiors, it would from thence deſcend to every Election and to every Aſſembly in *Great Britain*: Corruption would then come to be openly and generally avowed; it would aſſume the Habit of Virtue; the ſacrificing of our Country, the ſacrificing of all the Ties of Honour, Friendſhip and Blood, to any perſonal Advantage or Preferment, would be called Prudence and good Senſe, and every contrary Behaviour would be called Madneſs and Folly: Then indeed, if there were a Man of Virtue left in the Nation, he might have Reaſon to cry out, with the celebrated *Roman* Patriot, *O Virtue! I have followed thee as a real Good, but now I find thou art nothing but an empty Name.* It was the general Corruption he found in his Country that led that great Man into ſuch an Expreſſion: He died in the Defence of Liberty and Virtue; and with him expired the laſt Remains of the Liberty and Virtue of his Country; for Virtue and Liberty always go Hand in Hand; wherever one is, there likewiſe is the other, and from every Country they take their Flight together.

I have ſaid, my Lords, that it cannot be affirmed, that any undue Influence has as

yet been made use of in the Election of the Peers for *Scotland*; but yet it must be granted that, towards the latter End of the late Queen's Reign, there seems to be a strong Suspicion, that some extraordinary Influence was then made use of; for the 16 that were first chosen after the Union, were all such as were known to have a true Zeal and Affection for the Revolution, and for the present Establishment: Soon after there was a Change in the Ministry here, and upon that a new Parliament; it cannot be said that there was any Change among the Electors of the 16 Peers for *Scotland*, they necessarily continued to be the same; and yet there was such a thorough Change among the 16 Representatives then chosen, that hardly one of the former was sent up; the whole 16 were such as were agreeable to the new Ministry, and such as went into all the new Measures then set on Foot. Even some noble Lords now in this House, whose consummate Prudence and great Qualifications were then well known, were left out in that Queen's Time, tho' the Peers of *Scotland* have been ever since so just to themselves as always to chuse them for their Representatives: How this should happen, without some undue Influence being then made use of, I cannot well comprehend; and if what is now prophesied should happen; if upon the next Election it should be found, that some noble Lords are left out, whose Families as well as themselves have been eminent and remarkable for their Zeal for the present happy Establishment, as well as for the Revolution upon which it is founded: If such, I say, should be left out, for no other Reason that can possibly be guessed at, but that they happen not to be altogether agreeable to the Ministers for the Time being, I shall think it still more unaccountable; because that, in the latter End of the late Queen's Time, there seemed to be a Contest between those that were Friends and those that were Enemies to the Protestant Succession, and in such a Contest there is some Ground to presume, that the Peers of *Scotland* would naturally divide into two Parties, and that the most numerous Party would chuse that 16 who were supposed to be of the Party they espoused; but now where there is no Principle eitther in Religion or Politicks to direct them, it is not to be supposed that they will naturally divide into two opposite Parties; or that the Majority of them will naturally resolve not to vote for any one of those who now happen to be disagreeable to the Minister, notwithstanding their having, for a continued Course of so many Years, thought some of them worthy of the Honour of being their Representatives in this House.

If this should really happen; if some of those Lords now in this House, whose Zeal and Affection for his Majesty's Person and Government are well known, whose Qualifications and natural Endowments are universally acknowledged, and who have performed many eminent Services to their Country; if such, I say, should be left out, and others, who may not be known in the World, chosen, or at least pretended to be chosen in their room, I shall be apt to suspect, I believe the whole Nation will conclude, that some of the *Scottish* Peers have not been directed in their Choice by that which ought to be their only Director upon such Occasions; and if such a Thing should happen, it will be incumbent upon this House to enquire how it was brought about; for we ought not to admit any unworthy Person's being brought among us, nor ought we to allow of any Person's being brought unworthily or unjustly into this House; this we have a Right to inquire into, as may appear by what happened so lately as in the Reign of the late Queen; and our own Records, our own Histories may shew us, that the bringing, or endeavouring to bring, unworthy Persons into this House, was enquired into, and had like to have proved fatal to King *Henry* III.

In such Cases we are not tyed down to the strict Rules of Law, we are not to expect every criminal Fact to be proved by two or three Witnesses; this is what neither House of Parliament ever thought themselves tied down to; it is from Circumstances as well as Proofs that we are to determine, and if such Circumstances should concur as must convince every Man of common Sense in the Kingdom, I need not tell your Lordships what you are to do; but as the preventing of Crimes is much more prudent and less troublesome than the punishing of them, let us therefore now endeavour to prevent the committing of any such Crimes, by agreeing to the Resolution proposed.

The other House has passed many Laws for preventing the Influence of Bribery and Corruption in the Election of any of their Members. They have lately got passed a severe Law against that abominable Practice; and another Bill for preventing any undue Influence upon their Members after they are chosen, has since been several Times brought in, and as often passed in that House, but your Lordships have not, it seems, thought fit to give it your Concurrence: Whilst there are such Complaints against the Growth of Corruption, while the other House are using such Precautions against it, shall we sit still and do nothing? There are but a few of the Members of this House, there are none but Seats the 16 for *Scotland*, who owe their here to an Election: Let us then take all possible Care that they shall always be chosen by an honourable, a fair and a free Election: If they should ever come to depend upon a Minister for their Seats in this

House

Houſe, conſider, my Lords, what an Influence it might have even upon their Way of voting while they are here: How terrible muſt it be for any Lord of this Houſe to be expoſed to the Danger of being told by an inſolent Miniſter, You ſhall vote ſo or ſo, otherwiſe you ſhall be no longer a Lord of Parliament. This is what, I hope, your Lordſhips will endeavour to prevent by agreeing to this Reſolution, or any other more effectual Method that may hereafter be found to be neceſſary.

The Speakers againſt the Motion ſpoke to the Effect as follows.

That both by the Common and Statute Law of this Kingdom all Elections ought to be free and undiſturbed, is what will not be denied by any Lord in this Houſe; and that the giving of Money, or making Uſe of any Threats or Promiſes, in order to induce any of the Electors to vote according to Direction, is a Crime of a very high Nature, is what will be as little controverted; but this is ſo far from being an Argument for the Reſolution propoſed, that it is a very ſtrong one againſt it; for wherever the Law is plain and clear, there is no Occaſion for a Reſolution of this Houſe either to inforce it, or to put People in mind of it: On the contrary, our coming to ſuch a Reſolution might probably make People doubt of what they before thought evident, becauſe our Reſolution would not make that to be Law which was not ſo before, and ſome People would naturally conclude, that the Law in that Reſpect was not clear and evident, otherwiſe this Houſe would have had no Occaſion for coming to any ſuch Reſolution. In the preſent Caſe indeed the Law is ſo clear, that no Man of common Senſe can doubt of it, and therefore our coming to ſuch a Reſolution will not probably bring the Law in Doubt with any Man in the Kingdom; but it would be a very odd and a very extraordinary Reſolution; we may with as much Propriety reſolve, *That the levying of War againſt the King is an Act of High-Treaſon*; and how ſuch a Reſolution would appear upon the Journals of this Houſe, let your Lordſhips judge.

It muſt be acknowledged by all, that the giving of Money, or making Uſe of Threats or Promiſes, in order to corrupt or overawe the Electors at any Election, is contrary to Law; but yet I cannot admit that the making Uſe of any Sort of Sollicitations is contrary to Law; I cannot think but that any Peer of *Scotland* may aſk another's Vote at the enſuing Election of the 16 Peers for that Kingdom, and that in Favour of his Friends as well as of himſelf; and if any Lord of that Country ſhould have the Honour to be a Secretary of State, or in any other high Office under the Crown, I cannot comprehend how he can be thereby excluded from being a Candidate at that Election; a Candidate he certainly may be, and as ſuch he may aſk every other Lord of that Country for his Vote at the enſuing Election; nay, he may not only aſk that Favour for himſelf, but he may aſk it for others; his being in an Office under the Crown does not ſtrip him of that Privilege which every other Lord enjoys; nor does any Law now in Being make his Sollicitations more criminal than thoſe of the other Lords of his Country.

The Laws now in Being for preſerving the Freedom of Elections are fully ſufficient for that Purpoſe; and whoever thinks ſo muſt conclude, that there is not the leaſt Occaſion for the Reſolution now propoſed: But granting they were not ſufficient, would our coming to ſuch a Reſolution render them ſo? It cannot be ſo much as pretended that a Reſolution of this Houſe would add to their Sufficiency, or that it would contribute in the leaſt towards making a Law effectual for the End propoſed, if it was before found ineffectual. Thus there is either no Occaſion for our coming to ſuch a Reſolution, or it would be of no Uſe when made; and therefore I cannot think it conſiſtent with the Dignity of this Houſe, to have any ſuch Reſolution entered upon our Journal. If the Laws in this Reſpect are inſufficient, let a Bill be brought in for amending and ſtrengthening them; but do not let us take up our Time with making Reſolutions which all the World muſt ſee to be of no Uſe.

This is a very ſtrong Argument againſt our coming to the Reſolution propoſed; but there is ſtill a much ſtronger; for it would be a very high Indignity offered to his preſent Majeſty's Government; it would tend to make the whole World ſuppoſe, that ſome very heinous Practices had been lately carrying on by his Majeſty's Miniſters for influencing the Election of the 16 Peers of *Scotland*; and to ſuppoſe that his Majeſty is or can be ſo unjuſt as to countenance ſuch Practices, or that he can be ſo weak as not to diſcover them, if any ſuch were carrying on by his Miniſters, is one of the higheſt Indignities that can be offered to the Crown. It is indeed a Suppoſition which no Man can make who is in the leaſt acquainted with his Majeſty's Juſtice, Penetration and Watchfulneſs for the Good of his People; but our coming now to ſuch a Reſolution, would be doing at leaſt all in our Power to raiſe ſuch a Suſpicion in the Nation; and among the Vulgar and Ignorant, or in the remote Parts of his Majeſty's Dominions, it might have a fatal Effect.

Beſides this, it would be a moſt heinous Affront offered to the whole Peerage of *Scotland*; it would be a ſuppoſing that the Majority of them are directed in their Way

of

of voting at the Election of their 16 Representatives, by corrupt and mercenary Views: This would be a Concluſion that every Man without Doors would naturally draw, when he heard that your Lordſhips had come to ſuch a Reſolution; no Man would imagine that ſuch a Thing could have happened without any Proof, without any Foundation. The Peers of *North Britain* are by the Articles of Union declared to be Peers of *Great Britain*; they are to have Rank and Precedence before all Peers of *Great Britain* of the like Orders and Degrees, created ſince the Union; they are to enjoy all Privileges as fully as the Peers of *England*, except ſitting in this Houſe, and upon Trials of Peers; and why they ſhould be thus diſtinguiſhed by a particular Reſolution of this Houſe I cannot comprehend. They have, 'tis true, no Share in the Legiſlature, except in that of voting for their own Repreſentatives in this Houſe; but is there any Colour of Reaſon for ſuſpecting them of corrupt and mercenary Views in their Way of voting for their own Repreſentatives, more than there is for ſuſpecting every Lord here of ſuch Views in his Way of voting, as to every Queſtion that ariſes in the Houſe.

As for any Suſpicions that may be entertained about the Election of the 16 Peers for *Scotland*, in the latter End of the Queen's Reign, they may be eaſily cleared up: The Election at that Time did not proceed from mercenary or corrupt Views, but from Views of a more malignant Tendency, if any ſuch can be. Many of the then Peers of *Scotland* were either ſecret or avowed Jacobites: Upon that fatal Change of the Miniſtry here, they all conceived great Hopes; thereupon many declared themſelves openly who had never done ſo before, and ſome of the Nonjurors came in and qualified themſelves, in order to ſerve a Turn at that Time, which they took to be in Favour of that Principle they had always careſſed; and all theſe joining with the *Scottiſh* Peers, who were then actually employed in the Adminiſtration, carried the Election againſt thoſe who ſtood firm to the Principles of the Revolution, and to the Proteſtant Succeſſion, as eſtabliſhed in his preſent Majeſty's Family: But, thank God, their Reign was but ſhort; and his late Majeſty's Acceſſion put an End to all their Views of doing any Thing in a parliamentary Way; by this the new Election was eaſily carried in Favour of the Friends to the preſent Eſtabliſhment; and ſoon after moſt of the profeſſed *Jacobites* in *Scotland* joined in an open Rebellion, by which they forfeited their Titles as well as their Eſtates to the Crown; whereby the Neck of that Party was entirely broke, ſo that they have never been able to make any Effort at an Election ſince that Time.

As to thoſe Prophecies which have been made to us about the enſuing Election of Peers for *Scotland*, I am afraid they are as ill founded as any other of our modern Prophecies, and I ſhall be glad to find them as falſe; for I have ſo great a Reſpect for the 16 we have now the Happineſs to have among us, that I could wiſh they were all in for Life; but as their being here depends upon a free Election, their being all returned again is what neither they nor we can expect; and indeed if it ſhould happen, it would give me a ſtrong Reaſon to ſuſpect that the Election had not been free: It is natural to ſuppoſe that every Election will bring ſome new Lords among us, and for them ſome of the former muſt be left out: Becauſe a noble Lord is firmly attached to the preſent Eſtabliſhment, becauſe his Family has always been zealous for Revolution Principles, is that a Reaſon for us or for him to expect that he ſhould always be returned one of the 16 to repreſent the Peers of *Scotland*? No, my Lords, there are many noble Peers in *Scotland*, and all are, I hope, firmly attached to the Royal Family now upon the Throne, tho' ſome may not perhaps have had an Opportunity of ſhewing it ſo fully to the World as others may: In ſuch a Caſe it is reaſonable to expect that every one will endeavour to have his Turn; and where there is a free Election, it is reaſonable to expect that thoſe Lords, who have not a Mind to ſet up for themſelves, will ſometimes oblige one, and ſometimes another.

But even as to the miniſterial Parties that have been talked of, it is as reaſonable to ſuppoſe that the Peers of *Scotland* will naturally divide into two Parties for and againſt the Miniſtry, as to ſuppoſe they can naturally divide themſelves into two Parties for and againſt the Eſtabliſhment: For while the Adminiſtration, while the Miniſters for the Time being, purſue no Meaſures but what are for the Honour of their King, and the Good of their Country, it is as reaſonable to ſuppoſe that all thoſe who think ſo will naturally join in the ſupporting of their Meaſures, as it is to ſuppoſe that they would naturally join in the Support of the preſent Eſtabliſhment, were it poſſible to bring it into Diſpute: and were I a Peer of *Scotland*, and convinced of the Wiſdom and Uprightneſs of all the Meaſures purſued by the Miniſters for the Time being, I ſhould be as loth to give my Vote for returning a Lord to this Houſe who, I knew, or even ſuſpected would oppoſe the Miniſtry in all their Meaſures, as I would be to give my Vote for returning to this Houſe a Lord whom I knew to be really diſaffected to his Majeſty and his Family. And as there never was yet in any Country a Set of Miniſters, whoſe Meaſures were approved by all Men, therefore I ſhall always expect, that upon every Election in *Scotland*, the Peers will naturally and without any ſelfiſh or corrupt View

divide themſelves into two Parties, one whereof will be compoſed of thoſe who do not approve of the Meaſures purſued by the Adminiſtration, and the others of thoſe who do; the natural Conſequence of which will be, the propoſing or concerting of two Liſts; and in ſuch Caſe it is very natural to conclude, that one of the Liſts will always be returned without an Exception: For this Reaſon, my Lords, as well as on Account of the natural Uncertainty and Changeableneſs of a free Election, I ſhall be no way ſurpriſed, if ſome of the noble Lords now in this Houſe be not choſen at the next Election: The Capacity and the Qualifications of the noble Lords, we have now the Happineſs to have from that Country, are well known, and no Man has a better Opinion of them than I have; yet I make no Doubt, but that there are other Lords in *Scotland* of equal Capacity, and equally qualify'd for repreſenting the Peerage of that Kingdom in this Houſe, and if they ſhould ſend up ſome new Repreſentatives in the room of ſome of thoſe who are now here, I ſhall be very far from imputing it to any undue Influence; on the contrary, I ſhall from thence conclude, that the Election has been abſolutely free and uncontroul'd.

As to the contriving and making Laws againſt Corruption, the other Houſe of Parliament has very good Reaſons for ſo doing: It has been often proved at the Bar of that Houſe, that Bribery and Corruption have been practiſed in the moſt flagrant Manner at the Election of ſome of thoſe who have been returned Members of that Houſe; and therefore they have often had a moſt ſubſtantial Reaſon for taking the Alarm, and for providing againſt that mortal Foe to the Conſtitution of their Country, who, they perceived, had already attacked it in the moſt tender Part: But for God's-ſake, my Lords, what Reaſon have we for this Alarm? Has it ever been proved at the Bar of this Houſe, has it ever been yet ſo much as pretended by any Lord in this Houſe, that the 16 Peers for *Scotland*, or any one of them, was elected by the Means of Bribery and Corruption, or by the Means of any other Sort of undue Influence? Is not this a material Difference between this Houſe and the other? Is it not from thence clear, that we have no Manner of Reaſon for contriving any Law againſt Corruption? And much leſs have we Reaſon for coming to any ſuch Reſolution as is now propoſed.

To this it was replied by thoſe who ſpoke in favour of the Motion, in Subſtance as follows.

It is admitted of all Sides, that the giving or promiſing of Money or other Reward, or the making uſe of any ſort of Threatenings or Promiſes, in order to influence the Election of the Peers for *Scotland*, is directly contrary to Law, and therefore it is needleſs to ſay any Thing further as to that Point; but as to Sollicitations or asking of Votes, I muſt beg Leave to explain it a little. I ſhall agree with thoſe Lords who have ſpoke upon the other Side of the Queſtion, that every Lord of that Country may be a Candidate, and as ſuch may apply to the other Lords for the Favour of their Votes at the enſuing Election; and as the Law now ſtands (tho' I wiſh it were otherwiſe) every Lord may ask the ſame Favour for thoſe of his Friends who may likewiſe be Candidates; but with regard to Miniſters of State, and thoſe in high Offices under the Crown, there is a great Difference as to the Manner of Application which they make uſe of, in order to obtain the Favour for which they ſollicit; if they ask the Favour in an humble Manner, only as a private Man, and without any thing of the Miniſterial Air, either for themſelves or their Friends, they do not, I believe, offend againſt the Laws now in being; but if any thing of the Miniſter appears in their Manner of asking, it may be of the moſt fatal Conſequence to the Freedom of the Election.

In order to explain what I mean, I ſhall take an Example from the Elections of the other Houſe: Tho' a Gentleman be a Commiſſioner of the Treaſury, or of the Admiralty, he may without Doubt ſet up as a Candidate to repreſent any County, City or Borough in *Great Britain*; he may ask the Electors for the Favour of their Votes, and wherever he has a natural Intereſt, he may make uſe of that Intereſt in favour of his Friends; but if he ſhould make Intereſt either for himſelf or his Friends, not as a private Gentleman, but as a Lord of the Treaſury, or of the Admiralty, and as ſuch ſhould, by his Agents, ſend his Commands to thoſe who depend, or may expect to depend upon the Board to which he belongs, with Directions how to vote, or for whom to make Intereſt, in any County, City, or Borough, ſuch a Method of Application would be highly criminal; it ought, I think, to be deemed High-treaſon. In like Manner, if upon any approaching Election in *Scotland* any Lord of that Kingdom, who happened to be in a high Office under the Crown, ſhould by himſelf or his Agents ſo much as inſinuate, that the King, the Government, the Miniſtry, or the like, expected that any Lord of that Kingdom would vote for ſuch a Man, or ſuch a Liſt, ſuch a Sollicitation, I ſay, my Lords, might be fatal to the Freedom of that Election, and would conſequently be highly criminal: And this Diſtinction ought to be particularly attended to, when we talk of Sollicitations in any Election whatever.

As our Laws now ſtand, we ought to be particularly watchful in this Reſpect; and conſidering the vaſt Power lodged in the Crown, and the many Favours the Miniſters of

of the Crown have to beſtow, I am afraid our utmoſt Watchfulneſs would ſignify nothing if any ſuch Attempts ſhould ever be made by thoſe in Power. It is impoſſible to prevent the Miniſters of the Crown, or their Agents, intermedling ſome Way or another, almoſt in every Election in *Great Britain*: Let them make their Application in the moſt humble Manner, let them make uſe of the moſt modeſt Expreſſions that can be thought of, thoſe they apply to will depend upon their Favour, if they comply with their Requeſt, and if they refuſe to comply, they may, they will expect their Malice: The Requeſt of a Man in Power, tho' made in the moſt humble Manner, muſt always neceſſarily imply a Threat if denied, a Promiſe if complied with: This muſt neceſſarily have a great Influence upon all Elections, and if Obedience to ſuch Requeſts ſhould once be found the only Road to Preferment either in Church or State, they will ſoon become fatal to the boaſted Liberties of this Nation.

It was for this Reaſon, my Lords, that I lately in this Committee gave my Vote for having all future Elections of the 16 Peers for *Scotland* made by Ballotting. It was for this Reaſon, that I moſt heartily concurred in agreeing to that Bill which in the late King's Reign was paſſed by this Houſe for making ſo many hereditary Peers for *Scotland*, and for limiting the Power of the Crown with Reſpect to the creating of any new Peers of *Great Britain*. That neceſſary Bill was thrown out in the other Houſe; it was thrown out (I do not know how) by the Aſſiſtance even of ſome of thoſe who have always pretended to be Patrons of Liberty. My Opinion was then, and is ſo ſtill, that it was the beſt contrived Bill for the Preſervation of the Liberties of this Country that was ever brought into either Houſe of Parliament; and I muſt ſay, that if I had had the Misfortune to have been one of thoſe who oppoſed that Bill, I ſhould from that Moment have thrown up all Pretences to my being a Lover of Liberty; I ſhould have expected that every Man would have told me, that I made uſe of that popular Pretence only as a Step to Power, but that he ſaw plainly I had no Regard for it, when it came in Competition with any of my own little private Views.

Suppoſe, my Lords, that the Laws now in being are fully ſufficient for preſerving our Conſtitution againſt the baneful Effects of Corruption; ſuppoſe that they want no Addition or Amendment; yet is it not an uſual Thing, may it not ſometimes be a neceſſary Thing to revive ſuch Laws? Does not his Majeſty often do it by Proclamation? And the only Way that either Houſe of Parliament can revive any Law, is by a Reſolution. Suppoſe again that the Laws in Being are not ſufficient to preſerve us againſt all Manner of undue Influence in Elections; we all know that a new Law for amending and ſtrengthening the old is not ſo eaſily contrived, nor ſo eaſily paſſed; it requires ſome Time to conſider the Laws in Being, to diſcover their Defects, to find out the Methods of evading them, and to contrive proper Precautions againſt ſuch Evaſions; all this requires Time, and when this is done, we are not ſure that the other Houſe will join with us, we are not ſure that the King will conſent to what both Houſes have agreed to. In the mean Time, is it not very proper, may it not be abſolutely neceſſary to endeavour to put ſome Check to the growing Evil? There have, 'tis true, been many Laws lately paſſed for regulating the Elections in the other Houſe, and for preventing Corruption as to them; but has there ever any one been paſſed in the Parliament of *Great Britain*, for regulating the Elections of the 16 Peers for *Scotland*? Does not that Election now depend only upon the common Law, and upon that Act of the laſt *Scottiſh* Parliament, by which the Manner of electing thoſe Peers was regulated; Suppoſe that Act to be ſufficient for guarding againſt Corruption, yet it is now ſo long ago, that it may be very proper to revive it: But it is plain that the Election of thoſe 16 Peers is not fully regulated, nor the Evils of Corruption ſufficiently guarded againſt, either by the Common Law or by that Act of the *Scottiſh* Parliament: The very Committee we are now in ſhews the contrary: Your Lordſhips would never have agreed to the going into this Committee, if you had thought no Regulation or Amendment neceſſary: We are all ſenſible of the Deficiency, but we have not yet, it ſeems, fallen upon a proper Method to make up that Deficiency; and till that can be done, let us do what is now in our Power; let us agree to the Reſolution propoſed. It will at leaſt juſtify this Houſe to the World: If ever there was any undue Influence made Uſe of at that Election, if there ſhall be any ſuch at the next Election, it will ſhew that the Majority of this Houſe were innocent and that we endeavour'd to provide againſt it as ſoon as we could.

What is now propoſed is ſo far from being an Indignity offered to his Majeſty, that the very pretending it is ſo, or that his Majeſty would take it as ſuch, is one of the greateſt Indignities that can be offered to him. Can it be thought that this Houſe is ſo ſhort-ſighted as never to provide againſt an Evil till it has fallen upon us? The very pretending to think ſo of this Houſe, or of either Houſe of Parliament, is, in my Opinion, a very high Indignity to both: Can it be thought that his Majeſty would look upon any Proviſion made by either Houſe for the Safety of our Conſtitution, as an Indignity offered to him? No, my Lords, every wiſe King ſuch as his Majeſty is, muſt be heartily en-

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gaged in the Preſervation of our Conſtitution, becauſe if any Wrong be done, he is juſtified by the very Nature of our Conſtitution, his Miniſters and evil Counſellors only are to bear the Blame. This indeed may make Miniſters, and certainly will make wicked ones endeavour to overturn our Conſtitution; but a juſt and a wiſe King will always join with his Parliament in preventing the bad Effects of evil Counſellors, as well as in bringing them to condign Puniſhment.

Was it ever pretended that the late King looked upon the Peerage Bill I have now mentioned as an Indignity offered to him? Might it not have then been ſaid, that the paſſing of ſuch a Bill would have made the World ſuppoſe that his late Majeſty had made ſome unjuſt Uſe of the Prerogative of the Crown in the Creation of Peers? Might not this, I ſay, have been pretended with as much Juſtice as to pretend now, that our coming to the Reſolution propoſed will make the World believe, that his preſent Majeſty has countenanced, or at leaſt ſuffered ſome wicked Practices to be made Uſe of in the Election of the 16 Peers for *Scotland*? Every one of your Lordſhips muſt ſee that there was then as much Ground for the one Preſence, as there is now for the other: Yet ſo far was his late Majeſty from harbouring any Thought that an Indignity was thereby offered to him, that he approved of the Bill before it was brought into this Houſe. He not only approved of that Bill, but he made Uſe of an Expreſſion which ought never to be forgot; an Expreſſion which ought to be, which always will be remembered by every one *Britiſh*: He told his Miniſters, *Gentlemen, conſider what may be wanting for the ſecurity of your Conſtitution; for whatever you may be thought neceſſary for that Purpoſe I am ready to conſent to.* And as his preſent Majeſty inherits the Crown of his Father, ſo I know he inherits all thoſe good Qualities which ſhone forth with ſo much Luſtre in him. Therefore we are not in the leaſt to ſuſpect that his preſent Majeſty will look upon this Reſolution, or any Reſolution we can come to, for preventing 16 miniſterial Peers being always forced in upon us from *Scotland*, as an Indignity offered to him.

As the Propoſition now before us cannot be thought an Indignity offered to his Majeſty's Government, ſo neither can it be thought any Sort of Affront to the Peerage of *Scotland*: On the contrary, every Man of Honour, as well the Peers of that Nation are, muſt take it as a Piece of the utmoſt Regard that can be ſhewed to them: It is not eaſily to be preſumed, that any of the preſent Peers of *Scotland* can be byaſſed by Bribery, by Threats or by Promiſes; but neither we, nor they, can tell what Sort of Men their Poſterity may be; nor can any Man certainly conclude, that every one of ſuch a great Number of Men, will have Virtue enough to withſtand the great Temptations which an enterprizing Miniſter, ſole Maſter of the Ear of his Maſter, may be able to throw in their Way; and therefore all that is, or can be deſigned by the preſent Motion, is, to prevent them, or their Poſterity, from being led into Temptation; and to put it out of the Power of any Miniſter to make any of the preſent or future Peers of *Scotland* ſuffer for their adhering ſtrictly to the Rules of Honour and Virtue: The Pretence for this Affront is built upon the ſame ſandy Foundation with the former; it is built upon the Suppoſition, that this Houſe can never think of providing againſt an Evil, till it has actually happen'd: But to me it is ſtill ſomething more extraordinary to aſk in this Caſe; why ſhould the Peers of *Scotland* be thus particularly diſtinguiſhed from the other Peers of *Great Britain*? Is it poſſible to make a Queſtion of this? Does not every Man at firſt Sight ſee, that the Peers of *Scotland* are, by the very Nature of our Conſtitution, diſtinguiſhed from the other Peers of *Great Britain*? Is there any other Peer of *Great Britain* who has any Thing to do with Elections? I muſt then leave it to your Lordſhips to conſider, how odd it would have looked, to have propoſed ſuch a Reſolution in general Terms: If it had been propoſed in general Terms, it muſt have run thus, *That the giving or promiſing any Sum of Money or other Reward to any Peer of Great Britain for giving his Vote at any Election, was a high Inſult.* And if it had been propoſed in ſuch Terms, would not every Man, who knows any Thing of our Conſtitution, have had Reaſon to have laughed at ſuch a Propoſition?

Without Doors, my Lords, there are Suſpicions that ſome of the former Elections of *Scottiſh* Peers have proceeded from undue Influence: We of this Houſe are, and have been perſonally acquainted with moſt of the Peers of *Scotland*, we know their Honour and Integrity, and therefore we conclude, that there is no Ground for ſuch Suſpicions; but thoſe who have not had the Honour of a perſonal Acquaintance with them, muſt judge from Events; and notwithſtanding what a noble Lord was pleaſed to ſay about the Election of the 16 Peers for *Scotland* in the latter End of the Reign of Q. *Anne*, it muſt appear a little odd to thoſe who are not particularly acquainted with the Hiſtory of that Time: A great Majority of the *Scottiſh* Peers had but a few Years before agreed to the Union, by which the Proteſtant Succeſſion was eſtabliſhed in that Kingdom; and to ſee that a great Majority of the ſame Men (for there could not be any great Change by Death in that Time) ſhould ſo ſoon after join together in undermining that Proteſtant Succeſſion, muſt, I ſay, appear a little extra-

ordinary to the Generality of Mankind: They will not believe that two ſuch contrary Events could proceed from the ſame Cauſe, and therefore they will be apt to conclude, that there was ſome foul Play in one, or perhaps in both.

To pretend, my Lords, that a whole Body of Men will naturally intereſt themſelves ſo A zealouſly in the Diſpute about the Wiſdom and Uprightneſs of the Meaſures of any Miniſter or Miniſters, as to ſacrifice thereto all Ties of Blood, Gratitude, Friendſhip, and Acquaintance, is really ſomething very new. It is well known, that ſuch a fervent Zeal never takes Place but in the Time of, or in the Prelude to a civil War; and God forbid it ſhould ever be in the Power of any Mi- B niſter to involve this Nation in ſuch a Calamity, for the Sake of juſtifying his Meaſures: Even in the Time of Civil Wars, it has often happened, that private and perſonal Friendſhips have ſubſiſted to the very laſt, between publick Enemies: How then can it be ſuppoſed, that any Lord of *Scotland* ſhould, at the next, or at any future Election, naturally C agree to leave out of his Liſt of 16 Peers, ſome Lords who are his near Relations, his old Friends, and his great Benefactors, and fill up in their Room others, who are no way related to him, with whom he never had any intimate Acquaintance, from whom he never received any Favour: That this ſhould be a natural Effect, or that it ſhould proceed from a furious Zeal for or againſt the Meaſures of D the Adminiſtration, is impoſſible to conceive; and therefore, if any of the noble Lords we have now among us, whoſe Zeal for the Proteſtant Succeſſion cannot be doubted of or exceeded; who I know to be related to many of the noble Families in *Scotland*, to be intimately acquainted with many of the preſent E Peers of that Kingdom, to have done great Favours to many of them, and whoſe Capacity and Services are known to the whole World; If ſuch, I ſay, ſhould at the enſuing Election be left out, and others choſen in their Stead, who are related to few of the Peers of *Scotland*, who are acquainted with few of them, who have never been Benefactors to any of them, and whoſe Capacity F ſhall be found not near equal to the Capacity of thoſe left out; I ſhall be very apt to conclude, I am afraid the Generality of Mankind will conclude, that this was not the Effect of an honourable and free Election.

I ſhall admit, that Bribery and Corruption in the Election of the Members of the other Houſe, has been often proved at their Bar; I wiſh it had been as often proved as it has been practiſed; I ſhall admit that this was a Reaſon, tho' not the only one, for their taking the Alarm: But we find they have lately taken the Alarm, and have done what they could to prevent a Practice which has never yet been proved at the Bar of that Houſe: So far as I can remember, it was never yet proved at the Bar of that Houſe, or ſo much as alledged in the Houſe, that any particular Member, after he was choſen and returned, had been influenced in his Way of voting in that Houſe by Bribes, Penſions, Threatenings, or Promiſes; and yet againſt this Practice they have, I think, moſt juſtly taken the Alarm, and have ſeveral Times ſent up a Bill to this Houſe for preventing that Practice: Therefore, if we follow the Example of the other Houſe, we are not always to wait till a pernicious Practice has been proved at our Bar. In private Life a Man may be long juſtly ſuſpected before he can be openly accuſed of a Crime; and as high Crimes are carried on in the moſt ſecret Manner, they are leſs liable to be diſcovered, and may therefore be carried on for many Years, before ſuch a Proof can be had, as may enable either the Publick, or any private Man, to commence a Proſecution. Shall a prudent Man neglect to ſecure the Doors and Windows of his Houſe, becauſe no Thieves have ever attempted to enter? If he does ſo, the Thieves will probably enter; and after they are entered, he may perhaps find it a very difficult Matter to get them out again, till they have robb'd the Houſe of every Thing that is valuable. In like Manner, are we to neglect to ſecure this Houſe againſt Corruption, becauſe we cannot as yet poſitively ſay that it has ever endeavoured to enter? My Lords, if we don't in Time ſecure all the Avenues to this Houſe againſt ſuch a cunning Betrayer, it will be impoſſible for us to keep him out. And if he once enter, it will be abſolutely impoſſible for us to turn him out till he has robb'd us of that precious Jewel the Liberty of our Country, which has always been, and always muſt be left in the Keeping of the two Houſes of Parliament; for I am well aſſured, that it will for ever be impoſſible to prove at the Bar of this Houſe the Practice of Corruption, to the Conviction of thoſe who have got their Seats here by the Means of Corruption.

Upon hearing this new Sort of Doctrine broached in this Houſe, I cannot but reflect with deep Concern upon an Obſervation made upon our Country, by a *French* Gentleman who was taken with the Marſhal *Tallard* at the Battle of *Hockſtet*, and was afterwards ſeveral Years a Priſoner in *England*. When he returned to *France*, he was giving an Account of his Obſervations upon *England*, and among G the reſt he told his Company, 'That the 'Engliſh had a Thing among them which 'they called a Nuiſance; that is, Gen- 'men, *ſays he*, any Thing that is offen- 'to the Neighbours, or that may prove 'do a Miſchief to the Paſſengers: For 'moving of Things of this Nature,

'an En-

'*Engliſh* have very good Laws; but ſo indolent, ſo negligent are thoſe People, that 'they ſeldom or never think of removing a 'Nuiſance till it has done ſome notable Miſ-'chief. An Example of this Kind happen'd 'in the Neighbourhood where I was quarter-'ed: There was in a By-Road a Timber-'Bridge upon a very deep River; and ſoon af-'ter I arrived there, a large Hole happened 'to be broke thro' in the Middle of that 'Bridge; I paſſed that Way, I obſerved the 'Hole, I took Notice of it to all the Gen-'tlemen in the Country; I repaſſed ſeveral 'Times that Way, ſtill the Hole was there, 'and daily grew bigger; it continued ſo for 'many Months: The Laws were ſufficient 'for removing this Nuiſance, for enforcing 'the Reparation of this Bridge, but no Man 'would be at the Pains of putting them in 'Execution: At laſt an unfortunate Gentle-'man, of ſome Diſtinction, paſſing that 'Way in a dark Night, his Horſe ſtumbled 'into this Hole, fell thro', was drowned, 'and the Gentleman himſelf much hurt. 'Then the Juſtices of the Peace met, and 'immediate Orders were given for repairing 'the Bridge: I do not know but the Gentle-'man found Means to recover the Value of 'his Horſe, but no Man could make Repara-'tion to him for the Pain he endured.' This, my Lords, was the *French* Gentleman's Obſervation upon our Country, and really what I have heard this Day from ſome noble Lords, who oppoſe this Motion, makes me begin to think it was juſt. But let us conſider, my Lords, that if we make no Proviſion in the Caſe now before us, if we leave this Hole unmended, till that which is the Support of our Conſtitution, a free Election, has fallen thro', it will be impoſſible to prevent our Conſtitution's falling thro' at the ſame Time; and both muſt certainly periſh in that nauſeous Gulph of Corruption.

For this Reaſon, my Lords, I hope, I muſt beg, that a Negative may not be put upon the Reſolution now propoſed; if a Negative ſhould be put upon it, if it ſhould be even but delayed, I ſhall moſt heartily wiſh the Motion had never been made; for it will be a Foundation for ſo much Triumph to the Dealers in Corruption, if any there be; it will caſt ſuch a Damp upon all future Attempts againſt Corruption, that I am afraid the Practice will ſoon come to be barefaced in every Part of our Conſtitution.

[*To be continued.*]

The Case *of the Rev. Mr.* John Goole *and Mrs.* Margaret Hudson, *in relation to a* Marriage Contract: *Extracted from the* Grubſtreet Journals *of* Sept. 26, *and* Oct. 3 *and* 10.

JOHN GOOLE, M. A. * Maſter of the Free-School of *Witney*, and Vicar of *Eynſham*, in *Oxfordſhire*, whoſe Wife died *Nov.* 2, 1729, made his Addreſſes to Miſs *Margaret Hudſon*, in *Eaſter* Week 1730. This young Gentlewoman was the only Child of the late learned Dr. *Hudſon*, Keeper of the *Bodlian* Library; and then lived at *Eynſham* with her Mother Mrs. *Hall*, Widow of the late Dr. *Hall*, her third Huſband. Miſs *Hudſon* ſeemed very well pleaſed with Mr. *Goole*'s firſt Addreſſes: But meeting her accidentally in *Eynſham-ſtreet* on *May* 29, he pay'd his Reſpects to her; and obſerving her to look ſhy upon him, which ſhe had never done before, he ſaid to her, 'What's the Matter with 'you? I want to ſpeak to you.' To which ſhe replied ſcornfully, 'Speak with me!' and turning her Back upon him, went away. This put a Stop to the Continuance of his Addreſſes.

On *Lady-Day* 1731, Mr. *Goole* waiting at *Eynſham* to bury a Corpſe, went to Mrs. *Hall*'s; and among other Things in Diſcourſe, ſaid to Miſs *Hudſon*. 'Well, Miſs, I ſuppoſe 'we ſhall ſoon have you married, now you 'are almoſt of Age.' To which ſhe anſwered. 'Of Age! Sir, I am not 19 yet.' Which was confirmed by Mrs. *Hall*. Mr. *Goole* replied, 'You will be of Age your next 'Birth-day,' adding Dr. *Hall*'s Authority for what he ſaid. Upon which Miſs *Hudſon* produced her Father's Bible, in which he had written, '*Margaret*, the Daughter of *John* '*Hudſon*, D. D. was born at Two o'Clock 'in the Afternoon, *July* the 24th, 1712.' This ſurprized Mr. *Goole*: But upon a cloſer Obſervation he diſcovered, that the Figure of 2 was originally a Cypher, which Date agreed exactly with Dr. *Hall*'s Account; and ſhewed them both the Alteration, which appeared very plain.

On the *Good-Friday* following, between Morning and Evening Prayer, Mr. *Goole* went again to Mrs. *Hall*'s; and Miſs *Hudſon* immediately ran to meet him, unlocked the Parlour Door, went before him into the Middle of the Room, and turning round, ſmiled upon him in the moſt inviting Manner. Thus encouraged, he renewed his Addreſſes, to which ſhe liſtned with great Pleaſure, till Mrs. *Hall* came in; who alſo expreſſed a great Satisfac-

* Mr. John Goole *was born* June 25, 1685. † *Miſs* Hudſon's *Baptiſm is regiſter* Auguſt 2, 1711.

tion at his Viſit. He went again on *Eaſter-Day* in the Afternoon, and heard Miſs *Hudſon* ſing ſeveral Anthems to her Spinnet, Mrs. *Hall* being preſent; and the next Morning he wrote a Certificate upon Miſs *Hudſon*'s Knee for Mrs. *Hall* in her Preſence.

At 6 in the Evening the next Day, as Mr. *Goole* had deſired her, Miſs *Hudſon* met him at the End of her Mother's Cloſe; he being on Horſe-back, and thinking not fit to alight, becauſe there was a Boy near them, ſtooped down to her, and aſked her to make him a Promiſe; which ſhe very willingly did, with this Reſervation, 'As far as it was in her 'Power.' And this was the only Time he ever aſk'd her to engage herſelf to him. He went again to Mrs. *Hall*'s on *Friday* in the ſame Week, and fearing he ſhould not have an Opportunity to ſpeak with Miſs, he brought a Letter and put it into her own Hand; in which he deſir'd her to meet him at his Orchard Wall on *Sunday* Morning; which ſhe did, and then he put into her Hand another Letter.

On *May* 5. he went to *Eynſham*, hoping to ſee or hear from her; and there he receiv'd her firſt Letter, informing him that her 'Mamma was gone from home, and that 'ſhe ſhould be glad of his Company that Af-'ternoon.'

He forthwith waited upon her, and was received with very great Civility: At which Time the following Words paſſed between them. '*J. G.* Dear Miſs! What had I 'done to deſerve the Slight you put upon me 'on the 29th of *May*? And what was the 'Cauſe of it? *M. H.* It was Jealouſy, 'dear Sir! *J. G.* Jealouſy! I thought I 'had ſufficiently guarded you againſt that. '*M. H.* It ſhall be ſo no more. *J. G.* 'Well, then, I preſume you now deſign to 'make yourſelf mine. *M. H.* Yes, or I 'would not have ſent for you.' Whereupon he immediately kneeled upon his right Knee, and ſaid: 'Dear Miſs, I here ſolemnly, in 'the Preſence of God, engage myſelf to you: 'you ſhall not now engage yourſelf to me; 'you ſhall take your own Time for it.' And then ſhe took him up with both her Hands, and ſaid, 'It is all one as if I had.' As ſoon as he roſe, he returned her Thanks for that kind Declaration, and ſaid, 'If you were to 'engage yourſelf to me while you are under 'Age, I do not know whether it would be 'of any Force in Law.' Afterwards they entertained each other for near two Hours, with great Complacency; and before he left her, he deſired her to ſound her Mother, and to diſcover whether ſhe would conſent that he ſhould marry her.

On *May* 12. he received her ſecond Letter, dated the Day before, beginning, *Dear Sir*, in which ſhe informs him, that upon her talking to her Mamma, 'ſhe declared, that 'ſhe had rather follow her to her Grave, 'than ſee her his; charging her to ſlight 'and neglect him as much as poſſible; and 'concludes, that therefore ſhe *muſt of Ne-'ceſſity be unhappy or diſobedient*; *but be it 'which Way it would, he ſhould always 'have a Place in her Affections.*'

Upon this Mr. *Goole* wrote a Letter to her, wherein he offered to deſiſt from his Preten-ſions, and reſign her. In Anſwer to which, he received her third Letter, dated *May* 16, which runs thus.

'Your Abſence, *Dear Sir*, would be in-'ſupportable, were I not relieved by thoſe 'tender and affectionate Expreſſions I receive 'from you in your Letters. You tell me in 'your Laſt, that you will *reſign me to any 'other that I thought could make me happy*: '*But don't wrong my Love*, nor think I can 'be capable of aſking *ſo unjuſt a Thing*; or 'if any Thought that would be prejudicial to 'you, ſhould riſe in my Soul (which I can 'ſcarce think there will) yet it would not con-'tinue long, for *your Idea is fixed in my 'Breaſt, ſo that it is impoſſible for Time, or 'Abſence, or any Thing but Death to remove 'it*,' &c.

On *Thurſday*, *May* 20, Mr. *Goole* went to *Eynſham*, to viſit a ſick Perſon; where *John Pentycroſs* told him, that Miſs *Hudſon* had appointed to meet him at his Houſe be-tween 8 and 9 in the Evening. Accordingly he waited there till after 9, and very few Minutes after he was gone, ſhe came over the Wall, and expreſſed great Concern for having diſappointed him: And to excuſe herſelf wrote to him her fourth Letter dated *May* 22, uſing theſe Words.

Dear Sir,

'I am very ſorry I ſhould treſpaſs upon 'your Patience in making you wait ſo long, 'and to diſappoint you at laſt; but I hope 'you will be ſo good as to excuſe it. For my 'Mamma, ſeeing you ride by, kept me 'cloſe all the reſt of the Evening, that it 'was impoſſible for me to come to you, with-'out being diſcovered. Tho' I am depriv'd 'of that *innocent Pleaſure* which I enjoyed in 'your Converſation*, pray write to me, that 'I may have *that unſpeakable Satisfaction* of 'reading your Thoughts. I hope it will not 'be in the Power of any Perſon to put a 'Stop to our Correſpondence, tho' they 'have to our Meeting,' &c.

Mr. *Goole* officiated at *Eynſham*, *May* 21, and there received Miſs *Hudſon*'s fifth Letter, dated the Day before: Wherein ſhe informs him of a Rival, whom her Mamma deſigned for her Huſband, a Farmer of a good Eſtate; of the Objections ſhe had made; and of the Anſwer her Mamma had given her. Particularly that ſhe had told her, that 'If ſhe would have Mr. *Goole*, neither of 'them ſhould come within her Doors as

'mar-

'more.' She then adds, 'Tho' I bear your 'Abſence as well as poſſible, yet I ſhould be 'glad to have an Hour's Converſation with 'you before you go your Journey; and I 'believe the ſafeſt Way will be to come at 11 'at Night, and I will leave the Garden door 'open, under the Filbeard Trees, that you 'may walk down, and I will meet you at 'the Houſe Door. Pray let me know what 'Evening will be convenient for you, becauſe 'it is equal to me.

According to her Requeſt, he waited on her the next *Tueſday* Night, *June* 1, and ſtaid with her till two in the Morning. Before they parted, ſhe deſired him to ſee her again as ſoon as might be. Having been at *Oxford* on the *Thurſday* following, and bought the Ring, he waited upon her with it that Night, and tried it; and they did not part till 2 in the Morning. They then agreed betwixt them, that he ſhould make his next Viſit *June* 10, being *Thurſday* in *Whitſun* Week; but being informed by *Pentycroſs*, that the Watch would walk about the Town every Night that Week, he ſent her a Letter next Day, to let her know the Danger of their being diſcovered, ſhould he wait upon her according to Appointment.

On the *Monday* following, being *June* 7, Miſs *Hudſon*'s ſixth Letter, dated the ſame Day, was delivered to Mr. *Goole*; wherein ſhe expreſſed herſelf in the following moſt affectionate Manner.

My deareſt Love,

'The only Pleaſure I can enjoy without 'converſing with you, is to hear you are 'well, and that you got ſafe home; for I 'muſt own I am anxious for your Safety 'when you are abroad ſo late: For how can 'I ſleep contented, when *my Guide, my 'Huſband, Father, Friend,* and *all that is 'dear to me,* is expoſed to Danger, for my Sake? I think it will be beſt to defer our 'Meeting on *Thurſday* till the Time you appointed in your laſt; tho' it is hard to deny myſelf the Satisfaction of your agreeable Company; yet, upon ſuch an Occaſion, I muſt ſubmit. If there is any Thing that can be called Happineſs on Earth, I believe it is the Union of two Perſons, who love each other, without aiming at any Advantages by Love, than Love itſelf; their Hearts are full, and leave no Vacancy for any other Paſſion. I am continually thinking of you ſleeping and waking; nay, when my Mind ſhould be otherwiſe employ'd, your Image ſteals inſenſibly between my Devotions and me. And now I am laying open the State of my Soul; if it be not going too far to tell you, *I loved you*, when it was impoſſible for me to have the leaſt Return. I reaſoned with myſelf how extravagant it was to indulge a Paſſion which was againſt all Laws human and divine, 'and ſtruggled hard to overcome it; and made 'a hundred Reſolutions not to entertain ſo 'much as a Thought; but when you appeared it all vaniſhed, Love was too powerful for a Woman, for we are weak in all 'Reſpects, and more in this then any. You 'ſeem to have ſome ſlight Jealouſy of this A 'intended Rival. *Oh! don't ſuſpect my Conſtancy, for had I not gave you a Vow, it 'would have been impoſſible for any Thing to 'alter my Love: Was he Maſter of all the 'Eloquence of an Orator, it would be loſt on 'me, for my Heart is inſenſible, it is armed 'with Ice, and it is not in the Power of any 'Perſon to warm it but you; you only can give B 'Eaſe to my Mind, and tune my Soul. All 'my future Happineſs depends on you*; and to 'deſerve all that Love and Tenderneſs, which 'I hope you have for me, ſhall be the continued Study of

Your affectionate M. Hudſon.

This Letter being ſo very frank and affectionate, made Mr. *Goole* very deſirous of paying his Miſtreſs his moſt grateful Acknowledgements for it in Perſon, as ſoon as ſafely C he could. In order to which having met *Pentycroſs* the next *Thurſday*, *June* 10, at *Eynſham-Mill*; and being informed by him, that he might, without any Danger, wait upon her that Night, becauſe the Watch generally took up their Stand under the School-Houſe before their Time of meeting; he gave him a Letter for her, to acquaint her that D he would wait upon her at 11 that Night, which accordingly he did.

After as kind a Reception and Entertainment as ſhe could give, or he deſire, ſhe ſaid to him, 'Dear Sir, you have engaged your-'ſelf to me in the moſt honourable Manner 'that ever Gentleman engaged himſelf 'to his Miſtreſs; and I think 'tis Time for E 'me to engage myſelf to you.' To which he anſwered, 'My Dear, tho' I was reſolved never 'to preſs you to it, yet you may aſſure 'yourſelf I ſhall accept of it with great 'Joy and Gratitude; and, if you approve of 'it, I know no Method more *binding*, or 'more *ſacred*, than the Office of the Church, 'which I am ſure I can repeat.' (This he ſaid on Purpoſe to caution her of the Conſequence of what they were going to do.) F To which ſhe replied, 'With all my Heart.' He then aſked her, 'Whether there was any 'Thing between Mr. *Boyce* and her?' Her Anſwer was, 'That ſhe had had nothing to 'ſay to him for above a Twelvemonth.' Whereupon Mr. *Goole* ſaid, 'Riſe then, my 'Dear,' (for ſhe was ſitting upon his G right Knee in the Window, in her Mother's Parlour) which ſhe immediately did; and to contract themſelves with as much Seriouſneſs and Solemnity as might be, he roſe too. Then both ſtanding, he with his right Hand taking her by hers, ſaid, *I* John *take thee*

Mar-

Margaret, &c. Then letting go her Hand, he said, 'My Dear, now you must take me 'by my right Hand,' which she did, and repeated after him, *I* Margaret *take thee* John, &c. After which he said to her, 'My 'Dear, I left out *to love, honour, and obey.*' She answer'd 'Ah, dear Sir, how came you 'to leave out those Words?' He replied, 'I 'don't know; but they should be in:' And She answering, 'So they should:' He said, 'Madam, you must begin again.' She thereupon, with her right Hand taking him by his, repeated the Whole after him, mentioning the Words omitted. He then put a Ring, with the Inscription *Crescat amor*, upon the fourth Finger of her left Hand; and holding it there, said, *With this Ring*, &c. When he had done, he said to her, 'Now, my 'Dear, you are my Wife, as much as ever 'you can be, in the Presence of God.' To which she answer'd, 'Yes, I designed so, or 'I would not have done it.' And thereupon she immediately threw both her Arms about his Neck, and pressed his Face to hers for a considerable Time.

On *June* 12, Miss *Hudson* wrote her seventh Letter, beginning thus, 'To 'hear *my dearest Love* got safe and undiscover'd home, is a very great Satisfaction 'to me, &c.' and concluding 'they little 'think we enjoy so much Satisfaction in 'conversing with each other, for *none but 'they that love can tell.* I hope I shall be 'able to meet you at the Time appointed, 'which will be the greatest Satisfaction imaginable to,

Dear Sir, your affectionate Love,
M. Hudson.

Mr. *Goole* waited upon her again *June* 14, and tenderly expostulated with her, because she had not sign'd herself his *Spouse* in the preceding Letter; and insisted, that, since she knew herself to be such, she ought to write herself so: And how obedient she was in that Particular, her subsequent Letters shew.

He met her again *June* 18; and on the 19th she wrote the following Letter.

My dearest Dear,

'I hope you got safe home without taking 'Cold, tho' I was fearful lest any Misfortune should befal you, tho' I had good Success and got to Bed undiscovered. The 'greatest Happiness I can enjoy in this World, 'is to converse with one who is *so dear* to me 'as you are: With what Pleasure do I spend 'those few Hours, and how soon do they 'pass away in your Conversation; for *you 'are infinitely dearer to me than any Thing 'upon Earth; all temporal Enjoyments would 'be dull and insipid without you; nay Life itself 'would become a Burthen, if I were deprived of 'the only Object I could love in it.* I have read 'Part of your Sermon, and am extreamly pleased with your Instructions; and I will endeavour 'to live conformable to those Rules which you 'have laid down for the regulating of my 'Conduct; and, as I always shall have a Desire to please, so if there is any Thing you 'mislike in my Behaviour, I hope you will 'put the favourablest Construction upon it, 'for it is not my Design to give the least Offence in any Thing, if I can help it, as 'long as I live, but to behave myself in all 'Respects, as I am in Duty bound, and becomes

Your dutiful and affectionate Spouse, M. H.

The next Time of meeting was *June* 22, about which Time Mr. *Goole*, in one of his Letters, had intreated her *not to love him too well.* He was inclined to believe, that her Life was wrapped up in his; and therefore a generous and tender Regard for her Happiness was the sole Cause of that uncommon Petition. He was indeed very desirous, that even his Death, had it pleased God in his Mercy then to have put an End to his Days, should have been very little or no Interruption to her Peace. This was probably the first Request of the Sort, that ever was offered by a Gentleman who thought himself only a Lover, or answered in the same Manner by an ingenious Gentlewoman, who deemed herself less than a Wife. The Manner in which she answer'd it here follows, being Part of her ninth Letter dated *June* 24.

My dear dear Love,

'You intreat me in your Last not to love 'you too well, I would not willingly disobey 'any Command you lay upon me, but I 'can't comply in this; 'tis a Thing *impossible* for me to do; I can't help loving you, 'you are dearer to me than Life, and I 'could sooner part with it than you. My 'Passion is of too long a Date to be extinguished by any Thing but Death. Tho' 'Absence oftentimes is a Remedy for Love, 'yet that has had no Effect on me; my, 'even when I thought you had left me, and 'tho' I was exceedingly vexed with you, yet it 'did not last long, for my Love was stronger 'than my Anger:' This Letter was subscribed like the Former:

Your affectionate and dutiful Spouse, M. H.

He waited on her that Night, the 24th, and acquainting her, that he should go for *London* on the 29th, offered to make her another Visit on the *Monday* following, being the 28th. To which she replied. 'No my dear 'Love, I shall not be easy, should you, after 'sitting up the whole Night, begin your 'Journey; and therefore pray let me see you 'on *Sunday*, and then you will have a 'Night's Rest before you set out.' In Consequence of this, on *Sunday*, *June* 27, when Miss *Hudson* had publickly received the blessed Sacrament in the Parish Church of *Eyam*, from Mr. *Goole*'s Hands, he met her privately in the Evening; when she received him

the ſame Manner, in which ſhe had done on the 14th, 18th, 22d, and 24th, *viz.* As ſoon as ſhe ſaw him, ſhe took him about the Neck with one or both her Arms; preſſed his Face to hers; kiſſed him as long as her Breath would laſt, and then led him to a Seat, generally to a wrought elbow Chair, and as ſoon as he ſate down, immediately and unask'd, ſate in his Lap, and careſſed him with the utmoſt Earneſtneſs and Complacency; which he did not think ſhe would have done, had ſhe not really and ſeriouſly thought herſelf his Wife. She renewed and confirmed all her Vows and Promiſes till near Midnight: And Mr. *Goole*, knowing the Violence and Baſeneſs of Mrs. *Hall*, and being very apprehenſive of what ſhe might do during his Stay in *London*, thought proper to caution Miſs *Hudſon* againſt every Attempt that might be made upon her to his Prejudice, and her Infamy; and gave her five Guineas (and offered her more) which ſhe accepted, to hire a Chariot to bring her to him, ſhould her Mother, in his Abſence, force her from *Eynſham*. And to put him out of all his Fears, ſhe promiſed him, if poſſible, to get away from her Mother while he was in *London*; and, if ſhe could not avoid a Diſcovery of their Love, that ſhe would actually declare to her Mother and all her Relations, that ſhe was his Wife; in what Manner they were contracted; and that ſhe would go no whither from *Eynſham*, but to him, or by his Advice.

Accordingly on *Tueſday June* 29, 1731, Mr. *Goole* ſet out for *London*, where he received Miſs *Hudſon*'s tenth Letter, dated *July* 3.

Dear Sir,

'I am extreamly glad to hear you had 'ſuch a pleaſant Journey, for I waited with 'a great deal of Impatience for a Line or 'two from you, but could not have an Opportunity to receive it till this Morning. 'Tho' the Lady knows you are gone, yet, 'I believe, ſhe is apprehenſive you will 'write to me, and for that Reaſon is very 'watchful. What you left for me on *Tueſday* came ſafe to Hand, and, were it poſſible, I would have put you out of Pain 'long before this Time, with that agreeable 'Account of my ſafe Retreat; but I know you 'will be ſo good as to excuſe my forced Neglect. I have had an Opportunity to be 'meſſured for what you mentioned; and am 'promiſed that they ſhall be ready in a 'Fortnight or 3 Weeks at fartheſt. I am as 'eaſy as 'tis poſſible for me to be, conſidering where I am, and *who's Company is wanting* to make the Time paſs 'away agreeably. Pray don't ſuffer an 'anxious Thought to diſcompoſe the Quiet 'of your Soul on the Account of,

Dear Sir, Your humble Servant, M. H.

Upon the Receipt of this, Mr. *Goole* wrote an Anſwer in *London*, and therein deſired of Miſs *Hudſon*, that he might have a Letter from her as he returned home. In Expectation of which, he called upon *Penticroſs* at *Eynſham* in his Return, who there delivered to him the following, dated *July* 8.

My deareſt Love,

'It is with a great Deal of Reluctancy 'that I deny myſelf the Satisfaction of converſing with you, after you have been abſent ſo long; but I intreat you not to come 'till *Friday* next, and then, at the uſual 'Time and Place, I hope we ſhall be *ſo happy* as to ſee each other. Tho' I am of the 'Opinion, that there is only a Suſpicion of 'our Meeting; yet, for that Reaſon, they 'will be very watchful for an Opportunity to 'confirm it. I think it will be proper for me 'to ſtay where I am till I remove for good. 'I would not give an Occaſion, if poſſible, for the leaſt Reflexion on my Conduct, 'for you know that my Honour is at Stake, 'and my leaving my Mamma before we can 'be married, would be Ground enough for 'the ill-natur'd Part of the World to cenſure. I dare not *truſt myſelf* to write any 'longer, leaſt I ſhould contradict my firſt Requeſt, and deſire you to *come ſooner* then 'will be conſiſtent with our Safety.

I am, My dear Love,

Your affectionate Spouſe, M. Hudſon.

This Letter was followed by another of *July* 13.

My deareſt Love,

'There is no Poſſibility of ſeeing you any 'more at the uſual Place, for ſomebody ſaw 'you come from the Mill laſt Time you 'was with me, and told my Mamma you 'was up all Night with me, and ſhe now 'locks the Door every Night herſelf, and 'takes the Key to Bed with her, and makes 'her own Door ſo faſt, that I can't open it 'without a great Noiſe. She has charged 'me with ſeeing you at that Time of Night; 'but I denyed that I did: And ſhe don't 'believe me, but keeps ſo ſtrict a Guard 'upon me, that I can ſcarce have Time to 'write, and find it very difficult to deliver 'my Letter to the Meſſenger. O! my Dear, 'I will not wound your Soul with what ſhe 'has ſaid to me; but its ſo much, that I 'would gladly have thanked any one that 'would have done me the kind Office to 'put an End to that Life, which will be 'the Occaſion of ſo much Trouble to you 'after we are married

* *

'I have ſent you a Meſſure for the Aprons; 'and am extreamly obliged to the young 'Lady for her Kindneſs. May you have 'all the Happineſs this World can afford, and 'I hope in the next to, which is the Deſire of,

My deareſt Love,

Your affectionate Spouſe, M. H.

The

The next Letter which she sent him, being her thirteenth, was dated *July* 15; Part of the Contents of which here follow.

My dearest Love,

'It is a very great Satisfaction to hear you 'grant my Request so readily, tho' I think it 'will be proper for you to keep where you 'used to be of a *Sunday* 'till we are married, 'least, by removing before, it should cause 'any Suspition. I am tolerable easy at pre- 'sent, and hope to continue so 'till *Sunday* or '*Monday* Sen'night, and then I hope to have 'an Opportunity one of them Afternoons to 'come down to the Mill, where I shall expect 'to find my *dearest Love*, and never part from 'him any more; for it will be impossible 'for me to get away in the Morning, as we 'proposed at first. So if I can be so happy as 'to give my Mamma the slip; I will leave 'the rest to Heaven and you. I have had a 'Letter from Mr. *Taylor*, and he tells me, 'that it is confidently reported, at *Woodstoke*, 'that I am to be married to you, and he longs 'to know the Truth, for he can't believe I 'would do any such Thing without my 'Mamma's Consent: In Answer to which, 'and to prevent his coming over, I intend to 'let him know there is nothing in it. I was 'at *Oxford* Yesterday with the old Lady, at 'Sir *John Boyce's*, and she has made a Bar- 'gain for his Son and me, and as soon as ever 'he can get a Living for him, and he can get 'my Consent, 'tis to be a Match. She hath 'been prodigious uneasy ever since the Talk 'of my being up with you all Night, and is so 'angry with you, that she will not come to 'Church any more already, and if I marry 'you, she will sell the House, and live a 'hundred Miles off, and never see nor hear 'of me any more. I have sent your Sermon, 'and all your Letters but one, least she should 'search in Hopes of making a Discovery of 'our Intrigue. This being the last Letter I 'shall write to you for the present, least I 'should be discovered. I think I have men- 'tioned all that is needful, and I am sure 'I have tired your Patience, but you'll ex- 'cuse this Trespass in

Your most affectionate Spouse, M. H.

Between the 15th and 18th of *July*, she sent this short one without any Date.

My Dear,

'If I can't get an Opportunity to come to 'the Mill neither of them Days I mentioned 'in my last, I have but one Way more, and 'that is to get out of the Cellar Window. 'So if you will be ready at the Garden-Gate, 'under the Filbeard-Trees, a *Monday* 'sen'night, at One a Clock, I hope I shall be 'so happy as to meet you there, *M. H.*

On the 18th she wrote the following.

My dearest Love,

'My Mamma told me, she was not fully 'satisfied as to my Age, so desired Mr. *White-* 'head to look in the Register, and To-day 'she received a Letter from him, wherein 'he informed her, I was baptized *August* 'the 2d, 1711. This Account not agree- 'ing with what you sent me some Time 'since, surprizes very much; for, I believe, 'there was no Artifice on Mr. *Whitehead's* 'Side; however my Mamma is very well 'pleased I am no more than Twenty, and I 'did not contradict her. I desire, *my Dear*, 'you would employ Somebody to look once 'more into this Affair, for there must be a 'Mistake in one or the other; and be satis- 'fied, I will persue your last Directions, if 'possible, as to the demanding of my For- 'tune, tho' I am afraid I can't get Mrs. *Bartholomew* to come; but I want to know, 'if her Daughter, or one Witness, will be 'sufficient, and whether I can demand it 'under Age. As to the Time you desired to 'know if I can get out on *Sunday*, it will be 'while you are at Church in the Morning, or 'else in the Afternoon or after Evening-Prayer. 'I can't set any Time on *Monday*; but the 'first Opportunity that offers, I will make 'use of it. Should both my Designs be 'frustrated, I hope I shall be able to put my 'other Design in Practice, and succeed: 'Should it rain very hard, then expect me 'the first fair Day, and in Case it should be so 'dirty that I can't walk to the Mill, then pray 'contrive some Way to take me up at the 'Town's-End. Pray tell *Penticross* that he 'must not come any more to the House, 'without a very good Reason, for my Mam- 'ma thought it was a very frivolous Arrant last 'Time; but I will endeavour to receive your 'Letters as usual, if possible. Tho' I am 'deprived of that *Happiness* I enjoyed in your 'Company, yet your Letters, in a great 'Measure, *relieve and compose my Mind*, even 'when it is disturbed, and almost overpowered 'with Grief; *what Pleasures and Happiness 'may I not expect from your Conversation?* 'The Tranquility I shall then enjoy, will 'make amends for all the Care and Anxiety of 'the present Time. I am,

My dearest Love,

Your affectionate Spouse, M. H.

On *July* 23, her sixteenth Letter was sent, which run thus.

My Dear,

'There has happened an Accident which 'obliged me to confess my Intention to marry 'you; at which, tho' my Mamma at first 'was averse, yet upon further Consideration, 'and my informing of her I was of Age, and 'could dispose of myself without her agreeing 'to it; and added farther, that I had pro- 'mised you, and you had laid out 150*l.* upon 'Cloths for me, and that I could not, neither 'would I go back from my Promise, I am 'assured she will give her Consent. She desired 'me not to marry you till my Fortune was 'set-

'settled upon me; I assured her, that it was 'your Design so to do, not but I would take 'your Word; but since she desired it, I would 'comply in that Respect, as well as I have 'done hitherto in every Thing else; and added 'further, that I thought Judge *Beeston* 'would be the propereſt Person she could em- 'ploy in this Affair, which I believe she will A 'agree to. You will hear from her very 'speedily; and, in the mean Time, I desire 'you would not expect me, as we proposed, 'for now every Thing will be amicably 'made up, which I am sure will be a very 'great Satisfaction to you and

Your affectionate Spouse, M. H.

'I did not own I received any Letters from B 'you, but only Messages.'

Mr. *Goole* went the next Day about 4 in the Afternoon, to Mrs. *Hall*'s; who, tho' she refused to let him see Miss *Hudson*, was in other Respects pretty civil. But Miss herself paid him all the Compliments she could out of her Chamber Window, and with the greatest seeming Complacency. On *Sunday* the 25th Miss sent for *Penticross*, and delivered to him her last Letter; which being without Date or Subscription, very short, and in a Stile so different from all the former, was in all Probability dictated by her Mother.

Sir,

'I have almost got her Consent, and 'don't question but I shall fully in a little 'Time, so I think it will be improper for 'you to come, as you designed; nor like- D 'wise to talk with her, 'till I find she is a 'little cooler. You shall hear further ano- 'ther Time.'

When *Penticross* received this from her, he delivered 3 Letters to her from Mr. *Goole*, with this Message, 'My Master sends 'you his most humble Respects, and desires 'you to be soon easy, and all will be well.' E To which she immediately replied, 'Give my 'dear Respects to my Spouse, bid him be 'easy, and I will be so. She then told him, that 'she should go to *Oxford* on the Mor- 'row, and not return till *Thursday*; that 'she should want to speak with him some 'Time that Day, but did not know at what 'Time of the Day she should come, and F 'therefore desired him to be at home all the 'whole Day:' Which he was, but neither saw nor heard from her. She gave these Orders to him not above an Hour before Mr. *Boyce* came to her.

That very Day, being *July* 29, Miss *Hudson* was married in the Parish Church of *Cowley* to *John Boyce*, Esq; by the Rev. Mr. *Ofwald Allen* of *Christ-Church*, *Oxon*, in Pre- G sence of the Parish Clerk of *Cowley*, and *Thomas Taylor*, Servant to Sir *John Boyce*, who in his Livery gave her in Marriage. These were the only Persons designed to be present; but one *Wilkins* a Carpenter, and one *Wasty* a Farmer, happened accidentally to see the Ceremony performed. The first News of this Marriage Mr. *Goole* heard the next Day at *Barton*; where a Maid-Servant of Sir *John Boyce*'s told him it, with the utmost Confusion, and the most manifest Signs of Guilt. However he so fully depended on Miss *Hudson*'s Faith and Honour, that he could not believe it, and wrote a long Letter to Mrs. *Hall* the 31st, conjuring her in the strongest Terms not to hinder his Marriage with her Daughter. His Incredulity continued all the *Sunday* following, tho' Mrs. *Hall* had ordered the Bells to ring for her Daughter's Marriage, to welcome him at his coming to *Eynsham*. Nay, on the *Tuesday* after, he would not believe Mr. *Allen* himself, till he had with some Warmth assured him the fourth Time, that he had married her.

John Boyce, Esq; the Son of Sir *John Boyce*, formerly Mayor of *Oxford*, was at the Time of his Marriage under Age. He had courted Miss *Hudson* some Time in the Year 1730; and by Mr. *Allen*'s Advice went after her to *Bath*. She told Mr. *Goole*, *June* 10, 1731, that she had had nothing to say to him for above a Twelvemonth. But Sir *John* has sworn, that his Son did court her from the first Day of *January* before *July* 24, 1731. And yet Mr. *Goole* affirms, that Mr. *Boyce* himself said, before Dr. *Brooke* and Mr. *Wesley*, that he had had nothing to say to her for 16 Months before that Time. Sir *John* has sworn, that Miss *Hudson* had given her Consent to marry his Son, (as he believes) on or about the 14th or 15th of *July*; that he settled between 70 and 80l. *per Ann.* upon them, and engaged to lay out 600l. upon a Parsonage for his Son, within two Years after the Marriage; and that Mrs. *Hall* gave them between 70 and 80l. *per Ann.* But it has been given out by others, and particularly by Mrs. *Scott*, that Miss *Hudson* had not consented till late on *July* 28.

Mr. *Allen* took out the Licence, which was granted by Mr. *Lamprey*, one of the Surrogates of the Chancellor of *Oxford*, upon his making Oath of the Consent of the Parents, and that he did not know or believe, that there was any lawful Let or Impediment by Reason of any Precontract or otherwise. There was a Bond for 100l. prepared to be signed by Mr. *Allen* to Dr. *Brooke*, in which Mr. *Boyce* is made a Surety, tho' under Age, and to which Mr. *Lamprey* was a Witness: But it being thought most proper, that Sir *John Boyce* should execute it, Mr. *Allen*'s Name was struck out, and that of Sir *John* inserted: And the Bond was afterwards executed by him, and delivered to Mr. *Allen*, as Sir *John* himself has sworn.

What

What Kind of Consent Miss *Hudson* gave to this Marriage, and by what Methods she was induced thereto, is yet a Secret. Mrs. *Bartholomew* told Mr. *Goole*, that before the Marriage she was forced to sign a Paper, expressing, *That she would uncompelled and voluntarily marry Mr.* Boyce. This he understood she had from Mrs. *Boyce*'s own Mouth. It has been publickly reported, that the *Monday* after the Wedding, Lady *Boyce* went to visit her at *Barton*, and finding her dull, said, 'What dull, my Dear? you should be 'enjoying yourself.' To which she replied, before Mr. *Boyce*'s Face, 'Enjoying myself! 'Madam, I never expect a Day's Enjoy-'ment while I live.' The Widow *James* of *Eynsham*, a Woman of good Reputation, says, that soon after the Marriage, Mrs. *Hall* came and discoursed with her about the Fatigue she had had with her Daughter. Upon which she said to her 'Sure Madam you 'have a very obedient Daughter, who could 'marry another so soon after she had gone so 'far with Mr. *Goole*.' To which Mrs. *Hall* replied, 'I was too hasty; but to tell you the 'Truth, Neighbour, she could not help it, 'for we forced her.' To Mrs. *Bartholomew*, who took Mrs. *Boyce* to Task for having used Mr. *Goole* so ill, she made no other Excuse, than this; 'It was done, and could not 'be holpen.'

As soon as Mr. *Allen* had convinced Mr. *Goole* that he had really married Miss *Hudson* to Mr. *Boyce*, he shewed him every one of her Letters, and almost all the Things he had bought for her; bidding him tell Sir *John* of all. This he did, that the Knight might have paid him what he had been out of Pocket on her Account; with which he would then have been well contented. But no Steps being taken to give him any Satisfaction, on *Sept.* 15. Mr. and Mrs. *Boyce* were served with a Copy of a Writ in Mr. *Goole*'s Name; at which Time Mrs. *Hall* was out of Order, and therefore not acquainted with it. On the *Saturday* following she was disordered in her Senses, ran to *Cassington*, a Mile from *Eynsham*, where she spake many Things in Mr. *Goole*'s Praise, and would not endure any one to speak ill of him. She was, as soon as could be, brought back to *Eynsham*, and desired to see Mr. *Goole*, declaring, 'she would 'not go to Bed till she had seen him.' Upon this Mrs. *Bartholomew* desired Mrs. *Scott* to send for him; who, for what Reasons she knows best, would not suffer it. During her Illness, Mrs. *Hall* frequently said, 'Mr. *Goole* 'is a Man of Honour; I have wronged Mr. 'Goole, &c.' A Physician was sent for, and she was let Blood, but not blistered. On *Monday* Morning Nurses were brought from *Oxford*, who immediately bound her in her Bed. On *Tuesday* or *Wednesday* Morning another Physician was sent for, who complained of binding her, and forthwith ordered her to be let loose; but then it was too late, and soon after she died. Sir *John* himself swore, that she died raving mad.

About the Middle of *October*, the Rev. Mr. *Snell*, Vicar of *Bampton*, came directly from Sir *John*, to intercede with Mr. *Goole*, on the Behalf of Mr. *Boyce*. And on the 20th, Mr. *Goole*, not having fully enquired into the Nature of the Contract, wrote a Letter to Mr. *Snell*, proposing, that if 300 Guineas were paid him, he would give Miss *Hudson* a Release; which Proposal he then thought lawful for him to make. But after he had seen the Opinion of Council, he then thought it his Duty to bring this Matter before a proper Court, in order to have a judicial Determination of the Validity of the Contract. Soon after the Proposal, 200l. and 6l. 6s. and 2d. for Costs, were paid to Mr. *Goole*'s Attorney, to discharge only the Action brought against Mr. *Boyce*, &c. *Sept.* 15.

About the Middle of *December*, Mr. *Goole* waited upon the worshipful Dr. *Hen. Brooke*; who, upon hearing the State of his Case, told him, that he thought he could not give Mrs. *Boyce* a Release. Soon after, Mr. *Boyce*, being informed of this, waited likewise upon the Doctor, and offered him a Fee, which he refused and said, 'I have taken no Fee of 'Mr. *Goole*, neither will I of you; I do not 'like your Case, and have told Mr. *Goole*, 'and now tell you, that I am of Opinion 'he has it not in his Power to give Miss 'Hudson such a Release as will make her 'Marriage with you legal and valid: But 'the Case is nice, and I would have neither 'of you depend upon my Opinion only, and 'therefore I advise you to get the Opinion of 'Dr. *Henchman* and Dr. *Straban*, and if they 'disagree with me, I will give up my Opi-'nion.' And then he dictated to Mr. *Boyce* the following State and Queries. 'A. B. 'single Woman, aged 19 and upwards, 'without Consent of Friends, enters into 'an absolute Contract *de præsenti* [of the 'present Time] of Marriage with C. D. 'After such Contract *A. B. de facto* [actu-'ally] marries *E. F.* —— 1. Q. Is it in 'the Power of *C. D.* to give *A. B.* such a 'Release, as will make her Marriage with 'E. F. legal and valid? —— 2. Q. If 'such a Release may by Law be given by 'C. D. would it not be proper for A. B. 'and E. F. to solemnize Matrimony a-'gain?'

This State and Queries Mr. *Boyce* wrote in the Presence of Dr. *Brooke*, in the Beginning of *January* 1731-2, and sent them to *Doctors-Commons* by a Friend: who on or about the 13th of the same Month, brought back the Opinions of Dr. *Straban* and Dr. *Paul*, Dr. *Henchman* being then out of Town. The Opinion of the Former run in these Words:

'I,

'1. A Contract *de præſenti* is a real Marriage, and only wants the outward Form and Ceremony: And it is not in the Power of the contracting Parties to releaſe one another from ſuch Contract. I don't think the Woman's being a Minor, and her entering into this Contract without Conſent of Friends, will much vary the Caſe. For ſhe was of ſufficient Age to contract Matrimony; and altho' ſhe ought not to have entered into ſuch a Contract without the Conſent of her Parents or Guardians, yet the Want of ſuch Conſent does not deſtroy the Contract, no more than it would deſtroy a Marriage ſolemnized in the Face of the Church. 2. As no ſuch Releaſe can by Law be given by *C. D.* it would be to no Purpoſe for *A. B.* and *E. F.* to ſolemnize Matrimony over again. For the Contract, which cannot be releaſed, remains ſtill a Bar to any ſubſequent Marriage.' Dr. *Paul* expreſſed himſelf thus, 'By the Canon-Law, as it is received in *England*, and become Part of the Laws of the Realm, a Contract in Words of the preſent Time, ſeriouſly and ſolemnly made, is, in Truth and Subſtance, Matrimony indiſſoluble. It has been the general Opinion of learned Divines and Lawyers, that, *tho' there ſhould be no Evidence, according to the Rules of the Law, of ſuch Spouſals*, the Parties having really, tho' ſecretly, contracted themſelves, yet they are thereby become ſo far Man and Wife before God, that neither can, with a ſafe and good Conſcience, marry elſewhere, ſo long as the other Party liveth. Upon the whole Caſe therefore, I am of Opinion, that *A. B.* aged 19, by entring into an abſolute Contract of the preſent Time with *C. D.* may be compelled, by eccleſiaſtical Cenſures, to ſolemnize a Marriage with him in the Face of the Church; and that the Marriage with *E. F.* will (upon proper Proofs of the above-ſtated Contract) be adjudged null and void in Law.'

Theſe Opinions were obtained at the ſole Expence of Mr. *Boyce*, who communicated them to Mr. *Goole* at Dr. *Brooke*'s Chamber on the 15th; which as ſoon as Mr. *Goole* had ſeen, he applied to the Doctor, before Mr. *Boyce*, for Letters of Requeſt to begin his Cauſe in the Arches, and they paſſed the Seal of his Office that very Night. Accordingly Mr. *Goole* exhibited a *Libel* conſiſting of 21 Articles, the Truth of the Facts alledged in every one of which Mrs. *Boyce* acknowledged: But, in Anſwer to the 11th, which contained an Account of the ſolemn Manner of their contracting themſelves to each other by the Office of the Church, ſhe denied, 'That by what paſſed ſhe then intended to marry him, or engage herſelf to him, but apprehended the ſame to be *in jeſt*; for 'that he had before that Time told her, that 'he could not marry her till ſhe was of Age, 'and that whatever ſhe wrote or ſaid to him 'while ſhe was under Age would ſignify no-'thing, or to that Effect.' That he told her the former Mr. *Goole* owns; but abſolutely denies, that he told her the latter, and makes this juſt Obſervation upon this Plea of hers, 'That her endeavouring to 'make him believe, that ſhe was moſt ſeri-'ouſly *in earneſt* in all that ſhe ſaid, did, 'and wrote, if ſhe was not really ſo, betrays 'ſuch an inexcuſable Falſeneſs, unparalleled 'Baſeneſs, and abandoned Perfidiouſneſs, as 'none but the vileſt and moſt abject Crea-'tures upon Earth can be guilty of; and 'which even they, 'till convicted, will 'not own; and then generally not without 'Shame and Confuſion, and the univerſal 'Abhorrence of all Perſons of Probity, or 'Honour, or even common Honeſty.'

After this Cauſe had been kept a proper Time in the Arches, it was determined in the following Manner. 'That there was 'no Room to ſuſpect any Colluſion between 'Miſs *Hudſon*, or Mr. *Boyce*, and Mr. 'Goole; That Miſs *Hudſon*'s *Letters* were 'wrote before her Marriage; That Mr. 'Goole was not to blame, for ſhe would have 'it ſo; That had ſhe not been married, the 'Caſe would have been otherwiſe; That 'there was nothing in Difference of Age or 'Fortune; and That a *Contract of the preſent Time* is indiſſoluble.' But then, 'That 'the *Contract* was a ſecret one; That the 'Law was unfavourable to ſecret Contracts; 'That by the 105th Canon, the ſole Confeſſion of Parties is not ſufficient to ſet aſide a ſecond Marriage; That Mr. *Goole* 'had prayed his ſuppletory Oath; That 'Miſs *Hudſon* had not made a full Confeſſion 'of the Contract: That if ſhe had, the 'Proof which the Law requires to be ſuffi-'cient, would not have been ſo, tho' he had 'been allowed his ſuppletory Oath, becauſe 'it would have reſted *ſolely* upon the Con-'feſſion of the Parties; That he did not 'deſign to marry her till ſhe ſhould be of 'Age; That neither of them knew *the 'Strength of their* Contract *in Law*, when 'they entered into it: And *Therefore let Mr.* 'Boyce *be put to no farther Trouble.*

This Narrative is a faithful Abridgement of a Book entitled, *The Contract violated*, or *The haſty Marriage*, written by *John Goole* M. A. *&c. and ſold by* J. Wilford, *price* 2s. 6d. A Book very proper to be read by Perſons of both Sexes, to regulate their Conduct either in making, or receiving Addreſſes, in the Way of Matrimony. And this Teſtimony we think ourſelves obliged to give, without the leaſt Application, either from the Author, or the Bookſeller.

BAVIUS.

Craftſman, Oct. 5. N° 431.

A Letter from the Dead.

MR. D'ANVERS,

THE Practice of writing Letters from the *Dead*, in order to juſtify the *Living*, is grown ſo common amongſt the *political Authors* of this Age, that I believe you will not be much ſurprized at the preſent Addreſs. *Diogenes*, *Plato* and *Socrates* amongſt the *Greeks*, *Cato*, *Brutus* and *Atticus* amongſt the *Romans*, and *Bacon*, *Sidney* and *Temple* amongſt your own Countrymen, have been in a Manner dragged out of their Graves to father other People's Works. Theſe are the worſt kind of *poſthumous Works*, that can poſſibly be laid to any Man's Charge; and I cannot help thinking it a very extraordinary Liberty, which *you above Ground* take with *us beneath*; for it tends to deſtroy that *After-Fame*, which is commonly the only Reward, that *Authors* and *Patriots* receive for their Labours. Secretary *Walſingham* is quite out of Countenance to ſee his Name proſtituted at the Head of a *ſilly Paper*, in Defence of Blundering and Corruption; and poor *Frank Oſborne* hath declared a thouſand Times that He had rather have left no Reputation behind Him, as a Writer, than fall a Sacrifice to that *doting old Wretch*, who utters Nonſenſe in his Name every Week, and tires the World with a conſtant Repetition of the ſame dull Abſurdities.

I have hitherto had the good Fortune to eſcape pretty well; but leſt I ſhould hereafter fall into ſome of *theſe dirty Hands*, I reſolved to ſend you a Letter myſelf, with ſome Obſervations on the preſent State of *Europe*, as it appears to us in theſe nether Regions.

You muſt know, Mr. *D'Anvers*, that We buſy Spirits, who formerly diſtinguiſhed ourſelves as *Politicians* in the upper World, have inſtituted a ſort of Club, where We meet together, upon all great Occaſions, and talk over worldly Affairs, as we uſed to do. Our Speculations, for 8 or 9 Years paſt, have been chiefly employed on the Counſels of *Great-Britain*, and the glorious Figure ſhe hath lately made amongſt all her Neighbours. For This ſhe is indebted to the admirable Addreſs of *two noble Brothers*, who form a Conſtellation of themſelves, like *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, and attract the Eyes of both Worlds. As thoſe *ancient Twins* were famous for different Qualifications; (*Hic Eques*, *Ille Pugil*;) the *modern Britiſh Gemini* reſemble them in this Reſpect; *one* ſhining in the Management of *domeſtick Affairs*; and the *other* in the Conduct of *foreign Negotiations*. Both of them have likewiſe ſignalized themſelves, like their Predeceſſors, by clearing the Ocean of *Pyrates*, and are now adored by the *Merchants* on that Account, as the two Guardian Angels of the Sea.

When the Treaty of *H——r* firſt came down, we could hardly believe our Eyes. As ſoon as *Richlieu* had read it, he tipt the Wink upon *Mazarine*, who ſate next him, and ſaid, *Ah! Brother, what would I have given for* ſuch a Treaty, *in my Time?* *Harley* could not forbear ſmiling a little, and only ſaid, in his ſhort Way, *well, now let them rail at the Treaty of* Utrecht, *as long as they pleaſe*. But old *Burleigh* hung down his Head, and hath not appeared with a cheerful Countenance ever ſince.

The next *Coup d'Eclat* was the Treaty of *S——le*, which Cardinal *Portocarero* read with the utmoſt Raptures, and cried out, in the Fulneſs of his Heart, *if the* Emperor *does but comply, my Scheme is fully compleated*. As I was a *Florentine* by Birth, I looked upon this Affair in a different Light, and could have wiſhed to ſee my Countrymen reſtored to their Liberty, upon the Extinction of the Houſe of *Medici*; for tho' I have been repreſented as a Patron of *arbitrary Power*, my Writings are Witneſſes to the contrary, when thoroughly underſtood, and prove me a much better Friend to the Cauſe of *Liberty* than ſome *noiſy Pretenders* amongſt you, who have actually reduced into Practice moſt of *thoſe Rules*, which I deſigned only as Scarecrows, and to paint *Tyranny* in the blackeſt Colours.

The laſt Treaty of *V——a*, as well as the *Manner* of conducting it, gave us a freſh Inſtance of your great Talents at Negotiation; for as by the Treaty of *S——le*, you ſtipulated the Introduction of *Spaniſh* Garriſons into *Italy*, without the *Emperor*'s Conſent; ſo by *this* you very wiſely guarantied the *Pragmatick Sanction*, and thereby procured the *Emperor*'s Acceſſion, without the Participation of *France*. *Ay, This is a deep Fetch indeed*, ſaid Richlieu, *and what I little expected from thoſe* Northern Politicians; *but if my Brother* (naming a *certain Miniſter*) *does not reſent ſuch an Affront to himſelf, and ſuch an Indignity to his Maſter, in a proper Manner, he ought to be kicked out of the Cabinet for an arrant old Woman.*

When we conſider the preſent Poſture of Affairs; the Diſtractions in *Poland*; the late Conqueſts in *Italy*; and the Operations on the *Rhine*; it puzzles us to gueſs what the final Iſſue will be; but at the ſame Time, it reflects immortal Honour upon that *great Genius*, who hath undertaken, by his own *ſingle Abilities*, to reconcile ſo many jarring Intereſts, and to put every thing upon a right Foot again; for to make the *victorious Party* quit all the Advantages they have gained, at an infinite Expence, and pocket the Affronts they have received, without any Reparation; or to perſuade the *other Side*, for the Sake of Peace, to ſit down patiently under their Loſſes, and relinquiſh all their Pretenſions to that Aſſiſtance, which they had Reaſon to expect; either

ther of these, I say, seems to be a Task equally arduous, and certainly requires no common Head; but nothing is too difficult for a *Statesman*, who hath already distinguished himself by so many *illustrious Treaties*, and knows the *Ballance of Europe* exactly to an Hair.

What an Happiness is it for *Europe*, at this Time, to be supported by such a *political Atlas*; and what an Honour to his *own Country*, which hath produced a *Genius* capable of rectifying all the Disorders of the Age; I congratulate both one and the other on that *Dawn of Peace*, which already begins to break thro' the Clouds, and shine upon them, by the Force of his prevailing Negotiation.

For this Reason, I am surprized to see the professed Advocates for *him* and his *noble Brother* crying out for Help, and imploring an *Union amongst those*, whom their Conduct hath lately divided. Methinks, this looks as if Things were going wrong, and they were almost got at their *ne plus ultrà*; which will certainly give their Enemies an Opportunity of triumphing over them.

You will, perhaps, be surprized to see me write in such a Manner, and begin to suspect me of Double-dealing; but tho' I cannot forbear admiring the *two great Luminaries*, who shine in your Hemisphere, I assure you, Mr. *D'Anvers*, that I have no Correspondence with either of them, and considering their excentrick Motions, shall never be qualified for so great an Honour. I content myself with looking upon them at a Distance, as a sort of Prodigies in Nature, who draw the World after them by some occult Virtue, and shew the Vanity of all human Wisdom; for as they proceed by no Rules of Art, it is plain that they must have some Nostrum, or Specifick for all *political Ruptures*, which the *Faculty* cannot discover, and therefore, like other Professions, endeavour to cry them down as a Couple of *meer Quacks*; but their Cures speak for them, like *Ward*'s Pills, and tho' they keep the Secret of the Composition to themselves, every body will soon be convinced of its Efficacy by the Operation.

You are therefore desired, for the publick Benefit, to insert this Letter in your next *Craftsman*; by which you will oblige many *departed Statesmen* here, and particularly

Your humble Servant,

N. MACHIAVEL.

Fog's Journal, Oct. 5. N° 309.

The Duty of the People's Representatives; with Richard IId's *pack'd Parliament.*

WHEN we elect a Person to represent us in Parliament, we leave our Lives and Fortunes, all our Rights and Privileges to his Disposal. So great a Confidence, with Men of Honour, will ever be repaid by the most watchful Care for the just Discharge of the Trust reposed in them. He must have a very grovelling Soul, who will wrong me, for no other Reason, but that my good Opinion of him has put it in his Power; and whoever betrays the Trust reposed in him by his Electors, will go into Measures to support a wicked M———r, and submit his Principals to grievous Taxes, that he may share in the Plunder, (for I can give unnecessary Imposts no better Name) is in my Opinion, much more despicable than the poor Wretch, whose Necessities force him to ask our Money on the Highway. I acknowledge we have had no Examples of such flagrant Villainy in our Times, and hope *England* will never be cursed with a M—y wicked enough to fear a Parliament elected by the unbiassed Suffrages of the People, or produce such despicable Wretches as can be capable of acting by Direction. The *French* Parliament never sold the Liberty of their Country, they were above Bribery, tho' not strong enough to resist a Standing Army, which, instigated by the Fears of a corrupt Minister, forced their enregistering a Decree they had bravely and obstinately refused. The *English* have formerly shewn themselves more passive, and a Parliament has, by the false Policy of a Prince, I mean by unjustifiable Measures, been packed, which was mean enough to make a Compliment to the Court of the Trust reposed in them. *Richard* II. as he was a weak Prince, and led away by Favourites, aimed at despotick Power; the Scheme for attaining of which, was laid by the Duke of *Ireland*, and was the raising an Army formidable enough to awe all real Patriots, then to call a Parliament, the Members of which were, by Management, to be all in the Court Interest, and this Parliament was to pass such Acts as were necessary to procure him an unlimited Power. What this Management was, we learn from History; all the Sheriffs were changed for such as promised to be subservient to the King's Will, and all Posts, which gave any Credit or Power in the Counties and Boroughs, were in like Manner fitted with the Creatures of the M———y, by Means of these, he had such Members returned as he was before assured would be guided by his Directions; but where it happened that any one was elected not agreeable to the Court, the Sheriffs were ordered not to return them, but to get others chosen in their stead; but as he had thus secured a considerable Majority, he was sure of their rejecting whomsoever he thought not fit for his Purpose, should a few elude his Vigilance. It was *Richard*'s Misfortune to be guided by Favourites, and *theirs*, to be hated by the People, wherefore they found it necessary to be feared. *Rapin* after mentioning these low Arts which the Duke of *Ireland* had put his Master upon, says, 'It must not be looked upon as an in-

'vincible

'vincible Difficulty for a King of *England* to 'execute such a Project. Experience has 'since convinced us of the Possibility of get-'ting a requisite Number of such Represen-'tatives elected, as are at the Devotion of the 'Court. Historians however take no notice, 'that such Practices were ever introduced be-'fore the Election of this Parliament (1398); A 'but it must likewise be said that it was one 'of the principal Causes of *Richard*'s Ruin.

Master Fog,

It is astonishing that to throw Dirt you banish even the Appearance of Veracity. In your last *Saturday*'s Paper, you charge a certain Person with Sorcery; (See p. 484.) this is B the greatest Indication of Malice you have yet given, for I believe all the World will agree that the Person you there hint at, was never taken for a Conjurer in his Life; his Brother indeed has lain under some Suspicions among the *French* and *Hollanders*, and I have heard the former often say, *C'est un pauvre Diable*, speaking of that consummate Politician, and you know a *pauvre Diable* may make a tolerable C Wizard. But, Master *Fog*, we are never to believe ill Reports of our Neighbours behind their Backs; and I never did believe, even when I was in my Error, I mean a declared Enemy to the illustrious Pair of Brothers, that either the one or the other had ever wrote their Names in Blood; and as a convincing Proof that you have basely scandalized the D R———t H——ble Person in saying he is a Wizard, read *Glanville* upon Witches, and a Penny Book printed for *S. Giles* in *Gilt-Spur Street*, entitled, *The famous History of the* Lancashire *Witches*, &c. and a Speech made in the last Parliament by ——— and you will find how different are the Characters, the one being bent upon Dissension and Mischief, the E other upon Peace; for this Speech makes him the most condescending, good-natured Man breathing, and is far from hinting at his being a Conjurer. *Your quondam Friend*,

TIM SCRUB.

London Journal, Oct. 5. N° 797.

Of the Constitution, *and the* Independency *of Parliaments*; *in Answer to the* Craftsman. F (See p. 476.)

WHEREVER the *Legislature* of any Country is lodged in *one single Power*, *unchecked* and *uncontrouled*, whether that Power consists of one Man, or several Hundreds, the Government is always *absolute* and *tyrannical*; for such is the Bias of human Nature to Ambition, and Authority, that where Power G is not *restrained* and *guarded*, it will ever degenerate into Tyranny.

This *strong Guard* against lawless Power, the Constitution of *Great Britain* furnishes us with. But our Preservation absolutely depends upon the *Equality* of the Powers lodged with the Constituent Parts of the Legislature. If the *Crown* grows too strong for the *Commons*, or the *Commons* for the *Crown*, we are gone; the *Balance* is lost, and *our Liberties* will soon follow; for those can only be secured by securing the *Equality* of the Balance; or, however, by keeping it as *near an Equality* as possible; for there is no reducing *Practical Politicks* to Mathematical Calculations.

The *Craftsman* asserts, That *an Equality* of the Balance is *essential* to the Constitution. I agree with him; and from thence infer, that the *King* must have *his real Powers*, as well as the other Parts of the Legislature; and that he can have *no real Power*, (now the *Crown Lands* are gone, and he *depends absolutely* upon the People for Money) but by *those Dependencies*, which his Power of disposing of all Places, Civil, Military, and Ecclesiastical, creates.

To support our Constitution, and carry on the great Ends of Government by *an Union* of the three Powers, there must be a *Relation* between the King and the People arising from *mutual Interests*; not a *nominal*, but a *real Relation*: He must receive Benefits from them, and they must receive Benefits from him. For, if the King could not *oblige*, as well as *be obliged*, and, if the *People* felt no Advantage derived from him to them, they would consider him no more than a *Royal Cypher*, or meer *Pageant of State*.

By a *Constitutional Independency* we understand, that the three Parts of the Legislature have their several Powers *distinct* from and *independent* of each other, which are always to be exercised by being *joined* or *opposed*, in subserviency to the Good of the Whole. The Commons, for Instance, have the Power of *giving Money*; and the King his Power of *Calling* and *Dissolving* Parliaments; and the *Disposition* of all Places of Honour, Trust, and Profit, in Church and State. The Commons, 'tis true, may *abuse* their Power, and *refuse* the King Money when *the Necessities* of the Kingdom call for it, as they did in the Reign of K. *William*: And the King may *abuse* his Executive Power. But what then? tho' these Powers are *capable* of being *abused*, yet they must both exist, or else *the Balance*, which is acknowledged *essential* to the Constitution, will be lost: *Powers* must not be taken away, because they *may be abused*; for then *all Power* must be taken away. A King may, indeed, endeavour to use his Power to the Detriment of the People; and when he does so, 'tis the Duty of the Commons to exert their *natural Independency*, and oppose him. The Commons *may abuse* their Power of giving Money, and distress National Affairs, thro' *false Principles* and *Hatred* to the King, as they did soon after the *Revolution*. When they do so, 'tis the King's Duty to make use of all *his Dependencies* throughout

the Kingdom, and oppoſe them; by *refuſing* his Voice, when 'tis not *reaſonable* to give it.

All theſe *diſtinct Powers* of the Legiſlature are, therefore, *neceſſary* to ſupport the Conſtitution, the Preſervation of which depends upon their *juſt Exerciſe*. If a King of *England* ſhould ever attempt to make an *unjuſt Uſe* of his Power, and labour to raiſe his Prerogative upon the Ruin of *the other Parts* of the Legiſlature, they muſt look to that, and exert *the Independency* which they derived from God, and which no Being, but him, can take from them.

We have been ſaved againſt *wicked and corrupt Kings*, by *honeſt and uncorrupt Parliaments*: We have been ſaved againſt *diſhoneſt and corrupt Parliaments*, by the Power of a good King *prudently* exerted: And we have been ſaved (to their immortal Honour I ſpeak it) by *the Houſe of Lords*, when the Prince upon the Throne, and the *Commons* ſeemed determined to deprive us of our Liberties. This happened in our own Days; and 'tis impoſſible we ſhould forget how glorioufly *thoſe noble Peers* ſtood in the Gap, when they voted *the Hanover Succeſſion in Danger*, under the Queen's Adminiſtration.

Weekly Miſcellany, Oct. 5, N° 95.

The Impoſſibility of Matter *being eternal.*

THERE is no Matter, however exiſting, but what may be ſuppoſed not to be: If ſo, the Idea of Matter implies nothing more in it, than the Poſſibility of exiſting. The Queſtion then is, What gives Matter its Exiſtence? It cannot be itſelf; for then it would have acted before it was, *i. e.* it would have been both *Cauſe* and *Effect*, *Efficient* and *the Thing effected*, which is abſurd. Again: If Matter gave Exiſtence to itſelf, it would be ſelf-exiſtent; and if ſelf-exiſtent, its Exiſtence would be neceſſary, and ſo no longer poſſible: It remains therefore, that Matter muſt depend upon ſome other Being for Exiſtence.

2. If Matter exiſted from Eternity, it had no Beginning of Exiſtence; and if no Beginning of Exiſtence, it is independent on any Being for Exiſtence; and what is independent, is incapable of being affected by any external Cauſe; and if ſo, no external Cauſe has Power over it.

3. If Matter be *unproduced*, and depends upon no Being for Exiſtence, it has Exiſtence of itſelf; and what has Exiſtence of itſelf, its Exiſtence is *neceſſary*, i. e. its Exiſtence is *eſſential* to it, or ſuch is its Nature, that it cannot but exiſt: And if ſo, it cannot be brought into, or removed from Being, by any Cauſe whatever; and what cannot be brought into, or removed from Being, by any Cauſe whatever, is omnipotent; and if omnipotent, it being of equal Power with any other Being, no other Being has a Power to oppoſe, however not to prevail over it.

4. And if Matter be *independent*, and *omnipotent*, nothing beſides itſelf could have exiſted from Eternity. For Omnipotence and Independency, *naturally* and *in Idea*, include a Power and Authority over every individual Thing and Being; and if Matter has a Power and Authority over every individual Thing and Being, every individual Thing and Being muſt be *ſubordinate to*, and *dependent on* it; and if every individual Thing is *ſubordinate to*, and *dependent on* it, it alone can be *omnipotent* and *independent*; and if it alone be *omnipotent* and *independent*, there cannot be two *independent* and *eternal* Principles.

5. But if our Ideas of *Eternity*, *abſolute Independency*, and *Omnipotence*, exclude all Beings but one, from having theſe Attributes aſcribed to, and predicated of them, the Nature and Properties of Body will not admit Matter to be this eternal and independent Being; becauſe no Portion of Matter, *how ſmall ſoever*, or in *whatever Situation*, can *poſſibly* be one *ſimple indiviſible* Being, but is compoſed of innumerable diſtinct Parts, each of which are compoſed of others, and theſe of others; and ſo on *in infinitum*.

Laſtly. What is *eternal* is *independent*, and what is *independent*, is incapable of undergoing any *Changes* or *Alterations*, *ab extra*. But Matter is liable to undergo an Infinity of *Changes* and *Alterations*; conſequently it cannot be *independent*, nor conſequently *eternal*.

A true and exact Account of the Taking and Apprehending ſeveral Sorts of Rogues, for robbing the Garden of the Rev. Dr. Swift, D. S. P. D.

By Solomon Shuttleworth, *Drapier.*

WHEREAS an Advertiſement was lately publiſhed by the Rev. Dr. *Swift*, offering a Reward of two Guineas, for the Diſcovery of thoſe who were concerned in robbing his Vineyard near St. *Kevan*'s: And, whereas he gave a very particular Deſcription of one Perſon, ſtrongly ſuſpected of the ſaid Robbery, *viz.* that he commonly wore a very dark Wig, and had an extraordinary ill Countenance: Now, this is to acquaint the ſaid Dr. *Swift*, that I, *Solomon Shuttleworth*, Drapier (thinking it the Duty of every Native of this Kingdom, to hinder that worthy Patriot from Injuries of all Kinds) have taken a great deal of Pains to detect the Robber, by ſeizing ſeveral Perſons, who in my Opinion exactly anſwered every Part of the Deſcription.

On Monday laſt, I met a Fellow with a dark Wig, and a moſt villainous Countenance, juſt coming out of the *Tholſel*; he had, methought, the Look and Air, and Gait of a private Robber; I ran and ſeized him inſtantly; called for Aſſiſtance, and roared out my Reaſons for ſo doing; but I happened to be a little

little mistaken in the Person, for the Standers-by told me, he was an Attorney at Law, in good Practice, who had no Occasion to rob Gardens, since he had a more profitable Way of making Money, and with much greater Security. In the Evening I fixed on another in St. *John's-Lane*, who seemed by the Paleness of his Face, the Lankness of his Body, and the sheepish Cast of one of his Eyes, together with a very dark Wig, to be undoubtedly the Person I was seeking. I seized him; he trembled, and cried that he was a Taylor, with a large Family, and swore that he never stole any Thing in that Way, during his Life.

On Thursday last, I cast my Eyes on a Fellow, who had, I think, the worst of Countenances, wrapt up in a dark Wig; his Look expressed a Mixture of Insolence and Folly, not without a strong Tincture of the Highwayman in it: He seemed capable of the boldest Villainies, and at first Sight made me conclude him the Robber I was seeking. As I was running to secure him, a Friend of mine stopped me; persuaded me to desist, assuring me, that he knew the Fellow I was going to attack; that his Mind was still worse, if possible, than his Face; that he would take an Opportunity to cut my Throat in a dark Corner; that he seldom walked without murdering Weapons about him; and that after all, he was no Chandler, but a Common Serjeant. I wonder the King will employ such ill-looking Fellows, to be a living Terror to his Majesty's loyal Subjects.

In short, having escaped many Dangers, by attacking Multitudes with dark Wigs, and very ill Countenances, I have, as yet, not fixed on the proper Person, but shall still continue my Zeal for the Interest of that worthy Patriot; and, I thought it not improper to take this publick Method to testify it, being his most

Dublin, Sept. 28, 1734. *Faithful Servant*, Solomon Shuttleworth, *Drapier*.

Craftsman, Oct. 12. N° 432.

Of the Craftsman's *Treatment of the Ministerial Writers.*

SIR,

THE Manner, in which the *Independency of Parliaments* hath been treated in your late Papers, seems to have equally alarmed the *Friends* and the *Enemies of our Constitution*; the *one* from their unbiassed Zeal for its Preservation, the *other* from their venal Devotion to its Ruin.

It is evident, if we regard the Opinion of the Publick concerning *these Papers*, that they have been received with the same Ardour with which they were manifestly written; since otherwise it would be impossible to account for the Clamour, which the Publication of them hath raised, and the painful Employment it hath found for every low Drudge of the whole *ministerial Tribe*.

Upon slight Occasions, it seems, they are taught not to collect their political Strength; lest the Weakness of their Cause should be too openly exposed by this Variety of Inconsistencies, to which so many *bungling Hands* would naturally reduce it. Their fixt, united Attention can be gained by nothing less than that of the People's; whose uncommon Approbation of any *particular Principle of Liberty* may be almost exactly known from the Number of *Slaves* employed to oppose it.

If we may estimate the Merit of your *late Dissertations* by this Measure, and discern the Influence they have had on the Minds of the *People*, that *Load of Trumpery*, with which the Press hath groaned for these three Weeks past, would amply defend the *one*, and be an undeniable Proof of the *other*.

It will be perceived, without the least Pains to shew it, that the Debate, as it stands referred to the *Publick*, (from whose Jurisdiction no Appeal lies) is here clearly stated. The Arguments must have reach'd the *Sense of the People*, or so labour'd an Opposition would have been as useless as it is despicable; for if *Corruption* did not support *those*, who ought to be destroyed, upon what Principle did it become necessary so pathetically to support *Corruption*? Why are all the *Powers of Darkness and Confusion* employed to obscure so feeble a Ray as your Papers convey'd to the People, if it was not esteemed a Subject of so peculiar a Nature that they ought not to behold it in a *true Light*?

Is not every Pen which hath yet appeared against you in this Dispute, manifestly guided by that *undue Influence*, of which you so justly complain? Is there one amongst the *whole Collection*, that hath learnt to *set his Mark*, who does not subsist by the *Wages of Iniquity*? Or who has any other Idea of *Liberty* or *Virtue*, than that of being free from all Restraints in his Attempts to write the People out of *both*?

As many of their Letters are fill'd with Reflections upon the *unkind Reproach* and *indecent Appellations*, by which your Correspondent hath distinguish'd them in his late Papers, I will condescend to examine their Claim to *better Treatment*; in which I shall avoid any Commerce at present, with that old Drone Mother *Osborne*, who plainly intimates that she has a long Journey to take; and as she is too aged and weather-beaten to explore a *new Path*, or travel with any Spirit in the *old*, I shall patiently wait till *this Patriot in Politicks* hath finished her Course, and then some Considerations may perhaps be

ered to the Publick, if any ſhould be thought neceſſary to diſentangle the Argument from her aukward Sophiſtries and Miſrepreſentations.

To enter into a particular Diſcuſſion of the Views of *theſe Writers*, their Qualifications to ſupport thoſe Views, and the Honeſty of endeavouring to accompliſh them, will be quite unneceſſary; ſince theſe Points have been long ago conſidered and determined by the Publick. That they are the ſworn Enemies of *Truth, Virtue* and *Liberty*, was known the very Moment they appeared to be the Friends of *him*, whoſe chief Aim it hath long been to remove *theſe Diſtinctions* from among Men: That they have oppoſed (tho' impotently, yet with all their Might) every Argument, which *Truth and Reaſon* could ſtate in Support of *Liberty*; that they have been as willing, as they were unable, to wreſt this Bleſſing from us, and to defend every Meaſure, which could be conceiv'd to have the remoteſt Tendency to that End, are Things ſo notorious that it would be ridiculous to attempt a Proof of them; and unleſs we conclude that theſe *Contenders for Slavery* are the only Perſons in the Nation unacquainted with the Character they have ſo long obtained, it will be extremely difficult to account for their complaining ſo loudly, where all the World agrees there is the leaſt Reaſon for it; tho' this is not the only Inſtance in which their Singularity is as much the Effect of a *bad Head*, as it is in others of a *bad Heart*.

Strange! that theſe ſhould be univerſal Ought, and yet that it ſhould be *Slander* to give them the *Titles*, to which their Conduct hath entitled them! But do theſe *honeſt Men* really want to be informed that your treating them in ſuch a Manner has been of great Advantage to them, by affording them an Opportunity of learning from the Publick what they pretend to be wholly ignorant of before; as well as of lamenting this inſupportable Affliction to their *Patron*, and inſiſting that their Pay ought to be advanced, in Proportion to their *Infamy*?

Taking the Characters of *theſe unhappy Gentlemen*, in this Light, with the general Opinion of the People in Support of it, your *Correſpondent*'s Compliance with what they inſiſt on would be as great a Violence to the *Language of England*, as they have offered to our *Liberties*. A clear and diſtinct Uſe of Words is now ſo generally admitted to be eſſential to all Enquiries, that it would be an Affront to common Senſe to endeavour at a Miſrepreſentation of them; eſpecially in *theſe Inſtances*, in which their Meaning and proper Uſe are univerſally agreed upon.

I will ſuppoſe, Mr. *D'Anvers*, that your Correſpondent had ſacrificed Truth to Complaiſance; and, inſtead of treating his *Adverſaries* as they deſerved, or giving them *theſe Epithets*, by which alone they are known to the People, had uſed *Terms*, which they did not underſtand, or knew to be improper; would not the Imputation of *Obſcurity* and *Falſhood* have as juſtly lain upon *him*, as it now does upon theſe *honeſt Gentlemen*?

The *real Argument*, as Mother *Oſborne* has it, *lies here*. Their *Appellations* are taken from their *Proſtitution*, and not their *Proſtitution* from their *Appellations*. They are not *abandon'd Hirelings, Slaves, Proſtitutes, State-Miſcreants, Tools of Power, Devourers of Merit, Engines of Corruption*, &c. becauſe they are ſo *called*, but they are ſo called, becauſe they are engaged in a Sort of Buſineſs, which cannot be carried on without *ſuch Workmen*; and it was never yet eſteemed an Incivility to diſtinguiſh any Perſon by his *Trade*, as long as he continued in the *Profeſſion*.

A Writer in the *Courant* upon the foregoing *Paper*, ſays: If a *Writer* betakes himſelf to theſe *low* Arts, what muſt all ſober, underſtanding Men think of him, but this; —— that he had undertaken to write upon a Subject of great *Importance*, for ſuch the *Freedom* and *Independency* of *Parliament* muſt be acknowledged to be, —— that he had treated it, either in a very weak and trifling, or in a very ſophiſtical and diſhoneſt Manner, —— that his *Weakneſs*, his *Sophiſtry*, or *Diſhoneſty*, or perhaps all of them, had been ſufficiently expos'd, —— that this had *reaſh'd the Senſe of the People*, and equally *alarm'd* the Friends and the Enemies of the Conſtitution, —— that he thought it abſolutely incumbent upon him to make *ſome* Reply; and being fully convinced within himſelf, that the Arguments brought againſt him were *unanſwerable*, aſſumes the *Garb* of a *Conqueror*, tells his Readers, with what *Ardour* his Papers have been received by the Publick; and without taking the leaſt *Notice* of one Argument, that had been made uſe of to expoſe the *Fallacy* and *Diſhoneſty* of his Papers and Deſign, publiſhes a *Letter*, which he calls a Defence of the Arguments, he had advanced, ſtuffed with nothing but the moſt *ſtupid Encomiums* of his own Performances, and abuſing his Opponents, by endeavouring to fix on them all the *low, ſcurrilous Names*, that his *Envy, Malice*, or *Rancour*, could ſuggeſt to him.

Fog's Journal, Oct. 12. N° 310.

The Duty of a Patriot in Times of Danger.

THERE is a Kind of Men who mean no Ill to their Country, and who would not be tempted either by Place or Penſion to

join in any Measures ruinous to its true Interests, and yet by a fatal Indolence in their Tempers are altogether useless to it.

Of this Sort was *Atticus*, who lived at a Time that Attempts were made to destroy the Liberties of *Rome*, and lived to see those Attempts accomplish'd. It is true, that *Atticus* had no Hand in them himself, but he never enter'd the Lists, or assisted those who opposed them; he might perhaps have some Love for his Country, but he loved his own Quiet much better, and whatever Character he might have left, as a fine Gentleman, he was certainly a very bad Patriot. (See Vol. I. p. 248.)

There is another Sort who have not the Excuse of Indolence (bad as it is) to plead, they can be active enough in Pursuit of their own private Interest, but when their Country is divided into Parties, a little selfish Cunning gets the better of their Liveliness, and they think it a wiser Part to lie by till the Storm is blown over; these are such Men as are half honest, which my Lord *Rochester* says, is being very great Knaves; they have not Virtue enough to join with those who struggle for Liberty, nor Courage enough to list with those who are aiming to oppress it, but wait to see which Side shall prevail, in order to make their Court at last to the Successful.

There is one Excuse commonly made by these cautious Men, at such Times as Liberty seems to lose Ground; which is, that they retire because they can do no Good, that they should only expose themselves by a fruitless Opposition, without doing their Country any Service, and the like; but if these cowardly Sentiments had possess'd all Men at all Times, no Country could have kept its Liberty long, the History of all the Commonwealths of Antiquity would have been much shorter than we read them; and there are many and many Instances, where national Points of the utmost Consequence have been carried by a Majority of one Voice, so that in an Assembly consisting of some Hundreds, any one Man may at certain Times save or destroy the Constitution.

I am afraid we have had many of these cautious Tempers in much later Times than those of *Atticus*, Men who flatter themselves that they do their Duty to their Country, if at such Times as oppressive Measures are taken they share not in the Spoil; content with this they hug themselves in their Privacy and Safety, and abandon the Commonwealth to be worried by Beasts of Prey.

A Writer of our own Country has discuss'd this Point long ago, he has examin'd whether an honest Man can remain neuter in Times of Faction, whether this Faction consists of a certain Body of the People aiming at Anarchy, or of those in Power tending to enslave their Country.

It has been long a Question (says he) *whether a good Citizen, and a virtuous Man is to withdraw himself in Times of Danger, and whether he may cease to act in the Concerns of the Commonwealth, and meddle neither Way, when civil Discord rages, and when his Fellow-Citizens are divided into strong and powerful Factions among themselves? That he ought to use his utmost Endeavours to calm the Tumults, that he should be an active Mediator to reconcile Differences, that he should bend all his Faculties to set those right who are pursuing Measures destructive of the publick Good, and to persuade them to sacrifice to their Country's Safety, Resentments of any Kind whatsoever, is a Point that will not be disputed; but if this cannot be compass'd, if their Passions are wound up to such a Pitch, as to be uncapable for a while of listning to the Dictates of Reason, if their Minds are so ulcerated as not to bear the Application of present Remedies, is a just Man, and a good Patriot in such a Situation, to get out of the Storm, and to join himself with neither of the contending Parties?*

Solon *the* Athenian *seems to have given a full Decision in this weighty Point, when he made a Law which noted with Infamy such as in any civil Sedition pretended to stand neuter*; wherefore, Plutarch *says, he design'd, that private Men should not so regard their own particular Affairs, and the Security of their own Persons, as to abandon their Concern for the Publick; nor think it a wise Caution not to participate in the Miseries and Misfortunes of their Country, but that rather in the very Beginning of the Seditions, Troubles or Ferments, they should declare for those who they conceiv'd to have the justest Cause, and lend all their Assistance to that Side, and run the same Fortune with them; and not lie by, and wait an Opportunity of joining without Danger, with that Party which should happen to remain victorious.*

London Journal, Oct. 12. N° 793.

Of Corruption, and Members of Parliament holding Places under the Crown.

CORruption is giving a Place, Pension, any Gratuity, Fee, or Reward, to induce a Man to act against his own Judgment, or against what he conceives to be the true Interest *of his Country*. Serving the *King*, *Government*, or the *Court*, is not Corruption, as long as they are not corrupt, or carrying any Designs against the *real Good* of the Community.

The great Purpose of our pretended Patriots is to persuade the People, that no Member of *Parliament* ought to hold a Place at *Court*; and that 'tis *inconsistent* with the Design of his being chosen a Representative of the People. This hath been often said

least Whigs before the Revolution, and by weak or *disappointed* ones since; and Bills have been brought into the House of Commons, and passed that House too, *to disable all their Members from holding any Places under the King.*

Whoever reads Bishop *Burnet's* 2d Volume, will see the Truth of what hath been lately observed by the Author of *A Letter to a Friend in the Country*, that this hath been the Game always play'd by the *Leaders* of Parties *out of Place*. The Rev. Historian says, *That when the Party that was set against the Court, in* 1693, *saw* they could carry nothing *in either House of Parliament, they agreed to call* hard Names, *and said we were governed by* Standing Armies, *and* Standing Parliaments; *and they try'd to carry a Bill that render'd all Members of the House of Commons* incapable *of Places of Trust and Profit; so that every Member that accepted a Place should be expelled the House, and be incapacitated for being chosen again to sit in the current Parliament:* But the Lords threw out this Bill, and gave a very good Reason for it, *That* the Passing *it would* establish an Opposition *between the* Crown *and the* People; *as if those who were* employ'd *by the One could not be* trusted *by the Other.*

This was an unanswerable Reason; and 'tis my Opinion, that if ever such a Bill should pass, our Constitution, which is own'd by these very Writers to be *admirably adjusted* to secure the Liberties of the People, would, in the Course of a few Years, be entirely subverted: Those two Powers, the King and Commons, without whose *Union* and *Agreement* no Laws can be made, nor the great and fundamental Business of the Government carried on, would be *absolutely separated by Law:* From that Moment it would be taken for granted, that the *Court* and *Country* Interest were entirely inconsistent: That *the King* was an Enemy to the *People*, and that all who *served him, disserved them.* This Opinion would lay the Foundation of eternal Suspicions and Jealousies, and *naturally create such an Opposition* between the *Court* and *Commons*, as must necessarily end in some fatal Convulsions of State: for such a Bill once passed, that every Gentleman who was thought *worthy* to be trusted by his *Majesty*, was *unworthy* to be trusted by the *People*, supposes the *King* and *People* diametrically opposite to one another, and that they have *irreconcilable* Interests; the Consequence of which would be, their never resting till one had got the Victory over the other; 'tis no great Matter which; for either Way our Liberties would be gone, whether the *King* or the *Commons* triumphed.

We are very well at present; so well, that we cannot get by a Change, but may lose, and that terribly too. We may, perhaps, fear that a House of Commons should be *corrupted* by the Favour of Courts; this is possible, and there's no preventing the Corruption of those who *will be corrupted.* Our Representatives do well to secure our Constitution by the best Methods they can think of; but, after all, we must trust *England* to a *House of Commons*; that is, *to itself.* We have *one great Security* against their ever giving up our Liberties; which is, that 'tis *out of the Power* of the *King* to give them an *Equivalent*; we have nothing to apprehend, while we chuse Gentlemen of *free Principles, large Estates*, and *good Sense*, which depends upon ourselves; we have *now* the Power of *rejecting* a Man who hath *accepted a Place*, and that, I think, is Power enough, and as much as our Constitution will bear.

F. OSBORNE.

Weekly Miscellany, Oct. 12. N° 96.

The Abuse of the Word Freethinker.

THE Term *Freethinker* has been very scandalously prostituted by those who call themselves by that *honourable* Title. The true Import of it conveys a most amiable Idea; the Persons who have assumed it, deserve an Appellation that implies every Thing reproachful to human Understanding. The Word *Freethinking* has been explained to the following Purport, by Mr. *Collins*; and if his *Conduct* had been answerable to his *Definition*, his Character had been truly valuable, I had almost said more than mortal. 'A *Free-* 'thinker, according to that Writer, is one 'who is *free*, or ready to enquire into the 'Meaning and *Truth* of any Proposition that 'merits an Examination, and to give it all the 'Consideration which its *Nature* and *Impor-* 'tance requires; and whose *Judgment* is 'free, or at *Liberty* to determine itself ac- 'cording as the *Evidence* shall appear.' This, I say, is a Character which cannot, in its utmost Extent, belong to any Man living, since every Man is liable to *some Degree* of Influence from *Interest*, from *Inclination* and *Affection*, from *Impressions* and *Prepossessions*, imperceptibly made and entertain'd; all which will, proportionably to their Power, destroy the *Freedom* of Thought and Judgment. But as a Man may *properly* be called a *good* Man, who *habitually* endeavours to do his Duty, notwithstanding some *occasional* Escapes and *invincible* Infirmities; so I would call him a *Freethinker*, whose *sincere Desire* and *Endeavour* it is, to enquire carefully into such Truths as belong to him, and who *honestly* determines his Judgment according as the Evidence appears to him, tho' he should not, at *all* Times, be *absolutely* free from Prejudice and Prepossession. In the *strict* Sense of the Word, *no* Man can be a *Freethinker*; in the *looser* Sense, *every good* Man is one; a *wicked* Man cannot be so in *any* proper Sense

But let us try the Pretenſions of thoſe who talk ſo much of *Freethinking*, by their own Definition, and we ſhall find, that, to give them a Title to the Character, a *Freethinker* ſhould be defined thus: 'One who is *free*, or 'ready to think, or not to think, on any 'Subject; to enquire, or not to enquire, into 'the Meaning or Truth of any Propoſition, A 'however it *merits* an Examination; to give 'it ſuch a Conſideration, not as is agreeable 'to its Importance, but to his Pleaſure; and 'to believe or diſbelieve, according as it ſuits 'his Inclination, or preſent Conveniency, 'without any Regard to the Evidence.' *Religion*, beyond all Diſpute, *merits* Examination more than any other Subject, and its *Importance* deſerves the moſt ſerious and careful Conſideration; and eſpecially the *Chriſtian* Religion, whoſe Precepts are the moſt excellent, whoſe Doctrines are the moſt ſublime, whoſe Sanctions are the ſtrongeſt. The Perſons, uſually denominated *Freethinkers*, diſbelieve the Truth of this Religion. Now, what is their uſual Conduct in this moſt important Concern? By far the greateſt Part of C them have never *conſidered*, *examined*, or *thought* at all about it, unleſs by Chance they have had an Opportunity of picking up ſome ſtale Objection, or ſtaler Joke. The *City Apprentice*, or *Attorney's Clerk* has heard, or overheard, at home, ſome Infidel Converſation; or perhaps has been told, by ſome of his Companions, that ſuch and ſuch ſhrewd D Objections were ſtarted by one of their *Leaders*, at the *Coffee-Houſe* or *Tavern*; and thus furniſhed, he ſets up immediately for a *Freethinker*: Then, ſtand clear; ſlap-daſh at the firſt *Parſon* that unluckily falls in his Way. The Youth has found out all the Craft of the *Prieſts*, before the poor Thing underſtands the Art and Myſtery of his own E Buſineſs; and can diſprove the *Bible*, tho' he can ſcarce read it in his Mother-Tongue. Vaſtly pleaſed, that he has had the good Luck to be let into the Secret, he ſoon grows a *Free-liver* too, and the Catalogue of his Virtues is as ſhort as the Articles of his Faith.

The *Maſter*, it is likely, has gone a little farther in his Enquiries, has attended the F Lectures of a *Heathen Rabbi*, in Perſon, and received thoſe Things at firſt Hand, which the *Servant* has by Tradition. It may be, too, he has read over a ſmall *Pamphlet*, or two, againſt Chriſtianity; if not peruſed, the Title Page, the Preface, and here and there a Bit of Dr. *Tindal*'s Book, or been well informed by the *ſedate* and *judicious* Mr. *Budgell*, that it is unanſwerable (tho' it has G been thoroughly anſwered by ſeveral) and ſo the Buſineſs of Information is made very ſhort, and the Man fully ſatisfied, without any Trouble. As for conſulting the Learned about the Force of the Objections, or reading any Arguments in *Proof* of *Chriſtianity*, it is all needleſs; the Caſe is clear, and he is very poſitive, that nothing of Moment can be offered.

I am afraid moſt of our young Sparks of Faſhion and Fortune, who pretend to *Freethinking*, are in the ſame Claſs, and have taken as little Pains to underſtand what they take as much Pains to depreciate. Many more who read, read only to confirm themſelves in their Infidelity, by confining their Studies to their own Side of the Queſtion. If any Thing comes out in its Favour, every Part of it is nothing ſhort of *Demonſtration*, and the Author entitled to *Horace*'s *Jamque Opus Exegi*; and if you recommend an Anſwer, tho' written by the moſt able and eminent Hand, it is not worth looking into; and for Fear well-meaning People ſhould loſe their Time and their Labour, they take what Care they can, that no Body ſhall ſuffer by it but the *Bookſeller* and the *Author*. Very few, if any of them, have gone thro' a regular Examination of the Evidence on both Sides, read the beſt Authors, and conſulted the beſt living Judges, upon any Difficulty, ſuſpending their Determination, 'till they have uſed the beſt Means of Information in their Power. A Man may have a *rational* Conviction of the Truth of *Chriſtianity*, that has not Leiſure, or Capacity, to go thro' all the Learning and Subtilty of the Diſputes about it; but no Man can *rationally diſbelieve it*, till he has fairly and candidly heard and conſidered what can be ſaid for it by the moſt able Advocates.

Univerſal Spectator, Oct. 19. N° 315.

Of Sincerity in aſking and giving Advice.

THERE is no greater Inſtance of good Senſe, than to be capable of *receiving Advice*; for we may eaſily find that the greateſt Part of Mankind are unanimouſly reſolved to play the Hypocrite with one another. The Perſon, who aſks *Advice*, ſeldom means any Thing more by it, than to let you know either what he has already done, or is reſolv'd to do: The Giver of Advice therefore knowing that this is a common Maxim, repays the Fraud of his Friend with another of his own, and inſtead of conſidering the Thing propoſed, conſiders only what the Intention of his Friend is, and immediately adviſes him to that.

There are ſome who aſk Advice, but proclaim their own Reſolution before they can receive any Anſwer —— *Shall I do this?* —— *Yes*, —— *I will do it* —— is the conſtant Practice of an old Barriſter of my Acquaintance; whilſt my Friend Mr. *Wilful* taken a contrary Method, and with his —— *I will do this* —— *Shall I?* —— makes his aſking Advice

Advice an equal Abſurdity. Mrs. *Indigo* in *Cheapſide* is of the ſame Turn of Mind with my Friend *Wilful*; ſhe never does any Thing without conſulting her Huſband, but wiſely lets him know her Reſolution firſt, and aſks his Advice after. The other Afternoon, Mrs. *Edging*, the Milliner, brought a *Bruſſels* Head to ſhew her, of about 80 Pieces Value; ſhe immediately aſked her Huſband's Advice, after her uſual Way, whether ſhe ſhould have it or no; he argued very ſeriouſly to perſuade her againſt it, but found it to his Coſt, that her aſking whether ſhe *ſhould* have it, was only her Manner of telling him ſhe own'd.

Jack Eaſy has a far happier Way of managing his Wife, who will not take the leaſt Step without his Approbation: If ſhe'd walk in the Mall, go to the Play, make one at a Party of Quadrille, ſhe never fails to aſk his Advice firſt. *Jack* puts on a grave Face, and violently perſuades her to what he knows ſhe's reſolv'd on: She cries, *Well, ſince you adviſe me to it, my Dear, I will,* —— and thus certainly obeys him: By this Means, he is the moſt abſolute Huſband in the World.

There is another Set of People, who aſk Advice only to court our Flattery; and 'tis eaſy to obſerve, notwithſtanding all their Grimace, that it's rather Praiſes than Counſel they conſult us for. A young *Author* of the preſent Age ſhew'd a Poem to one of the *Greateſt Genius's* in it, and conſulted him as the Oracle who was to pronounce its Fate: The Gentleman, with the utmoſt Tenderneſs and good Nature, yet with a Sincerity above the common Mode, pointed out its numerous Errors, and adviſ'd him againſt committing it to the Preſs. The young Bard was incapable of receiving Advice, and thought it was nothing but Envy to ſuppreſs his *Merit*: He ran immediately to ſome wiſer Counſellors, who complaiſantly applauded his Piece; he printed it, and proved himſelf a Blockhead on Record.

Sincerity in giving *Advice* is always received ill by all but thoſe Perſons who have goodSenſe enough to bear with it; and the ſincereCounſellor comes off well, if he is not recompenc'd with ſome blunt Remonſtrance or keen Reproach.

Craſiſman, Oct. 19. N° 433.

A Letter from Mr. Courtley Grub, *concerning the late Negotiations and Treaties.*

SIR,

ABout four Years ago I ſent you a Letter, in Defence of a *certain great Miniſter*, which you did me the Juſtice to inſert in your Paper. I think it my Duty to throw in t'other Mite, and muſt once more rely on your Impartiality for making it publick.

Notwithſtanding your Drollery on our *late Treaties*, and little Witticiſms on the *two noble Brothers*, who have had the Honour to conduct them, I will undertake to defend both our *Negotiators* and our *Negotiations*, and prove the Abilities of *one* from the Effects of the *other*.

There cannot be a greater Mark of true *political Wiſdom* than the Choice of *proper Means* to attain the *End*, which a Man propoſes to himſelf. Now, if we look back to the Year 1725, it will appear that the Deſign of *theſe Gentlemen* was to reduce the Power of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, which was then become formidable, by its Acquiſitions in the late War, and had farther ſtrengthened itſelf by an Alliance with *Spain*. Beſides, our *Miniſters* had the Sagacity to diſcover ſeveral private Articles in *this Alliance*, by which it was ſtipulated, to deſtroy our Trade both to the *Eaſt* and *Weſt Indies*, to wreſt *Gibraltar* out of our Hands, and to place the *Pretender* upon the Throne of *Great Britain*. Of this, it ſeems, *They had poſitive Intelligence, and Intelligence from more than one Perſon, and ſuch as could be entirely depended upon*. The Ingratitude of this Return from the *Emperor* for all our good Offices, is very pathetically ſet forth by the Author of the *Enquiry*, * ‘ Is not this the ‘ *Prince*, ſays he, whom we once bore upon ‘ our Shoulders out of the Reach of all his ‘ Enemies, and ſupported by our Strength, ‘ in the Time of his own greateſt Weakneſs? ‘ The *Prince*, whom our Zeal, and our Fleets, ‘ and our Treaſure laboured to fix upon the ‘ Throne of *Spain* at a Time, when Diffi- ‘ culties and Dangers ſurrounded the whole ‘ *Imperial* Houſe at *Vienna*? And now veſt- ‘ ed, as we always wiſhed him to be, with ‘ the high and auguſt Dignity he enjoys? Is ‘ not this the *Emperor*, who may juſtly be ‘ ſaid to owe the Preſervation even of all his ‘ hereditary Countries, and of his *Imperial* ‘ Crown itſelf, (if we may have Liberty to ‘ ſay ſo) to that hazardous and unequal'd March ‘ of the confederate Army into *Germany*, and ‘ to the happy Conſequences of it? And all ‘ this long Scene of Service and Toil entered ‘ into and proſecuted by us, we muſt own a- ‘ gainſt the repeated Remonſtrances of many, ‘ *That we were haſtening apace to make* ‘ *him a Power too great and too formidable*; ‘ *and that we ſhould find in him at laſt the* ‘ *Enemy we then dreaded only in another?*

This Ingratitude and even Breach of Faith in his *Imperial Majeſty* was farther illuſtrated by Mr. *Walſingham*, in another Inſtance. — † ‘ Had the ancient Proverb of *German Faith* ‘ been infallible, a *certain great Prince* had ‘ granted an *Inveſtiture*, which he once ſo- ‘ lemnly promiſed, on a very valuable Conſi- deration,

* *Enquiry*, p. 6. † *Free-Briton*, *Nov.* 20, 1730.

'deration, nor would he have expected a 'Million Sterling, as a refreshing Fee.

When so much *ill Usage* was joined to the Consideration of that *exorbitant Power*, which the *House of Austria* had acquired by the Treaty of *Utrecht*, it was certainly the Duty of our *Ministers* to resent the *one* and reduce the *other*; for, as it is excellently observed by a very *eminent Hand*, '* Power is fluctuating; 'and tho' we did lend the *Emperor* an helping Hand, we are not to let him do what 'he pleases. When we set him up, it was 'good Politicks; and now it is equally good 'to take him down.'

As this, I say, was the Duty of our *Ministers*, so we shall find that it was really their Intention. The first Step they took, for this Purpose, was to concert a close Alliance with *France*; which, being the natural Rival of the House of *Austria*, was the most proper Confederate at such a Juncture; or, as another *eminent Author* expresses it much better, † 'it 'was thought the most adviseable Step, for 'the common Good of both Nations, (*meaning* England *and* Holland) that *England* 'should first strengthen herself by an Alliance 'with some other considerable Powers, whose 'Interest it is to check the *Imperial Power*; 'and as the Opposition between the *Emperor* 'and *France* must be constant in all Junctures 'and Events, an Alliance with *France* was 'certainly the most natural Alliance *England* 'could have, in this Case.

Thus far then it is clear, that our *Ministers* made Use of proper Means to attain the End they had in View; but as the *Emperor* was still supported by his Alliance with *Spain*, this End could not be compleatly accomplished, whilst *that Union* subsisted. The next Point therefore to be gained was a Dissolution of *that Alliance*; and this was at length happily effected by the Treaty of *Seville*, which the Author of the *British Journal* very justly extolled as 'one of the best good Fortunes, which 'could befal this Nation. Here was the *Master String*, said he, and this we have touched with Success.' It is true, indeed, that *this ingenious Gentleman*, as well as one of his *Patrons*, had the Misfortune to assert the direct contrary about 7 *Months* before; which involved him in a small Contradiction, and gave you an Opportunity of triumphing over him. But this Objection was only personal, and did not affect the main Argument in Favour of the *Seville Treaty*, which was vindicated with great Force by several *other Gentlemen*, whom you call *ministerial Advocates*; particularly a *right rev. Author*, who *considered it very impartially*, and observed that it ‡ *answered all our Purposes, all we could expect from a Treaty.*

Well then, the Treaties of *Hanover* and *Seville* were rightly calculated to bring about the End proposed by the *Negotiators*; that is, to humble the Pride of the House of *Austria*. But the principal Stipulation of the *Seville Treaty*, relating to *Don Carlos*, could not be put in Execution, without great Hazard and Expence, against the *Emperor*'s Consent; and he was so far from shewing any such Disposition, that he poured a numerous Army into *Italy* to prevent it. Here therefore was Occasion for another Cast of our Art, by negotiating his *Imperial Majesty* into Compliance, and making him, as it were, the Instrument of his own Humiliation. This likewise was effected by the last Treaty of *Vienna*, which I look upon as one of the finest Strokes of Policy, that any Age hath produced; for notwithstanding your Insinuations, that we left *France* in the Lurch, upon this Occasion; if any Body can be said to have been left in the Lurch, it must be the Emperor, who hath hitherto proved the only Sacrifice, and been made the Scape-Goat of *Europe*. The *Spaniards* were hardly got warm in their new Quarters before they discovered an Inclination to extend their Bounds, and having united themselves to *France*, who had gained over the King of *Sardinia*, have verify'd Mr. *Mouhy*'s Observation in the ‖ *British Journal*, 'that 'a Prince in Possession of *Parma* and *Tuscany*, 'assisted by the Treasures, the Fleets and Forces of *Spain*, might with the greatest Ease 'subdue the *Austrian* Territories, *Sicily*, *Milan*, and *Naples*." Indeed, when he found it necessary to contradict himself, in order to justify the Treaty of *Seville*, and the Consequences of this Position stared him full in the Face, he corrected himself, and told us '§ that 'if *Spain* should presume to break the Bounds 'of Power in *Italy*, there are formidable 'Princes will arise in Opposition; perhaps 'selves.' Who these *formidable Princes* are I know not; but they have not yet thought fit to exert themselves, tho' it is now almost two Years since *Spain* began to *break her Bounds* in *Italy*; and as for *ourselves*, we have been so far from *rising in Opposition*, that, we have not given the *Emperor* the least Assistance, unless the second Armada at *Spithead*, and our present exhortatory Negotiations abroad are to be looked on in this Light.

The Expence of our *late Measures*, which hath been made another Topick of Complaint, will farther evince the Wisdom and Integrity of *these Gentlemen*, when fairly examined. It is generally agreed, I think, that it cost the Nation about 200 *Millions*, in the two last Wars, to check the exorbitant Power of *France*, and restore the Balance of *Europe*. Now even *your own Party* do not pretend that

* See *a Letter to the occasional Writer*, printed in 1727. † See *Consideration on present State of Affairs*, &c. ‡ See *the Treaty of* Seville *impartially considered*, p. printed in 1730. ‖ *Jan. the* 4th, 1728-9. § *August the* 16th, 1729.

our extraordinary Expences for 13 or 14 Years past, amount to above 25 *Millions*; excepting only the Charge of *this Year*, which could not be brought into the Account, and will no Doubt make some Addition to it; so that the whole Expence of chastising the *Emperor*, as he deserved, will not come to much above an *eighth Part* of what it formerly cost us to reduce the Power of *France*. A mighty Sum, truly, to occasion so much Clamour!

But it may be objected that the *Balance* is now turned too much on the *other Side*, and that it is once more become necessary to throw some Weight into the *Austrian* Scale. I am afraid there is too much Truth in this; but what then? The *Balance of Power* being only a speculative, imaginary Thing, it cannot be fixed to a mathematical Point, like *real Balances*, but is apt to fluctuate and vary with every Breath of Wind. It is therefore our Business to watch the Changes of *political Weather*, and regulate it accordingly.—*Ay, but what a constant Expence*, say you, *must this be to us, if we are to be always doing and undoing?*—To this I shall reply in the Words of the *Enquiry*; p. 99. 'Let the Expence be what 'it will; if it be necessary for our own Security, and that of *Europe*; it may justly 'be said to be not at all comparable to the Necessity for it. The whole Point to every *true* 'Briton is, whether it is *necessary, fitting*, 'and *reasonable*. They, that think it certainly so, and they, that think it probably so, 'must be pleased with it. They, that think 'it a meer Piece of Gaiety in *those*, who preside, or an hasty Blunder in the Dark, will 'have other Resentments about it; but they 'must first think them *meer Madmen*, or 'meer *Idiots*, before they can come to this.

I am, Sir, &c.

COURTLY GRUB, *Esq*;

Fog's Journal, Oct. 19. N° 311.

Causes of the Ruin of States.

THE *Roman* Commonwealth, the most powerful as well as best contrived for Duration, first lost its own Liberties, and afterwards its Dominion over other Nations, by Luxury and Corruption.

Persia, which gained the Empire of the East, was at first no more than a little Province of that Country, which was afterwards, and is at this Day, called *Persia*. In the Time of *Cambyses*, Father of *Cyrus* the Great, it contained no more than 26,000 Men fit to bear Arms, so that we may compute the whole Inhabitants, including old Men, Women and Children, did not amount to 100,000, which is not above a ninth, or tenth Part of what the City of *London* contains at this Day; and yet this small Piece of Ground became the Head of a great Empire, and gave Laws to several Kingdoms vastly superior to itself.

But perhaps this will be no such great Wonder, when we consider the Customs and Manners of that People; for the Historians tell us, that all the Laws of that Country were contrived and framed with no other View than to promote the publick Good. The State had Regard to the Education of Youth, and Parents were not suffered to poison the Minds of their Children by an ill-plac'd Fondness, and Blindness to their Faults; for it is always seen that too much Indulgence only swells the Mind with Pride, makes young Persons impatient of Contradiction, and fit for nothing but to indulge their irregular Passions, which is the Source of all Corruption.

Here the State did not only appoint their Masters and Instructors, but also pointed out what they were to be instructed in, their Exercises, their Punishments, nay their very Diet; that they might betimes acquire a Habit of Temperance and Sobriety, and be under the less Temptation of being seduced by Luxury.

As in other Nations Youth are sent to Schools to learn Languages and Sciences, here they were sent to learn Justice, and the Crime that was punished with the greatest Severity was Ingratitude.

All the Males were divided into 3 Classes; those under 17 which was the first Class, were under the Tuition of Masters and Instructors; the second Class was of those above that Age, and under 27, from these were chosen those who did the Duty of Militia, and guarded the Frontiers of the State, and watch'd the City, and also executed the Orders of the Magistrates; the third Class was of Men more advanced in Years, and from them were chosen the Generals of the Armies, as well as Lawgivers and Magistrates; nor was it ever known that any Person was elected to either of these Honours, that had not distinguished himself in all the 3 Classes with Reputation.

So long as the *Persians* preserv'd these excellent Customs, so long did they preserve their Liberty and their Empire, which was not quite 250 Years, reckoning from the Death of *Cyrus* the Great; for they dwindled away by Degrees soon after, and were so fallen off from Virtue, that scarce were they known to be the same People. Their Decay and Ruin are attributed to four Causes.

A Luxury in their Way of Living.

A servile Respect and Compliance to Power and Greatness.

The bad Education of their Princes, which is a Source of all Mischief.

A Breach of Treaties, and a Want of Faith in all publick Engagements.

Thus

Thus the *Perſians* having loſt all their Virtues, loſt their Empire; they drew upon them firſt the Contempt, and afterwards the Reſentment of other Nations, and when they were attack'd, there was neither Virtue, Publick Spirit, Diſcipline, nor Courage, to be found amongſt them; different Cuſtoms and Manners had made different Men; thoſe who were in the Military Poſts, like thoſe in the Civil Employments, were altogether ignorant of the Duties of their Charge; their Preferments were beſtowed upon them as the Rewards of Flattery, and other ſervile Compliances to ſome vile Upſtart in Power; there was no Enquiry made concerning the Capacity of the Perſons to be preferred, if they would but do the dirty Work of the Man in Power, they were qualify'd for every Thing.

When they were obliged to aſſemble their Army, and march againſt the Enemy, to defend themſelves, the Camp-Equipage of the Prince, inſtead of Arms of all Sorts, with Horſes and Chariots of War, conſiſted of Concubines of various Shapes and Sizes, and Choice of Muſicians; all the Officers of the Army followed the Example to the utmoſt of their Power, that is, as far as their Pay would reach; for thus the publick Money had long been ſpent; ſo that their Camp in Effect was no more than an Aſſembly of Whores and Fiddlers. Where is the Wonder that ſuch a People were undone?

It is no doubt but the common People, who are the Support of all Commonwealths, muſt have loſt all Reſpect for a Government that was in the Hands of ſuch Men as are here deſcribed. It is a true Obſervation that when a Man loſes his Liberty, he loſes all that which ſhould engage his Affections to his Country; when the People come to ſee plainly, that there is leſs Wiſdom, leſs Virtue, leſs Courage, in thoſe who are placed in Power over them, than in the meaneſt and moſt contemptible amongſt themſelves, that Affection which Men have for their Country under good Governments will die away; for in this Caſe they do not pay or fight for the Defence of good Laws, and the Preſervation of Liberty, but for the Support of their Oppreſſors, and maintaining ſo many Drones in Sloth and Pride.

Luxury and Effeminacy take the Mind off from every Thing that is great or noble, and it is obſerved that the Paſſions of Men who are tainted with thoſe Vices, are engaged upon nothing but Trifles. If I ſhould ſee Perſons of an eminent Rank paſs their Lives amongſt Dancers and Muſicians, if I ſhould obſerve that they are capable of thinking or talking of nothing elſe, and that they intereſted themſelves more in an Emulation betwixt two Singers, than in the Fate of their Country, what Veneration could I have for Laws or Counſels that came from ſuch Fiddling Fellows?

London Journal, Oct. 19. N° 793.

On the ſame Subject with the former. (See p. 534)

IF Government is neceſſary and reaſonable, then *mere ſerving* a Government cannot be *Corruption*; nor can *holding Places* under the *King incapacitate* a Man for ſerving the *People*, unleſs the Service of the *King* and *People* are *incompatible*; which is ſo far from being true, that 'tis much better for the People, that ſome of the Gentlemen who ſerve the *King*, both in a *Civil* and *Military* Capacity, ſhould be *choſen* to ſerve them: Their Liberties are more ſecure, by having Perſons in the *higheſt Truſt* under the King *Repreſentatives* of them, than they would be, if all who are thought worthy to ſerve the *King*, ſhould be *cut off*, and *abſolutely diſabled* from *repreſenting* them. The *King*'s chooſing a Gentleman to *ſerve him*, whom *the People* have thought worthy to *repreſent* them; and *the People*'s chooſing a Gentleman to *repreſent* them, whom *the King* has thought worthy of one of *the higheſt Truſts of Government*, is a Means of preſerving that *Union* and *Harmony* between the *King* and *People*, which is neceſſary to the carrying on the great Ends of Government. When a Perſon who is truſted by his *Majeſty*, is alſo truſted by the *People*; and a *Lord of the Treaſury*, for Inſtance, or a *Colonel of the Army* are thought worthy to be choſen *Legiſlators* and *Guardians* of the *People*'s *Liberties*, they will *naturally* take more Care of them than if they were *branded by Law* as Perſons unworthy of ſuch a Truſt. This is natural and reaſonable; I am, therefore, againſt all *Civil Excommunications*, as well as *Religious* ones: But if the Legiſlature could agree upon limiting the *Number* and *Quality* of Officers, Civil and Military, to be admitted into the Houſe, *that* might be of Uſe in *Times of Danger*; for I don't think every *little petty Officer* ſhould be a Member of Parliament, nor every little petty *Gentleman* or *Tradeſman*; but that the People ſhould chooſe Perſons of *large Eſtates*, *good Senſe*, *great Probity*, and *generous Sentiments*; and then they need not fear the Loſs of their Liberties.

THE following Paſſage is taken from the *Courant* of *Oct.* 21. *Tacitus* ſays, *Cunctas Nationes & Urbes Populus, aut Primores, aut ſinguli regunt. In all Nations or Cities the Government is in the Hands of the People, of the Nobility, or of a ſingle Perſon.* The *firſt Mode* of *Rule* is ſtiled *Democracy*, the *ſecond Ariſtocracy*, the *third Monarchy*, all *Greek* Words; but by *Cuſtom*, render'd free of our *Language*.

Each of theſe *Forms*, tho' none of them abſolutely perfect, is well enough adapted to the preſerving *Peace* and procuring *Plenty*, to thoſe

thoſe who live in *Subjection* thereto; but as there is a certain *Malignity* in *Human Nature*, which fails not to weaken, and in Time to deſtroy the *nobleſt Structures* its better *Faculties* are capable of raiſing, ſo each of theſe *Schemes*, from the *Faults* of its *Adminiſtrators* and *Subjects*, has a continual Proneneſs to ſink into an evil, corrupt *Form*, productive only of *Miſchief* and *Deſtruction*. Thus the *Democracy*, by the Raſhneſs and Giddineſs of the People, is apt to diſſolve into an *Ochlocracy*, i. e. a turbulent State, on the Borders of *Anarchy*; the *Ariſtocracy*, thro' the *Ambition* of the *Nobles*, uncontented with their *legal Share* of *Power*, is inclined to change into an *Oligarchy*, or *fraudulent Dominion* of a *Few*; and the *Monarchy*, from the *Pride* of him entruſted with *ſole Power*, too frequently degenerates into a *Tyranny*. Thoſe three general *Modes* of *Rule*, then, *firſt* ſpecified, are capable of being converted into *three* Methods of *Oppreſſion*; and in a continual *Rotation* from *one* to *another* of theſe ſix Forms, ſome penetrating *Politicians* have affirmed, all *Political Conſtitutions* to move, ſome however with greater *Velocity* than others.

Craſtſman, Oct. 26. N° 434.

The Freedom and Independency of Parliament farther conſidered, in Anſwer to Mother Oſborne *and other* miniſterial Writers.

Mr. D'Anvers,

AS Mrs. *Oſborne* had teaz'd us almoſt to Death with her heavy Lectures upon the *Expediency of corrupt, dependent Parliaments*; you gave her a particular Invitation to exerciſe her Talents at *Reaſoning* on this Subject; which, with great Reluctance, ſhe at length was compelled to accept; but her Patron finding her unequal to ſo difficult a Taſk, he called in to her Aſſiſtance the Clamour of his *whole Poſſe*; whoſe Buſineſs it was to drown the Voice of *Reaſon* in that of *Corruption*; and, by the Multiplicity of their Papers, endeavour to confound what was clearly proved in yours; but, unhappily for *him*, this tumultuous Onſet has had one Effect, which he ſeems not to have foreſeen; that their *Quotations* from the *Craſtſman* have ſerved as a Conveyance of your Sentiments to *thoſe*, who are denied all other Means of Information.

As Mrs. *Oſborne* has fill'd 3 Papers with what ſhe calls her *Opinion* upon this Subject, and her *Coadjutors* have fill'd 20 more, the Publick, will, we hope, excuſe an Examination into the Conſiſtency, Honeſty and Tendency of *theſe Sentiments*, as they are oppoſed to thoſe laid down in the *Craſtſman*.

We defy all the *Powers of Nonſenſe*, to produce ſuch an unenliven'd *Syſtem of Slavery* as lies in the Compaſs of thoſe *three Papers*. We will prove the Reaſonableneſs of this Defiance, by taking a ſhort View of her Contradictions and Abſurdities in the ſame Order, in which ſhe hath carefully laid them.

A *1ſt*, To preſerve the Balance of the *three Powers*, ſhe inſiſts that each of them ſhould have a *certain Kind, or Degree of Independency*; by which ſhe acknowledges that there are *ſeveral Kinds*.

2dly, That altho' a *certain Kind, or Degree of Independency* is thus become neceſſary, yet ſhe inſiſts upon it that there is but *one Sort of Independency*, which is *natural Independency*.

3dly, That *natural Independency* is *abſolute Independency*, as abſolute as the *Independency of* B *God*; and that no Power upon Earth can deprive the Houſe of Commons of this *abſolute Independency*; and yet ſhe ſays,

4thly, That Mr. *Oldcaſtle*'s Diſtinction between an *abſolute Independency* and a *conſtitutional Independency* is a very juſt one.

5thly, That altho' *Places of Profit* and *Truſt* can't remove the *natural Independency* of any Perſon on whom they are conferr'd; yet C

6thly, She ſays that when the King loſes the *Dependencies*, created by the Diſpoſition of *theſe Places*, his *Crown* will follow.

But there is *one grand Abſurdity* involv'd in what ſhe looks upon as the Foundation of all this Gibberiſh; which, as the *Laureat* has it, *quite outdoes all her uſual Outdoings*. It is this; that altho' the Wealth of the Nation D ſhould be drain'd to *bribe* every Member of the Houſe of Commons, yet their *abſolute Independency* would be as effectually preſerv'd, as by the firmeſt Reſiſtance of ſo deſtructive a Temptation; by which Piece of *metaphyſical Folly* we are given to underſtand that they have a *natural Power* ſtill left to act virtuouſly, and of contributing to the Support of our Liberties, under the corrupt Influence of E a *Bribe* to betray them.

In the *third Letter*, her Notions clear up a little, where ſhe avows what ſhe had before only prepared us to receive; *that the Diſtribution of* Places *to Members of Parliament is abſolutely neceſſary to the Security of our Liberties*; in Support of which a Paſſage is pretended to be taken out of Biſhop *Burnet*'s Hiſtory, re- F lating to the Parliament in 1693; (ſee p. 535.) and by the Manner, in which it is quoted, it could hardly be ſuppoſed that ſhe had ſunk the following Words, *viz. Whereas K.* Charles's *long Parliament was called the* Penſioner Parliament, *this was called the* Officers Parliament, *becauſe many, that had Commands in the* Army, *were in it*. Even G this Omiſſion ſhews her Want of Candour; but what Excuſe will ſhe offer for concealing what the *Biſhop* ſays in the next Page, *viz. That a Parliament of a* long Continuance *ſeem'd to be very dangerous, either to the* Crown, *or to the* Nation. *If the Conjuncture*

and their Proceedings gave them much Credit, they might grow very uneaſy to the Crown; *which happened in K.* Charles IIſt's. *Time; or, in other Situation of Affairs, they might be ſo practiſ'd upon, that they might give all the* Money *and all the* Liberties of England *up, when they were to have a large Share in the* Money, *and were to be made the* Inſtruments of Tyranny; *as it was in K.* Charles IId's. *Time.*

How ſincerely will the *old Gentlewoman* repent of ſo unlucky a Reference to this *Rev. Hiſtorian*, in Confirmation of *Bribery* and *Corruption?* Surely Mrs. *Oſborne* thinks that nobody hath ever read *Burnet*'s Hiſtory but herſelf!

The Productions in the *Courant* can be no way ſo effectually anſwer'd as by oppoſing them to each other; ſince, throughout the whole Debate, what *one* admits to be a Truth, *another* endeavours to prove a Falſhood. But moſt of them agree in this; *that the firſt Letter upon the* Independency of Parliament *contains only ſelf-evident Truths; that the* corrupt Dependency, *which it* oppoſes, *had never been defended; and that the* Conſequences of ſuch a Dependency *are too viſible to become the Subject of Argument.* Yet it was neceſſary to write 20 impertinent Diſcourſes, not only in Contradiction to what is thus univerſally admitted, but to juſtify *that very Species of Corruption* they had decry'd.

One of *theſe Scribblers* has taken great Pains to reduce the general Principles of *Liberty* into a *Scheme of arbitrary Government*, and to demonſtrate that the *cleareſt Streams* flow from the *foulеſt Springs*; in Support of which he draws his Reader thro' five or ſix Papers, that ſtink with the very *Dregs of Corruption*.

So ſlender an Opinion has he of the Virtue and Integrity of the *People's Repreſentatives*, that he thinks it no leſs than a Contradiction to ſuppoſe the Conſideration of *publick Good*, including their own private Share of that Good, ſhould be a *Medium to induce a Houſe of Commons to co-operate with the Crown.*

All the Concluſions, which he undertakes to confute, were deduced from the undue Influence of the Crown upon the Houſe of Commons, by *pecuniary Gifts, Gratuities*, and *Penſions*. Is it not therefore very extraordinary that he, who accuſes the *Craſtſman* of great Partiality in the Conduct of his Arguments, ſhould intirely drop the *only Terms*, upon which they are founded, and change the Words *pecuniary Gifts, Gratuities*, and *Penſions* into *Places of Profit and Truſt?*

Private Corruption can never be known, conſequently not guarded againſt without *ſevere Teſts*; and therefore by a *Parliament*, thus corrupted, a *free State* may be reduced to *Slavery*, even before it could be ſuſpected that their *Liberties* were in the leaſt Danger. But an Influence ariſing from the Enjoyment of *Places of Profit*, which are *viſible Advantages*, may be, in ſome Degree, computed; and from thence the proper Meaſures of Redreſs be taken.

It is therefore quite another Diſpute, tho' of no leſs Importance to *Liberty* than the preſent, how far the *Power of the Crown*, with the ſtupendous Weight, which at preſent is on its Side, may overreach the *other Parts of the Legiſlature*; and whether the ſame Principle, upon which thoſe, who are in the *Receipt of the Revenue*, are already excluded Seats in Parliament, is not equally concluſive againſt *many other Perſons*, who now ſit there, and enjoy *Places of Profit under the Crown?*

If this *tedious Scribe* looks upon himſelf in any other Light than as an *Engine of Corruption*, let him reduce his *Scheme of Government* into a narrower Compaſs. Let him acquaint the Publick what he means by *Corruption*, if *pecuniary Gifts, Gratuities* and *Penſions* are not ſo: Let him tell us in what Meaſure he contends for *ſuch an Influence*; what Inſtances thoſe are, in which a Houſe of Commons may be influenced to act *contrary to their Opinion*, and yet not *betray* their *Truſt*. How far they may be biaſſed in Things of *little Conſequence*, and yet truly repreſent the People in thoſe of *greater*. What Degree of *real* Influence the *King* ought to have in the Houſe of Commons, diſtinct from that, which ariſes from his ſteady Regard for the *publick Good*; and how many *Placemen* are neceſſary to the Support of this *Influence*; That is, whether it is requiſite to have a *ſure Majority*, upon all Occaſions; or how many ſhort of it. In fine, how far a *Houſe of Commons* may be dependent upon the *Crown*, conſiſtent with the Security of our *Liberties*, and at what Point of *Dependency* the Danger of loſing them commences.

Till *theſe Points* are ſettled, we ſhall take the Liberty to conclude this Paper with our former Poſition; *That an* independent, uncorrupt Parliament is *eſſential to the Preſervation of the* Conſtitution *and the* Liberties of the People.

I am, Sir, &c.

Fog's Journal, Oct. 26. N° 312.

A Project for the Army.

Mr. FOG,

OF all the Characters in Life, I think we *Projectors* have the *beſt* Claim to the Glorious Title of *Patriot*; becauſe it is *certain* that moſt of us have been ruined by our own Projects, and all of us *pretend* we have no private View in what we propoſe; we *never* have *any* Thing in View but the publick Good, and the Happineſs of our Country; even the *Projector* of the famous *Exciſe-Scheme* told us he had nothing in View, but the *Benefit* of the *Publick*, and the *Eaſe* of the *Subject*.

We Projectors have another excellent Qua-

lity

ſity, which is, that we are all convinced of our being *great* Politicians, and of our underſtanding *thoroughly* the *true* Intereſt of our Country. That I have not a wrong Opinion of myſelf in this Particular, I hope the Propoſition I am to make will evince; and that I am a diſintereſted Projector muſt appear from hence, that tho' for the Sake of my *dear* Country, I have been at *great* Pains and Expence, in bringing the following Project to Perfection, yet I profeſs I neither have nor expect a *Penſion* or *Gratuity* from any *Miniſter*; and from the Nature of the Project the World will ſee I cannot expect a *Patent*.

I muſt confeſs I was a little ſhy in offering my Project to the World till I had read with great Pleaſure ſome Eſſays lately publiſh'd in the *Courant*: By which it appears that *publick Good* would be *no Inducement* to Members of Parliament, if they were not *dependent* on the King for ſome *Penſion*, *Poſt* or *Imployment*. But leſt ſome of your Readers may not have ſeen theſe *Courants*, I ſhall give you the Author's own Words *. 'Or ſhould 'thoſe Perſons (Lords and Members of Par- 'liament) be by Law univerſally excluded 'from *ſuch Poſts*, (Poſts at the King's Diſ- 'poſal) there would be *no Medium* to *induce* 'them to co-operate with the Crown, but 'the *remote one* of *the publick Good*; which 'is, as above-ſaid, a *direct Contradiction* to 'ſuppoſe *a ſufficient Motive*.'

I muſt confeſs this is *no Compliment* to our Lords and Members of Parliament, and I know that ſome of our *pert* little Fellows may upon this pretend to be *witty*, and ſay that at this Rate it may be *properly* ſaid, that our *Conſtitution ſtands* upon *Poſts*. But the Maxim is nevertheleſs honeſt and juſt. To my Project then,

Tho' this be a true Maxim, yet as I have a *great* Reſpect and Eſteem for the *Gentlemen* of our *Army*, I *dread* the Conſequence as to them. I know they are *all* Men of *Birth* Honour, and many of them related to ſome of the beſt Families in *Britain*; and as all Gentlemen of Honour muſt have a *great* Regard for their Relations, for the Families which *gave* them *Birth*, and for the *Intereſt* of their *Country*, the Officers of our Army, if it ſhould *continue* upon the *preſent* Footing, may hereafter be reduced to *great* Hardſhips; for if ever a *prime Miniſter* ſhould ariſe, who ſhould make their *Behaviour* in *Parliament*, or at *Elections*, the *only Tenure* by which they can expect to *hold* their *Commiſſions*, *the Regard* they owed to their Country and to their Families, and *the holding* of their Commiſſions, would in many Caſes become *incompatible*, which to a Man of Honour would be a moſt *grievous Conteſt*. This has often kept me awake when I ſhould have ſlept, and to my inexpreſſible Joy I have at laſt found a Remedy.

We have many Hoſpitals for various Purpoſes in this Kingdom, but there is one Sort we are no way yet furniſhed with, tho' it be allowed by all to be much wanting. I mean an *Hoſpital for Foundlings*: I propoſe therefore that ſuch Hoſpitals ſhall be immediately erected at the Publick Charge, and a proper Vehicle hung out with a Bell to it, for receiving all Children whoſe Parents may be inhuman enough to truſt to the Care of the Publick. Thoſe Children I would have brought up at the publick Expence, and *great* Care taken that *none* of them ſhould ever *hear of*, or *know* their *Parents*. From ſuch Hoſpitals erected in every City and County-Town within the Dominions of *Great Britain*, I am perſuaded we might ſoon draw Men enough for *recruiting* our *Army*, ſo that the *Money* uſually *ſpent* in *recruiting* might be converted to the Uſe of theſe Hoſpitals: As ſoon as they began to be pretty well ſtocked, a Law might be made, that *none* but ſuch as were taken in and brought up in them, ſhould be *allowed* to be a *Soldier* or *Officer* in the Army; and as for the Girls, the Officers and Soldiers might be *obliged* to take them, *and them only*, for *Wives*; by which the *Gentlemen* of our *Army* would for the future be prevented from *contracting* any *Alliance* by *Marriage*.

I could fill up many Sheets in deſcribing the Advantages which would accrue to this Nation, from ſuch a *ſalutary* Regulation; but my *principal* Aim is, that the Officers of our Army for the future may be made *free* from that *Regard* for their Country or their Relations, which *at preſent* ſo *remarkably* influences *all* their Actions and Behaviour, and which may often prove to be *inconſiſtent* with their *private* Intereſt as Officers, and conſequently may hereafter ſubject them to moſt *terrible Conflicts*.

I know it may be objected, that as ſuch Officers can have no *Land Eſtates*, they cannot be *Members* of the *Houſe* of *Commons*; but we know that the *preſent* qualifying Laws may be *eaſily* evaded, and it has been deemed *inconſiſtent* with the *Public Good*, to make any *new* Proviſion for the preventing of theſe Evaſions; ſo that in Time to come, it is not to be doubted but that Methods may be found to bring *Landleſs Officers* into that *Houſe*.

It is needleſs to anſwer all the *trifling* Objections that may be made. I know my *Project* to be for the *Public Good*: I *never* will forgive *any* Man that oppoſes it: I am perſuaded *all* thoſe Great Politicians who approved of the *laſt famous* Scheme that was offer'd to the Publick, will approve of mine; and as for the *little ſhort-ſighted* Dablers in Politicks, they may *burn* me in *Effigy* if they will, but I hereby tell them I *deſpiſe* them.

I am, Sir, Yours,

John the Projector.

* *Courant*, Oct. 1.

Universal Spectator, Oct. 26. N° 316.

Man a variable Animal.

THE World is full of *Changes*, and *Revolutions*; and *Viciſſitude* is the only certain Thing in it: But of all living Beings none is ſo variable as *Man*; he is a Creature perpetually falling out with himſelf, and ſuſtains two or three oppoſite Characters every Day he lives; is *chearful* and *angry*, pleas'd and deſpairing, cynical and good-humour'd, and all perhaps in the Space of half an Hour.

I ſometimes pay a Viſit to my old Friend *Tom Weathercock*, and ſhould oftner, was he always in the *ſame* Humour, or even near it: But he's in a continual State of War with *himſelf*, he is an *Enemy* to his *own* Peace, therefore cannot be any great Friend to that of any Body elſe. As ſoon as *Tom* hears me at the Bottom of the Stairs, he meets me at the Top with all the Joy imaginable, and profeſſes the utmoſt Pleaſure at my Viſit; but ſcarce has one half Hour paſs'd away but he grows quite tir'd of *himſelf* and *me*. As I p'eaſe him in coming to him, I humour him no leſs in going from him: He is ſorry when I do not come, and would be equally ſorry if I did not go; I am never from him but he wants to ſee me, and he never ſees me but wants to be from me again. Some Evenings I ſpend in a Company where there is an old *Humouriſt* much of this Turn of Mind: The firſt Time I ſaw him I happen'd to drop in when he had about finiſhed his firſt Bottle, and by the Catches he ſung, the pleaſant Tales he told, I took him for one of the beſt-natur'd old Gentlemen I had ever met with. The next Night I ſaw him at the *Græcian* diſputing on Politicks over a Diſh of *Coffee*, and found him the dulleſt, conceited, poſitive old Fellow that ever liv'd. Nothing could pleaſe him, he found Fault, ſnarl'd, and cenſured every Thing that was ſaid. We adjourn'd with ſome Friends to the *Tavern*, and after three or four Glaſſes of good *Claret*, I found that Gloominеſs began to diſpel; he grew wondrous *kind* and *facetious*, and kept up this good Humour till the repeated Bumpers ſettled him in a ſound Nap; after which he awaked that dogged ſurly Cynic we found him at the *Græcian*. This Gentleman I found was never agreeable but when he was near *drunk*, and never diſagreeable but when he was quite *ſober*.

But of all the variable Creatures, none can compare with *Limberham*, whoſe whole Life is a ſtrange Medley of *Religion* and *Debauchery*: He lives in a *Brothel-Houſe* four Days in a Week, and ſpends the other three in *Prayer* and *Repentance*; and when he thinks he may have reconcil'd himſelf to *Heaven*, and ſet aſide his Sins, he returns to them again, and makes new Work for new Devotion.

Thus *Whim*, *Wine* and *Affliction* can make a Man differ from nothing ſo much as he does from *himſelf*; but let us enquire whether *Pride*, *good Fortune*, &c. have not the ſame Power, and produce the ſame Effects.

We are generally ſo partial to ourſelves, that whatever good Fortune we have, we immediately aſcribe it to our *Merit*, rather than *Providence*, *Chance* or *Friendſhip* of others, and value ourſelves on our *Worth* when we ſhould rejoice at our *Fortune*. If you approach a Man after any new Acquiſition of *Wealth* or *Honour* with that Degree of *Freedom* and *Familiarity* you before us'd, his haughty Behaviour will ſoon inform you that you are unacquainted with a new Accumulation of Merit, which ſhou'd command a greater Deference and Reſpect.

John Myrtle, Eſq; was a good-natur'd, affable, honeſt Fellow about five Months ago; I was intimate with him, and many agreeable Hours have we ſpent with a *Familiarity* that is neceſſary for Friendſhip: I perceiv'd indeed ſometime ago the Seeds of Grandeur and Haughtineſs riſing in him, on his *elder* Brother *Sir Harry* being taken ill: From a quiet peaceable young Gentleman, he grew a Demoliſher of *Drawers* and *Linkboys*, and a *Chairman* or *Porter* run the Danger of a broken Head, if they addreſs'd him without the diſtinguiſhing Appellation of *your Honour*: His Brother's Illneſs encreas'd, and conſequently my Friend's *Pride*: But ſtill he retain'd a decent Reſpect to me till his Brother *died*. When I came to congratulate him on his ſucceeding to his Brother's *Honours* and *Eſtate*, I immediately found that *Sir John Myrtle* was in no Ways the ſame Perſon I was before acquainted with, call'd *John Myrtle, Eſq*; Inſtead of his uſual Way of calling me *dear Harry*, he began *Mr. Stanhope*——His Indifference encreas'd as his *Liveries* came home, and by the firſt Day he went out in his *new Chariot*, he entirely forgot me: But as he had forgot *himſelf*, it gave me no Surprize nor Uneaſineſs that he ſhou'd not remember *me*.

But *Will. Lace* differs from *himſelf* not according as he himſelf appears, but according to the Appearance of his *Friends*; and intimate more or leſs juſt as the Dreſs they wear makes any Figure. A Perſon who ſometimes his Crony may paſs him in the *Park* twenty Times, and if he is not dreſs'd *Will.* always takes Care to turn his Head another Way, and betrays a great deal of Concern for Fear of receiving a Bow. Meet him in the Side-Box in the Evening, he'll profeſs prodigious Joy at the Sight of the Perſon he the Morning ſo induſtriouſly ſhunn'd: He laughs aloud, talks aloud with you, and take Care that the whole Playhouſe ſhall know that he and you are particularly intimate. Next Morning you appear in another Dreſs and he in another Opinion.

Co

Concluſion of the Poem *on Sir* ISAAC NEWTON; *begun in our laſt.* *(See page 490.)*

THE ſilver waves againſt the painted prows
Raiſe their reſpiendent boſoms, and im-
pearl
The fair vermillion with their gliſt'ring drops;
And from on board the iron-cloathed hoſt
Around the main a gleaming horrour caſts;
Each flaming buckler like the mid-day ſun,
Each plumed helmet like the ſilver moon,
Each moving gauntlet like the lightning's
blaze,
And like a ſtar each brazen-pointed ſpear.
But lo the ſacred high-erected fanes,
Fair citadels, and marble-crowned towers,
And ſumptuous palaces of ſtately towns
Magnificent ariſe, upon their heads
Bearing on high a wreath of ſilver light.
But ſee my muſe the high Pierian hill,
Behold its ſhaggy locks and airy top;
Up to the ſkies th' imperious mountain heaves
The ſhining verdure of the nodding woods.
See where the ſilver Hippocrene flows,
Behold each glitt'ring rivulet and rill
Through mazes wander down the green deſcent,
And ſparkle through the interwoven trees.
Here reſt awhile and humble homage pay,
Here, where the ſacred genius, that inſpir'd
Sublime *Mæonides* and *Pindar*'s breaſt,
His habitation once was fam'd to hold.
Here thou, O *Homer*, offer'dſt up thy vows;
Thee, the kind muſe *Calliopæa* heard,
And led thee to the empyrean ſeats,
There manifeſted to thy hallow'd eyes
The deeds of gods; thee wiſe *Minerva* taught
The wondrous art of knowing human kind;
Harmonious *Phœbus* tun'd thy heav'nly mind,
And ſwell'd to rapture each exalted ſenſe;
Ev'n *Mars* the dreadful battle-ruling god,
Mars taught thee war, and with his bloody hand
Inſtructed thine, when in thy ſounding lines
We hear the rattling of *Bellona*'s carr,
The yell of diſcord, and the din of arms.
Pindar, when mounted on his fiery ſteed,
Soars to the ſun, oppoſing eagle like
His eyes undazled to the fierceſt rays.
He firmly ſeated, not like *Glaucus*' ſon,
Strides his ſwift-winged and fire-breathing
horſe,
And born aloft ſtrikes with his ringing hoofs
The brazen vault of heav'n, ſuperior there
Looks down upon the ſtars, whoſe radiant light
Illuminates innumerable worlds,
That through eternal orbits roul beneath.
But thou all hail immortalized ſon
Of harmony, all hail thou Thracian bard,
To whom *Apollo* gave his tuneful lyre.
O might'ſt thou, *Orpheus*, now again revive,
And *Newton* ſhould inform thy liſt'ning ear
How the ſoft notes, and ſoul-inchanting ſtrains
Of thy own lyre were on the wind convey'd,
He taught the muſe, how ſound progreſſive floats
Upon the waving particles of air,
When harmony in ever-pleaſing ſtrains,
Melodious melting at each lulling fall,
With ſoft alluring penetration ſteals
Through the enraptur'd ear to inmoſt thought,
And folds the ſenſes in its ſilken bands.
So the ſweet muſick, which from *Orpheus* touch
And fam'd *Amphion*'s, on the ſounding ſtring
Aroſe harmonious, gliding on the air, [woods,
Pierc'd the tough-bark'd and knotty-ribbed
Into their ſaps ſoft inſpiration breath'd,
And taught attention to the ſtubborn oak.
Thus when great *Henry*, and brave *Marlb'rough* led
Th' imbattled numbers of *Britannia*'s ſons,
The trump, that ſwells th' expanded cheek of fame,
That adds new vigour to the gen'rous youth,
And rouzes ſluggiſh cowardice itſelf,
The trumpet with its Mars-inciting voice,
The winds broad breaſt impetuous ſweeping o'er
Fill'd the big note of war. Th' inſpired hoſt
With new-born ardor preſs the trembling *Gaul*;
Nor greater throngs had reach'd eternal night,
Not if the fields of *Agencourt* had yawn'd
Expoſing horrible the gulf of fate;
Or roaring Danube ſpread his arms abroad,
And overwhelm'd their legions with his floods.
But let the wand'ring muſe at length return;
Nor yet, angelick genius of the ſun,
In worthy lays her high-attempting ſong
Has blazon'd forth thy venerated name.
Then let her ſweep the loud-reſounding lyre
Again, again o'er each melodious ſtring
Teach harmony to tremble with thy praiſe.
And ſtill thine ear O favourable grant,
And ſhe ſhall tell thee, that whatever charms,
Whatever beauties bloom on nature's face,
Proceed from thy all-influencing light.
That when ariſing with tempeſtuous rage,
The North impetuous rides upon the clouds
Diſperſing round the heav'ns obſtructive gloom,
And with his dreaded prohibition ſtays
The kind effuſion of thy genial beams;
Pale are the rubies on *Aurora*'s lips,
No more the roſes bluſh upon her cheeks,
Black are *Peneus*' ſtreams and golden ſands,
In *Tempe*'s vale dull melancholy ſits,
And every flow'r reclines its languid head.
By what high name ſhall I invoke thee, ſay,
Thou life-infuſing deity, on thee
I call; and look propitious from on high,
While now to thee I offer up my prayer.
O had great *Newton*, as he found the cauſe,
By which ſound rouls thro' th' undulating air,
O had he, baffling time's reſiſtleſs power,
Diſcover'd what thy ſubtle ſpirit is,
Or whatſoe'er diffuſive elſe is ſpread
Over the wide-extended univerſe,
Which cauſes bodies to reflect the light,
And from their ſtrait direction to divert
The rapid beams, that through their ſurface
pierce.

But

But since embrac'd by th' icy arms of age,
And his quick thought by time's cold hand
congeal'd,
Ev'n *Newton* left unknown this hidden pow'r;
Thou from the race of human kind select
Some other worthy of an angel's care,
With inspiration animate his breast,
And him instruct in these thy secret laws.
O let not *Newton*, to whose spacious view,
Now unobstructed, all th' extensive scenes
Of the ethereal ruler's works arise;
When he beholds this earth he late adorn'd,
Let him not see philosophy in tears,
Like a fond mother solitary sit,
Lamenting him her dear, and only child.
But as the wise *Pythagoras*, and he,
Whose birth with pride the fam'd *Abdera* boasts,
With expectation having long survey'd
This spot their antient seat, with joy beheld
Divine philosophy at length appear
In all her charms majestically fair,
Conducted by immortal *Newton's* hand:
So may he see another sage arise,
That shall maintain her empire: then no more
Imperious ignorance with haughty sway
Shall stalk rapacious o'er the ravag'd globe:
Then thou, O *Newton*, shalt protect these
lines,
The humble tribute of the grateful muse;
Ne'er shall the sacrilegious hand despoil
Her laurel'd temples, whom his name preserves:
And were she equal to the mighty theme,
Futurity should wonder at her song;
Time should receive her with extended arms,
Seat her conspicuous in his rouling carr,
And bear her down to his extremest bound.
Fables with wonder tell how *Terra's* sons
With iron force unloos'd the stubborn nerves
Of hills, and on the cloud-inshrouded top
Of *Pelion Ossa* pil'd. But if the vast
Gigantick deeds of savage strength demand
Astonishment from men, what then shalt thou!
O what expressive rapture of the soul,
When thou before us, *Newton*, dost display
The labours of thy great excelling mind;
When thou unveilest all the wondrous scene,
The vast idea of th' eternal king,
Not dreadful bearing in his angry arm
The thunder hanging o'er our trembling heads;
But with th' effulgency of love replete,
And clad with power, which form'd th'
extensive heavens!
O happy he, whose enterprizing hand
Unbars the golden and reluctant gates
Of th' empyrean dome, where thou enthron'd
Philosophy art seated. Thou sustain'd
By the firm hand of everlasting truth
Despisest all the injuries of time;
Thou never know'st decay, when all around
Antiquity obscures her head. Behold
Th' *Egyptian* towers, the *Babylonian* walls,
And *Thebes* with all her hundred gates of brass,
Behold them scatter'd like the dust abroad.
Whatever now is flourishing and proud,
Whatever shall, must know devouring age.
Euphrates' stream and seven-mouthed *Nile*,
And *Danube*, thou that from *Germania's* soil
To the black *Euxine's* far-remoted shore,
O'er the wide bounds of mighty nations sweep'st
In thunder loud thy rapid floods along;
Ev'n you shall feel inexorable time;
To you the fatal day shall come; no more
Your torrents then shall shake the trembling
ground,
No longer then to inundations swol'n
Th' imperious waves the fertile pastures drench,
But shrunk within a narrow channel glide;
Or through the year's reiterated course
When time himself grows old, your wond'rous streams
Lost ev'n to memory shall lie unknown
Beneath obscurity, and Chaos whelm'd.
But still thou Sun illuminatest all
The azure regions round, thou guidest still
The orbits of the planetary spheres; [course,
The Moon still wanders o'er her changing
And still, O *Newton*, shall thy name survive,
As long as nature's hand directs the world,
When ev'ry dark obstruction shall retire,
And ev'ry secret yield its hidden store,
Which thee dim-sighted age forbad to see,
Age that alone could stay thy rising soul.
And could mankind among the fixed stars,
E'en to th' extremest bounds of knowledge
To those unknown innumerable suns, [reach,
Whose light but glimmers from those distant
worlds,
Ev'n to those utmost boundaries, those bars
That shut th' entrance of th' illumin'd space,
Where angels only tread the vast unknown,
Thou ever should'st be seen immortal there:
In each new sphere, each new-appearing sun,
In farthest regions at the very verge
Of the wide universe should'st thou be seen.
And lo, th' all-potent goddess *Nature* takes
With her own hand thy great; thy just reward
Of immortality; aloft in air
See she displays, and with eternal grasp
Uprears the trophies of great *Newton's* fame.

R. GLOVER.

By a young Lad of *Perth* School, in *Scotland*, aged 15.

Upon a STORM.

A Gloomy tempest rising from the main,
With midnight darkness hides the heav'nly plain;
The clouds display their sable files on high,
Fraught with the dread artill'ry of the sky.
The rainy Auster, with tempestuous flight
Pours from his caverns, and provokes the fight.
With sudden flashes all the welkin glows,
And with full force the winged squadrons close:
Hark! rushing clouds commence the rolling war,
And angry thunders grumble from afar;

The

The bolts impetuous through the æther fly,
And floods of rain confound the liquid sky.
Say, knowing goddess, what superior pow'r
Restrains the thunder in this dreadful hour?
'Tis thou, great God, whose uncontested sway
All parts of wide immensity obey.
Fix'd by thy power, and made at thy command,
Ten thousand orbs in graceful order stand.
Unnumber'd spirits fall before thy throne,
Thou great, eternal, infinite and one.

The same in Latin, *by the same Hand.*

Ecce fugit Phœbus, pelago ruit atra procella,
Et densa æthereos volvit caligine campos.
Nubila se expandunt, quæ fulmina dira ministrant,
Arma Jovis magni. Madidis Notus evolat alis,
Atque ciet tenebras terris, cœloque ruinam.
Ecce etiam ingeminant subitæ per inania flammæ,
Aereique ruunt pedites, & prælia tentant.
Incunda fremunt volitantque per æthera late
Fulmina, confuso descendit Jupiter imbri.
Dic mihi, Musa sciens, quis dira tonitrua frænat,
Temperat & rapidum flammanti turbine fulmen,
Quin laniet mundum? Superi regnator olympi,
Qui regit immensum vasto molimine regnum.
* Splendida tu nitidi stellâsti mœnia cœli
* Mille vagis flammis, te pangunt mille Phalanges [tentem.
* Æthereæ, Æternum, Solum, sine fine Po-

On the Approach of *Winter.*

HOary *Winter now appears,*
Boreas *from his cavern roars*
His blustring head, and with fresh force
Takes his o'erbearing dreadful course;
Whilst once blith nature seems to die,
And rain comes pouring from the sky;
Or snow all o'er the meadow lies,
And waters are congeal'd to ice:
The warblers now our woods decline,
And bye them to some hotter clime;
Prepar'd, when spring returns again,
To cheer us with enliven'd strain.
The country lawns no more we love,
The fields nor please us nor the grove,
No more we thro' the forest rove.
But to the city take our way,
There haunt the tavern, Mall and play,
And from our breast drive care away.

E.

The Reconcilement. In Imitation of the ninth Ode of the third Book of *Horace.*

Lyc. WHILST *I with love's persuasive charms,*
Could warm your tender female breast;
While round your neck entwine my arms,
Nor Persia's king was half so blest.

Lydia. *Whilst you ador'd none else but me,*
Nor Chloe's *charms could rival mine;*
Whilst I was thought the fairest she,
What maid was then so blest as thine?

Horace. Chloe's *now mistress of my heart,*
Her voice and lyre attractive are;
For whom with life I'd freely part,
If death the lovely maid would spare.

Lydia. *How happy and how blest am I,*
That can young lovely Calais *charm!*
So blest,—I'd ne'er refuse to die,
To save the tender youth from harm.

Horace. *What if sweet love and* Hymen *kind,*
Our broken vows again unite;
If Chloe's *banish'd out of mind,*
And Lyddy *should retrieve her right?*

Lydia. *Tho' he more fair than morning star,*
And you like raging Boreas *prove,*
Inconstant too; I'd chuse by far
With thee to die, or living love.

A. Z.

The XIVth ODE of ANACREON.

Upon LOVE.

REBEL *I shall not be still;*
Love at last I will, I will.
Once the godhead gently strove,
To persuade my soul to love:
But perverse and senseless I,
With his will would not comply.
Strait his ivory bow he took,
(Full his golden quiver shook)
And to combat me defy'd.
Clad in mail with martial stride,
Like Achilles, *I advance,*
Arm'd with buckler, and with lance,
All my force resolv'd to prove,
'Gainst the mighty god of love.
He let fly his shafts.——I run.
When his arrows all were done;
Vex'd, that I unwounded flew,
Like a dart himself he threw:
In my heart sunk deep he lay,
Melting all my strength away.
Vainly now the shield I bear,
Vainly brandish high the spear,
Guard with outward arms my skin,
Since the combat's all within.

A TALE.

SIR John, *to large estate the only heir,*
His mother's hope, *her* darling *and her* care,
Not suffer'd from his mamma's *sight to roam,*
But kept to novels *and to* plays *at home,*
Fill'd with romantick love began to sigh,
Thought he must love, but knew not what, nor why.
Still he read on, and still encreas'd his flame,
And found that each knight-errant had his dame:

What

What ſhou'd he do alone without a fair?
Juſt at the nick o'time, with wond'rous air,
Suſan *with broom was ſweeping down her ſtair.*
Sir John *was ſmitten with a pleas'd ſurprize,*
And ſaw imaginary *charms ariſe,*
New beauties at each look their ſweets diſcloſe,
Here the white lilly, *there the bluſhing* roſe:
In ſhort — to Suſan *he reveal'd his love,*
Which the coy cunning gypſy did improve,
'Till with intriegue *he* ſtole *his fatal curſe,*
To Suky *ty'd for* better and for worſe.
Soon marry'd, *the ſucceeding honey-moon,*
As it too often proves, was over ſoon;
He views his wife, *not as he view'd his* maid,
The Lillies vaniſh, *and the* roſes *fade;*
Diſcords, *(as diſcords will in marriage riſe)*
From morn to evening fill the houſe with noiſe:
Her Ladyſhip, *to hinder wars to come,*
Renews the operation *of her* Broom;
The Knight *too late convinc'd by aching ſide,*
She who could bruſh *his* ſtairs, *could* bruſh
his hide.

A Conſolation for CUCKOLDOM.

——*Cornu petit ille, caveto.* Virgil.

'IN *France* de one man's drink no make
'Another's ſober head to ake,'
Quoth poor * *Duſoy*, when drunken maſter
Made bleeding noddle want a plaiſter:
And yet the ſilly whim prevails
Through all the world, that wanton tails
Of *Meſſalinas* muſt tranſlate
The penance to the Huſband's pate.
The *wiſer Antients* never thought
The worſe of him, whoſe Wife was naught.
Atrides, † his lewd rival ſlain,
Kindly receiv'd his *Nell* again,
Sunk in the boſom of the Fair,
Forgot the toils of ten years war.
Amphytrion ‡ thought it no diſgrace,
That mighty *Jove* ſupply'd his place;
That hero rather did rejoice,
The thunderer approv'd his choice,
Hugg'd in his arms the foſter child,
And with a father's fondneſs ſmil'd,
When-e'er he rock'd him in his ſhield:
And meaſur'd with triumphant joy,
The ſerpents ſtrangled by the boy.
Wife *Cato* || lent his friend his dame:
Yet *Cato* had no other name.
O tyrant cuſtom! all the ſhame
Of *cuckoldom* lies in the *name:*
'Twas thy contrivance ſure, *Old Nick,*
Or ſome looſe marriage-hater's trick,
To make poor Huſbands run horn-mad,
Whene'er their wives are pleas'd to gad.
Jove, when he deign'd in maſquerade,
To raviſh ſome fair mortal maid,
A § *ſatyr*, or a *bull* became:
And § *Neptune* bliſſom'd like a *ram.*
If *horns* muſt follow looſe amours,
Know, ** bold *aggreſſor*, they are *yours*
Not his, who *weds* the charming dame;
His forehead's ſmooth, and clear his fame.
The forked *creſt* ſhould we remove,
It were falſe *heraldry* in *love.*
A *peaſant*, without learning, wiſe,
As I was talking thus, replies,
Thoſe huſbands, whom folks *Cuckolds* call,
Three creatures repreſent 'em all.
See yonder, in that plat of graſs,
My ſhaggy *goat*, my *ram*, my *aſs.*
Old *grey-beard* bears *behind* his horns,
And the reproach, he ſees not, ſcorns.
Gibby in vain from ſcandal flies,
His *horns* hang ever in his eyes.
But *Jack* the only wretch appears,
Who takes for *horns* his lopping ears.

Of the *Choice* of a *good Wife.*

IF *I were to chuſe a woman,*
As a wiſer man may marry,
I would truſt the eye of no man,
Nor a tongue that may miſcarry,
For, alike, in love and glory
Our own tongues beſt tell our ſtory.

Firſt, to make my choice the bolder,
I would have her child to ſuch
Whoſe free virtuous lives are older
Than antiquity can touch;
For 'tis ſeldom ſeen that blood
Gives a beauty great and good.

Yet an antient ſtock may bring
Branches, I confeſs, of worth,
Like rich mantles ſhadowing
Thoſe deſcents that brought them forth:
Yet ſuch bills as ſun-gilt ſhew,
Soonеſt feel the age of ſnow.

Therefore, to prevent ſuch care
That repentance ſoon may bring,
Like merchants I would chuſe my ware,
Uſeful, good, not glittering.
He that weds for ſtate or face,
Buys a horſe to loſe the race.

Yet I would have her fair as any,
Her own charms not kiſs'd away:
I would have her free to many,
Look on all like equal day:
But, deſcending to the ſea,
Make her ſet with none but me.

Yet I would not have her loſe
So much breeding, as to fling
Unbecoming ſcorn on thoſe
That muſt worſhip ev'ry thing.
Let her fear looſe looks to ſcatter,
And looſe men will fear to flatter.

Chil-

* *Sir* George Etheridge's *Plays.* † *The Story well known of* Paris *running away with* Menalaus's *Wife* Helen. ‡ *Vide* Theocrit. *Idyll.* || Cato *never called Cuckold (that I know of) in any Hiſtorian.* § *Brethren in Iniquity. Vid.* Ovid. Metam. ** *'Tis fairly turned.*

Children I would have her bear,
More for love of name than bed;
Ev'ry child I have is heir
To another maidenhead:
For she that's in my arms afraid,
Ev'ry night's another maid.
Such a one, as when she's woo'd
Blushes not for ill thoughts past,
But so innocently good,
That her very dreams are chaste:
For that maid who thinks a sin
Has betray'd the sort she's in.
In my visits let her still
Pause with doubts, and start with fears,
Not to do, but suffer ill,
And shew her tenderness in tears:
Vow to live a constant life;
Nor lose the lover in the wife.
When the priest first gives our hands,
I would have her think but thus,
That what high and holy hands
Heav'n, like twins, hath planted us;
That, like Aaron's rod, together
Both may bud, grow ripe and wither.

The seventh Ode of the first Book of Horace *imitated, and address'd to Mr.* R. R. *By the Author of* Sawney the Scot. (*See p.* 438.)

WHilst *Windsor*'s charms profuse display'd,
In *Pope*'s unrival'd numbers flow;
With beauty *Cowper*'s hill array'd,
Does greatest charms to *Denham* owe.
Whilst *Bath* renown'd yields boundless bliss
To youthful and decrepid years;
And *Richmond*'s pleasures never cease,
The Elysium which the age reveres:
Whilst *Scarb'rough*'s fields and air diffuse
Delight that's worthy heav'nly abodes,
These streams inspire the Laureat muse,
And joy us with mellifluous odes.
Not *Windsor* park; nor *Cowper*'s hill;
Not *Richmond* cheer'd with gentle *Thames*;
Nor *Scarb'rough*'s sea serene and still;
Nor pleasant *Bath*'s salubrious steams,
So much as *Dulwich* me delight,
Dulwich replete with every joy;
Where mirth and jollity invite;
And solitude, if mirth shou'd cloy:
Hy hills that threat the sky,
Subsiding vallies here behold;
Groves retir'd from mortal eye,
The Druids calm retreat of old:
Hither then, prythee, *Bob*, repair,
The hurry leave and quit the town,
Since far we'll drive corroding care,
And in Champaign our sorrows drown.
Gladly embrace the present hours
The bounteous gods to us assign,
Tho' money fails and fortune lours,
Let's chear our hearts with generous wine.
Thus we'll soar 'bove mortal flight,
And spurn the giddy fickle croud;
Envy of gods, each day, each night,
'Midst rapt'rous joys our heads we'll shroud.
Thus sam'd *Dick Steel*, each *Briton*'s praise,
Excell'd in wit as most allow,
When tipsy or in drink he was,
Nay sometimes drunk as *David*'s sow:
And thus address'd in merry mood
His friends with wine and pleasure crown'd,
Regard no duns, ne'er mind being su'd,
Brisk put relief, the bottle round.
Had *Dick* been now, *Dick*, *Bob* and *Ned*,
How we wou'd chase away dull sorrow!
At least let us his footsteps tread,
Drink deep to day, the same to-morrow.
E. C.

The twentieth Epigram of the first Book of Martial *translated extempore. By the same Hand.*

To ÆLIA.

ÆLIA, if I remember right,
Four stumps your laugh betray'd;
Till two mischievous coughs one night,
Your gums quite toothless made:
Howe'er no winter you need fear,
Nor spring that's something kinder;
For coughs and phthisick you may bear,
And now lose ne'er a grinder. *E. C.*

Tom Turdman's *Epistle to a School-Master in* Dublin.

SAY, great * *Pythagoras* of our happier days,
How shall I stile thee in my ruder lays?
Hast thou from *Horace* or *Longinus* drawn
Their souls to animate thy lifeless brawn?
Or didst thou once in *Mævius* plague old *Rome*,
Tho' *C*——*y*'s senseless trunk is now thy doom?
With justice sure this judgment we may pass,
That thou art doom'd to animate an ass.
O happy, couldst thou but assume the form,
Ere with its kindred † lice thy carcase swarm.
But damn the luck! —— thy brother *Chiron*'s dead;
He had a tail, and you cou'd give the head.
Say, did thy nurse, when with her gentle fist
She squeez'd thy nose, or wip'd thee when bepiss'd,
Suck out thy snot, as thro' a hollow quill,
Not ceasing till she made thy brains distil?
Or did the midwife, in the natal minute,
Squeeze thy thin skull, till nothing was left in it?
Yet thy poor tongue escap'd her clumsy thumb;
Had that been lost, half *Grubstreet* had been dumb.
On thy birth-day (ye gods avert such things!)
Apollo trim'd his bays, and clip'd his wings;

* So call'd *from the various Shapes he has appear'd in, as that of* Theocritus, Horace, Lon-, *and hereafter, probably, that of* Pindar, *or* Homer.

† *As our Hero's Body by Reason* s Fatness *inclines to Putrefaction, his Transformation into this Animal would be of Service to* , *as it is the only Creature that is free from Vermin.*

The *Muſes* ſlumber'd with their harps unſtrung;
A fog around thy infant temples hung:
When the dull *Naiad*, hov'ring o'er thy head,
Within this ſkull I build my dome, ſhe ſaid.
Here let not *Phœbus* with his beams approach,
Or the bold Muſe upon my ſhrine encroach.
My thriving ſpawn of nonſenſe here I'll lay,
And ſhed my muddy influence ev'ry day;
Till grown mature, and into faſhion wrought,
They tumble out ſome huge unmeaning thought.
So oft' we find in ſome ſheep's hollow noſe,
The vermin flies their little eggs depoſe; [riſe,
There batch'd, and nouriſh'd by the heat they
And crawl forth maggots of prodigious ſize.
Art thou then, great tranſlator, come at laſt
To fight the living dead in dire contraſt?
Beware, ſince *Horace* claſp'd thee juſt to death,
Leſt bold *Longinus* ſqueeze out all thy breath.
Try not the virtue of his *Gorgon*'s head,
If you confront him, he will ſtrike thee dead.
So with fond hope to ſhow his vigour fir'd,
Vain *Milo* in the oak's embrace expir'd;
To wolves and bears his body fell a prey,
Thine to the yawning boghouſe we'll convey:
Yet ſtill you'll not ſuſpend your grey-gooſe quill; [ſtrive to kill.
Tho' pluck'd you'll write, tho' kill'd, yet
Thy Muſe, like ſome young proſtituted whore,
The more ſhe's pox'd, will go aſtray the more;
Or, like ſir-reverence in a ſtagnant ſink,
The more ſhe's ſtirr'd about, the more ſhe'll ſtink.
She's like a fleſh-worm hid beneath the ſkin;
The more you rub, the farther it works in.
She's like a top, which ſleeping on the ground,
The more you whip, it twirles the faſter round.
So various are the paths, thy reſtleſs muſe
Thro' all the labyrinths of fame purſues.
Now ſhe's on ground, now leaves her native earth,
Now flounders in the mud that gave her birth.
This way or that ſhe ſteers, no matter where,
She's ſure to leave her dirty relicks there.
Thus ſometimes ſnails attempt a tree or wall,
Tho' doom'd by nature on the earth to crawl;
But where the groveling reptile ſtrove to climb,
It leaves behind a filthy odious ſlime.
Yet ſtill you ſay, you'll write——indeed, why not?
Tho' few can write, yet ev'ry dunce may blot.
But you'll write ſatire—yes—I follow nature—
A goat will but, and he's my fellow-creature.
But will you write good ſenſe?—Ay, there's the pauſe—— [laws!
Then ſun go back, and nature change your
When *Memnon*'s buſt was ſtruck by *Phœbus*' ray,
It felt the god, and chim'd in vocal lay.
But ſuch the ſtructure of thy wooden ſkull,
Its texture is ſo exquiſitely dull,
That were his beams eternally to beat,
One tuneful echo you could ne'er repeat.
If after all you'd cenſure, or commend,
Be this your rule, and you'll obtain your end:
For ſatires, write your panegyrick lays;
And when you'd ſatirize, be ſure to praiſe.
You fear'd, when firſt thy pointleſs arrows flew,
The woeful vengeance that wou'd cloſe purſue,
When thou, well-conſcious of thy feeble wrath,
Ranſack'dſt each garret in thy own *Montrath*;
Rak'd thro' the ſtews, and jakes, and mug-houſe lanes,
For paultry ſcriblers to ſupply thy brains;
When you with oyſter-bribe, or potent bub,
Had muſter'd up the Hackney *Grubſtreet* club,
Now from all quarters met the ſpurious fry
'Hiſs, bounce, and crack, then ſmoaking ſtink and dye.'
So ſcatter'd geeſe are ſeen to flock together,
And cackle loud before tempeſtuous weather.
Of witlings ſuch a noiſy, buzzing herd
Around thee flock, as flies around a t—d.
A neſt of ſtingleſs waſps each fain wou'd ſpirt,
And thro' its quill its little venom ſquirt.
Of plagiaries I might ſpeak; what then?
For who ſteals books, from books may ſteal again.
Each has a ſtomach keener than his wit;
For one that miſſes here, there ten will hit.
O wretch condemn'd to feed this louſy tribe,
And cram their craving guts with daily bribe.
The ſhepherd thus his wand'ring herd obeys,
And tho' he feeds them, follows as they pleaſe.

MASTICUS.

The XVth *Ode of* Anacreon. *Upon himſelf.*

GYGES' grandeur, *Sardian* king,
Care to me can never bring.
Ne'er, in gold's bright fetters bound,
Can I envy tyrants crown'd.
With rich oils my beard and hair
To perfume, is my chief care:
My chief care with roſes twin'd
Is my fragrant brows to bind.
All my care this inſtant Now
Claims: To-morrow who can know?
Whilſt the ſky's ſerene and gay,
Drink then, drink, I ſay, and play.
Due libations, this bright hour,
Sacred to *Lyæus* pour;
Ere diſeaſe with ſudden pain
Cry, thou ne'er muſt drink again.

The XVIth *Ode of* Anacreon. *Upon himſelf.*

YOU the *Theban* wars recite;
He the *Phrygians* noiſy fight;
I Beauty's victories, in chains
Which my captive heart detains.
'Twas not horſe that vanquiſh'd me,
Nor foot arm'd, by land, or ſea:
But far other forces new,
Darts from brighteſt eyes that flew.

N. B. *The Verſes on Mr.* Dalacourt's Profeſſ. of Poetry, *and on Miſs* B—— W—— *Death, ſhall be inſerted in our next.*

The GENTLEMAN's *Monthly Intelligencer.*

OCTOBER, 1734.

WEDNESDAY, *Oct.* 2.

THE ſix following Malefactors were executed at *Tyburn*, viz. *William Howard*, for Burglary; *Robert Colſon*, for the Highway; *Thomas Macguire*, for Horſe-ſtealing; *Mary Haycock*, *Elizabeth Tracey* and *Catherine Tracey* (two Siſters) for Coining. The three laſt were drawn on a Hurdle from *Newgate* to the Place of Execution, and burnt at a Stake to Aſhes. (See p. 385, 493.)

THURSDAY, 3.

His Royal Highneſs the Prince of *Wales* was pleaſed to viſit the Hoſpital near *Hyde-Park-Corner* (of which his Royal Highneſs is Preſident.) He enquir'd into the Attendance, Laws and Regulations of the Society in every Branch, went thro' the ſeveral Wards, examin'd the Proviſions, view'd the Offices, the hot and cold Baths, the dry Pumps, and other Conveniencies, and expreſs'd his Approbation of the Whole. His Royal Highneſs at his going away directed Col. *Schutz* to give 50*l.* to the Charity, and 20 Guineas to be diſtributed among the Servants of the Hoſpital, to encourage them in the Continuance of their Care of the poor Patients.

THURSDAY, 17.

The Seſſions ended at the *Old Bailey*, when the two following Perſons received Sentence of Death, viz. *John Butler*, for breaking open the Houſe of Mr. *Lucas* in *Red-Lion-ſtreet*, *Clerkenwell*, and ſtealing thence Goods to a great Value; and *Elizabeth Pugh*, for the Murder of her Fellow-Servant, *Richard Ward*. The Woman-Servant and one of the Men-Servants of the late Mr. *Cantillon* were bail'd out of *Newgate* before the Lord Mayor; the other Man being detain'd for Want of Sureties. About 16 were caſt for Tranſportation.

At a General Court of the *York-Buildings* Company, a Plan of an Agreement between the Company and their Creditors, for giving them a Satisfaction for their reſpective Debts, was unanimouſly agreed upon, and ordered to be put in Execution.

MONDAY, 21.

This Morning about Seven o'Clock, the Corpſe of *Orange* ſet out from *Kenſington* for *Holland*, attended by the Lady *Herbert*, Lady *Southwell*, and Miſs *Sutton*; ſhe lay that Night at *Iſaac Lemyng Rebow*'s Houſe at *Colcheſter*, where ſhe was complimented by the Mayor and Corporation, and by the Proteſtant Diſſenting Miniſters; but one of the Prince's Gentlemen arriving with certain Advices from his Serene Highneſs, her Royal Highneſs return'd the next Day to *Kenſington*.

Exported into Foreign Parts from the 5th to the 19th Inſtant, 11710 Quarters of Wheat, 200 Quarters of Barley, 100 Quarters of Meal, 200 Quarters of Beans, 10000 Ounces of Gold Bullion, 5000 Ounces of coin'd Gold, 160000 Ounces of uncoin'd Silver, and 160000 Ounces of Silver coin'd.

The Gentlemen of the North-Riding of the County of *York*, at their late Quarter-Seſſions held at *Thirſk*, agreed upon a Petition to be preſented to Parliament, for obtaining an Act to oblige all Perſons to regiſter the Securities they give their Mortgagees upon any Loan of Money, to prevent the frequent Frauds that are at preſent committed.

FRIDAY, 25.

Letters from *Holderneſs* in *Yorkſhire*, mention the following remarkable Inſcription on a Tomb-Stone newly erected in the Church-Yard of *Heydon*, viz.

Here lieth the Body of WILLIAM STRUTTON *of* Padrington, *buried the* 18*th of* May 1734, *aged* 97, *who had by his firſt Wife* 28 *Children, and by a ſecond Wife* 17; *own Father to* 45, *Grandfather to* 86, *Great Grandfather to* 97, *and Great Great Grandfather to* 23; *in all* 251.

About Four this Morning, a dreadful Earthquake was felt all over the Town of *Portſmouth*, the Gun-Wharf, Dock, and the Common, as well as ſeveral Miles about the Country; it awak'd the Inhabitants of *Portſmouth*, who were in a great Conſternation, not being us'd to ſuch Terrors; and a Captain of one of the Men of War in the Harbour, declar'd, that he felt it on board his Ship, not in Shocks, as uſual abroad, but a Trembling for the Space of a Minute; in which every Body elſe agrees. By other Accounts we find it reach'd as far as *Chicheſter*, where it ſhook ſeveral Things off Peoples Shelves, &c.

SATURDAY, 26.

A Proclamation was publiſh'd, requiring all Seamen and Mariners in his Majeſty's Service to repair forthwith to the Ships of War to which they belong, on or before *Nov.* 24. on Pain of Death.

MONDAY, 28.

The Princeſs *Amelia* arriv'd at *Kenſington* from *Bath*.

TUESDAY, 29.

Sir *Edward Bellamy*, Knt. the new Lord Mayor, was ſworn before the Barons of the *Exchequer* at *Weſtminſter*.

By an Account lately taken it appears there are above 11000 Houſes empty in the City of *London*, *Weſtminſter*, *Southwark*, and within the Bills of Mortality; and about 4000 within ten Miles of *London*.

MARRIAGES *and* BIRTHS.

JOHN NICHOLAS, Eſq; married to Miſs *Mary Thompſon*, a 16,000*l.* Fortune.

Mr. *Grance*, the younger, the famous Trumpeter, to the Widow of *Chriſtian Cole*, Eſq; late one of his Majeſty's Juſtices of the Peace for *Middleſex*, and formerly Reſident at *Venice*.

William Mannock, Eſq; eldeſt Son of Sir *Francis Mannock*, Bart. to Miſs *Wright*, Siſter to Mr. *Wright*, an eminent Banker in *Covent-Garden*.

Veltes Cornwall, Eſq; Member of Parliament for the County of *Hereford*, to Miſs *Bray*.

Hill Dawe, of *Ditchett* in *Somerſet*, Eſq; to Miſs *Moore*, Daughter of *Andrew Moore*, of *North Newton* in the ſame County, Eſq;

Mr. *John Knight*, Son of Mr. *Knight*, an eminent Builder in *Burlington-Gardens*, to Miſs *Lawrence* of *Tottenham High-Croſs*, a 10,000*l.* Fortune.

Thomas Carleton, Eſq; to Mrs. *Prudence Vane*, a near Relation of the Lord *Barnard*, a 20,000*l.* Fortune.

Mr. *George Garret*, youngeſt Son to *Alexander Garret*, Eſq; in the Commiſſion of the Peace for the *Tower* Hamlets, to Miſs *Slaughter*, Daughter to the late Mr. *Slaughter*, a *Blackwell-Hall* Factor.

Gerard Van Neck, Eſq; late one of the Directors of the *Eaſt-India* Company, to the Relict of the late Sir *Dennis Dutrey*, Bart. a Fortune of 100,000*l.*

Stephen Comyn, Eſq; to Miſs *Tay*, only Daughter to Mr. *Edward Tay*, a great Trader in *Cheapſide*.

Richard Reynolds of *Staffordſhire*, Eſq; to Miſs *Gery*, Siſter to *George Gery*, of *Great Billing*, Eſq;

Joſeph Churchill, Eſq; Brother to *William Churchill*, Eſq; one of the Commiſſioners of the Salt Duty, to Miſs *Small*, youngeſt Daughter of Mr. *Small*, a Surgeon in *York-Buildings*.

——— *Wingfield*, Eſq; to Miſs *Dorothy Williamſon*, Daughter of Sir *William Williamſon*, of *Monkweremouth* in the Biſhoprick of *Durham*, Bart.

The Lady of the Right Hon. the Earl of *Pomfret*, ſafely deliver'd of a Son.

DEATHS.

AT *Altena*, near *Hamburgh*, the Right Hon. *Donagh*, Earl of *Clancarty*, Viſcount *Muſkerry*, &c. in the Kingdom of *Ireland*, aged 78 Years.

James Kemp, Eſq. one of his Majeſty's Juſtices of the Peace for *Middleſex*.

Brigadier *Lloyd*, formerly Capt. of a Company in a Marching-Regiment, and Brigadier in the Marine Service in the late War.

Mr. *Mortimer Powell*, an eminent Merchant in the *Old Jewry*; he dropt down of an Apoplectick Fit in St. *James's-Park*.

Lady *Beck*, Relict of Sir *Juſtus Beck*, the firſt Baronet created by his late Majeſty K. *George*, and Mother to the preſent Sir *Juſtus Beck*, Bart.

Rev. Mr. *Price*, Miniſter of *Landowen* in *Brecknockſhire*.

Rev. Mr. *John Huggins*, M. A. one of the Senior Fellows of *Pembroke-Hall* in *Cambridge*.

Capt. *Merwick*, formerly Commander of his Majeſty's Ship the *Scarborough*.

Rev. Mr. *Richard Simpſon*, Rector of *Norton* in the Dioceſe of *Canterbury*.

Dr. *Syms*, at his Houſe in St. *Mary-Overs* Church-Yard.

At *Tottenham*, *Charles Shales*, Eſq; aged 73.

At *Galway* in *Ireland*, the Rev. *Henry Hart*, D. D. Warden of the Collegiate Church of *Galway*.

Dr. *Thomas Joy*, a Member of the College of Phyſicians.

Capt. *Jubez Singleton*, who ſerv'd upwards of 47 Years in the Navy.

Sir *William Ogborne*, Knt. Maſter-Carpenter to the Office of his Majeſty's Ordnance, one of his Majeſty's Juſtices of the Peace, Col. of a Regiment of the Militia of the *Tower-Hamlets*, one of the Elder Brothers of the *Trinity-Houſe*, and Sheriff of *London* in the Year 1726.

The Lady of Col. *Montagu*, Brother to the Earl of *Halifax*.

At *Kingsbury* in *Warwickſhire*, *John Cotton*, Eſq;

Mr. *James Radcliff*, a near Relation to the Earl of *Derwentwater*.

Lady *Garbart*, Widow and Relict of Sir *Henry Garbart*, late of *Shelford* in *Nottinghamſhire*.

Counſellor *Brown*, Treaſurer to the Society of *Lincoln's-Inn*.

At *Leeds-Caſtle* in *Kent*, the Hon. *Henry Colepeper Fairfax*, Eſq; Brother to the Lord *Fairfax*.

In *Cheſhire*, *Charles Hulſton* of *Newton* in that County, Eſq;

James Moore Smyth, one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace for *Middlesex*.

At her Lodgings in *Cannongate*, *Edinburgh*, the Right Hon. the Lady *Rollo*.

Hon. Col. *Robinson*, Col. of a Company in his Majesty's Cold-stream Regiment of Foot-Guards.

At her House in *Grosvenor-street*, of the Dropsy, having been tapped upwards of 12 Times, the Lady *Irby*, Mother to the present Sir *William Irby*, Bart.

Mr. *Thomas Ward*, House-keeper of the House of Commons, and Deputy Serjeant at Arms to that Hon. House.

At Sir *Gerard Conyers*'s in *Austin-Fryars*, *Barrington Eaton*, Esq; an eminent *Turkey* Merchant.

Hugh Boscawen, Visc. *Falmouth*.

Lady *Ebison*, Relict of Sir *Clement Ebison*.

Owen Wynne, Esq; Lieut. Gen. of his Majesty's Forces.

The Right Rev. Father in God, Dr. *John Waugh*, Lord Bishop of *Carlisle*, and Rector of St. *Peter*'s *Cornhill*.

Mr. *Hall* the Comedian, who belong'd to *Covent-Garden* Theatre.

Ecclesiastical PREFERMENTS.

BENJAMIN Lord Bishop of *Winchester* confirm'd Prelate of the Order of the Garter.

Dr. *Thomas Tennison*, made Chancellor of the Diocese of *Oxford*, in the room of Lord *Talbot*.

His Majesty was pleased to grant his Conge d'Elire, for electing Dr. *Thomas Sherlock*, Lord Bishop of *Bangor*, to the See of *Salisbury*, void by the Translation of Dr. *Benj. Hoadley* to the See of *Winchester*.

Mr. *John Smith* presented to the Vicarage of *Nately-Booths*, *Hants*.

Mr. *Tipping Silvester*, M. A. chosen Lecturer of St. *Bartholomew the Great*, in the room of Mr. *Piddington*, deceased.

Mr. *John Woodroffe*, presented to the Rectory of *Warden* in the Diocese of *Canterbury*.

Mr. *Scriven* to the Rectory of *Church-Lawford*, *Warwickshire*.

Mr. *Stevens*, Rector of *Malden*, *Surrey*, collated to a Preb. of *Winchester*.

Mr. *Croxall*, Preb. of *Hereford*, inducted into the Vicarage of *Sellack* in that Diocese.

Dr. *Reuben Clark*, Rector of St. *Magnus*, *London Bridge*, sworn in one of his Majesty's Chaplains in Ordinary.

Mr. *George Stubbs* presented to the Rectory of *Tollemunt-Knights*, *Essex*.

Mr. *Bridges Thomas* to the Rectory of *Little Comberton*, *Worcestershire*.

Mr. *John Williams* to the Rectory of *Tigard*, *Pembrokeshire*.

Mr. *Caleb Parnham* to the Rectory of *Pickworth*, *Rutlandshire*.

Mr. *Lionel Lamper* to the Rectory of *Fyfy*, *Berks*.

Mr. *Blomberg* to the Rectory of *Fulham*.

PROMOTIONS *Civil* and *Military*.

MR. *Jephson* appointed one of the principle Purveyors of Wine to his Majesty's Houshold.

Hon. Mr. *Henry Berkeley*, and the Hon. Mr. *Lumley* appointed Commissioners for the Office of Master of the Horse.

Mr. *Roberts*, appointed a Page of Honour to his Majesty, in the room of *John Fitz-Williams*, Esq; made a Cornet in the Royal Blue Regiment.

Capt. *Ramsay* succeeds the late Capt. *Reeves* as Capt. Lieut. of the same.

Thomas Wilkins, Esq; Serjeant at Arms to his Majesty, chosen a Burgess, Alderman, and Mayor of the Corporation of *Brackley*, *Northamptonshire*.

Hon. *Othniel Haggot*, Esq; one of his Majesty's Council in *Barbadoes*, appointed Chief Baron of the Court of *Exchequer* there, in the room of the Hon. *Thomas Beckles* deceased.

Capt. *Nicholas Clare* elected an elder Brother of *Trinity House*, in the room of Sir *William Oborne*, deceased.

James Gee, Esq; appointed Receiver General of the County of *York*.

Mr. *John Robins* made Surveyor of Houses for *Cornwal*.

Roberts Curtis, Esq; made General Treasurer of *Rhode Island*.

Persons declared BANKRUPTS.

PETER *Hudson*, of *Richmond* in *Surrey*, Vintner, Victualler and Chapman. *Richard Boycott*, of *Wallingford*, *Berks*, Distiller and Chapman. *James Watts*, of *Cateaton-street*, *London*, Packer and Chapman. *John Blake*, late of *Taunton*, in *Somersetshire*, Serge-maker. *William Hicks*, of *Halesowen*, *Salop*, Mercer. *Charles Lucas*, of St. *Olave*, *Silver-street*, Goldsmith and Chapman. *Richard Trubey* of St. *Paul*'s *Church-Yard*, Vintner. *Henry Burton*, of *Woodbridge*, *Suffolk*, Grocer and Chapman. *Francis Bradshaw*, of *Hind Court* in *Fleet-street*, Sadler and Chapman. *Charles Perier*, of St. *Paul*, *Covent-Garden*, Goldsmith. *Edward Oakes*, of *Rainow*, *Chester*, Chapman. *Wil. Miller*, of St. *John*, *Southwark*, Innholder and Chapman. *William Hobson*, late of St. *George*, *Hanover-square*, Vintner and Chapman. *Geo. Forest*, of St. *Martin in the Fields*, Coffee-Man, Retailer of Wines, and Chapman. *John Cliff*, of *Exchange Alley*, Broker and Chapman. *Henry Sharp* of *Walthamstow*, *Essex*, Apothecary and Chapman. *John Squire*, of *Love-lane*, Packer. *John Easted*, *Egham-hith*, in *Egham*, *Surrey*, Brewer. *John Merry*, of *Mark-Lane*, Merchant. *Stephen Huntly*, of *Switbin's-Alley*, Haberdasher of Hats. *John Prew*, late of *Taunton* in *Somersetshire*, Dyer.

Prices

Towards the End of the Month.

STOCKS.

S. Sea 97	*Afric.* 20
—*Bonds l.* 2 7	*Royal Aſſ.* 97
—*Annu.* 110 ⅜	*Lon. ditto* 12
Bank 35	*Y. Build.* 4
—*Circ. l.*2 15	3 *per C. An.* 92 ¾ a 3
Mil. Bank 107	*Eng. Copper* 1*l.* 15*s.*
India 141 ½	*Welſh dit.* ſhut
—*Bonds* 2*l.* 15	*Equivalent* 105

The Courſe of EXCHANGE.

Amſt.	35 8 a 7	*Bilboa*	40
D. Sight	35 6 a 5	*Leghorn*	50 ¼
Rotter.	35 9	*Genoa*	52 ¼
Hamb.	35 4	*Venice*	49 ¼
P. Sight	31 ⅞	*Lisb.*	5 5 ⅛ a ¼
Bourd.		*Oport.*	5 5 ⅛
Cadiz	40 ¼	*Antw.*	36 1
Madrid	40 ¼ a ⅜	*Dublin*	9 ¼

Prices of Goods at *Bear-Key.*

Wheat	30 34	*Oates*	9 13
Rye	15 17	*Tares*	18 23
Barley	14 17	*Peaſe*	20 22
H. Beans	16 20	*H. Peaſe*	16 19
P. Malt	17 20	*B. Malt*	16 19

Abſtract of the *London* WEEKLY BILL, from *Sept.* 24. to *Oct.* 22.

Chriſtned	Males 686	Females 655	1341
Buried	Males 1042	Females 1004	2046

Died under 2 Years old			842
Between	2	and 5	219
	5	10	89
	10	20	87
	20	30	157
	30	40	163
	40	50	183
	50	60	117
	60	70	98
	70	80	55
	80	90	32
	90 and upwards		4
			2046

Prices of Goods, *&c.* in *London.* Hay 39*s. to* 42*s.* a Load.

Coals per Chaldron 28 *a* 30
New Hops p. Hun. 5*l* 10 *a* 6*l*
Old Hops 3*l.* 10*s. a* 4*l.*
Rape Seed 10*l. a* 11*l.*
Lead the Fodder 19 *Hun.* 1 *half en board,* 14*l. a* 14*l.* 10*s.*
Tin in Blocks 3*l.* 16
Ditto in Bars 3*l.* 18*s.*
Copper Eng. beſt 5*l.* 5*s.*
Ditto ordinary 4*l.* 16*s. a* 5*l.*
Ditto Barbary 85*l. a* 95*l.*
Iron of Bilboa 15*l.* 5*s. per Ton.*
Ditto of Sweden 16*l.* 10*s.*
Tallow 30*s.*
Country Tallow 27*s.* 6*d.*
Cochineal 18*s.* 9

Grocery Wares by the C.

Raiſins of the S. new 32*s.* 6*d.*
Ditto Malaga Frailes 17*s.*
Ditto Smirna new 22*s.*
Ditto Alicant 18*s.*
Ditto Lipra new 19*s.*
Ditto Belvedera 29*s.*
Currants 35*s.*
Prunes French none
Figs 20*s.*
Sugar Powder beſt 54 *a* 59*s.*
Ditto ſecond Sort 46*s. a* 50
Loaf Sugar double ref. 12*d. per lb.*
Ditto ſingle refine 7*d. half penny*

Grocery Wares by the lb.

Cinamon 7*s.* 8*d.*
Cloves 9*s.* 1*d.*
Mace 15*s.* 6*d.*
Nutmegs 8*s.* 7*d.*
Sugar Candy white 14*d. a* 18*d.*
Ditto brown 6*d.*
Pepper for home conſump. 16*d.*
Ditto for Exportation 12*d. half.*
Tea Bohea fine 10*s. a* 12*s.*
Ditto ordinary 8 *a* 9*s.*
Ditto Congo 10 *a* 12*s.*
Ditto Pekoe 14 *a* 16*s.*
Ditto Green fine 9 *a* 12*s.*
Ditto Imperial 9 *a* 12*s.*
Ditto Hyſon 20 *a* 25*s.*

Drugs by the lb.

Balſam Peru 14*s.*
Cardamoms 3*s.* 6*d.*
Camphire refin'd 9*s.* 6
Crabs Eyes 1*s.* 8*d.*
Jallop 2*s.* 8*d.*
Manna 2*s.* 6*d. a* 4*s*
Maſtick white 4*s.* 6*d.*
Opium 9*s.*
Quickſilver 4*s.* 3*d.*
Rhubarb 18 *a* 25*s.*
Sarſaparilla 3*s.* 6*d.*
Saffron Engliſh 22*s* 6
Wormſeeds none
Balſam Copaiva 3*s.* 6*d.*
Balſam of Gilead 20*s.*
Hypocacuanæ 4*s.* 6 *a* 5*s.*
Ambergreece per oz. 8*s.*

Wine, Brandy, and Rum.

Oporto red per Pipe 25*l. a* 28
Ditto white none
Lisbon red 35*l. a* 40
Ditto white 26*l. a* 28
Sherry 26*l.*
Canary new 25*l. a* 28
Ditto old 32*l. a* 34
Florence 3*l. per Cheſt*
French red 30*l. a* 40*l.*
Ditto white 20*l.*
Mountain Malaga old 24*l.*
Ditto new 20 *l. a* 22*l.*
Brandy Fr. per Gal. 7*s.* 4*d.*
Rum of Jam. 6*s. a* 7*s.*
Dit. Leew. Iſlands 6*s.* 4*d.* 6*s.* 10*d.*

FROM

FROM *Mantua*. Several Fatalities in the Battle of *Guaſtalla* (as the Thickneſs of the Trees, ſeveral Caſſines, and deep Ditches, where the Allies were advantageouſly poſted, *&c.*) made Count *Konigſeg*, after a Fight of 6 Hours, during which he loſt no Ground, to ceaſe the Attack, and retire; which was done in good Order, ſo that about half an Hour paſt 5 in the Evening, the Army entered again into their Camp at *Luzara*, without being hindered by the Enemy. Our Loſs both of Foot and Horſe amounts to 4 or 5000 Men kill'd or wounded. If the Enemy's Loſs was not more conſiderable, it is at leaſt equal, the Firing on both Sides being kept up with extraordinary Vigour. (p. 499.)

Amidſt this dreadful Scene of War, ſome Perſons were diſpoſed to make themſelves merry; as may appear by the following romantick Account, *viz.* An Expreſs arriv'd at Court, by which we have the Particulars of the Victory gained by the *Imperialiſts* over the *French* in *Italy*, at the Caſtle of *Guaſtalla*, wherein the *Allies* ſuſtain'd the following Loſſes, *viz.* 25 Pair of Kettle-Drums, 30000 Weight of Powder, 40000 Weight of Lead, 50000 Match, 365 Wax Flambeaux, 10000 Bombs, 25 Pieces of Cannon, 500 Large Savillat Sauſages, The King of *Sardinia*'s Tent, valued at 10000 Rixdollars, 2050 Horſes, 3000 Mules, The King's Cheſt, with ſeven Millions of Rixdollars, 55 Mortars, 600 Shovels and Pickaxes, 1000 Hand Granades, 500 Aums of Wine, 5000 Weight of Silver Plate, 1000 Oxen, 500 Milch Cows, 100000 Weight of Nails, 50 Barrels of Flints, 300 Packs of Accoutrements, 400 Firelocks, The King of *Sardinia*'s Watch ſet with Jewels, The Chancery, 300 Bales of Paper, A Liſt of 50 Spies kept in the King's Salary, 6 Months Proviſion for 10000 Men, 300 Officers and 1500 Common Soldiers taken, 1200 Slain.

From *Warſaw*, *Sept. ult.* The Affairs of King *Auguſtus* mend daily, while thoſe of King *Staniſlaus* are in a Manner deſperate: The Troops of *Ruſſia* and *Saxony* are ſo diſtributed throughout the Kingdom, that they are Maſters of all the principal Places, except *Cracow*, whilſt the oppoſite Party never appear to face their Enemy, but fly about in ſmall Numbers, and ſubſiſt by the Booty they gain in their continual Courſes, deeming every Thing that falls in their Way lawful Plunder.

From the *Rhine*; that Prince *Eugene* ſet out for *Vienna* the 2d Inſtant, having left the Command of the *Imperial* Army encamped at *Heidelberg*, to the Duke of *Wirtemberg*.

From *Vienna*. We are aſſured, that the Emperor has at laſt made a Convention with the Court of *Peterſburg*, to take 30,000 Ruſſians into his Pay; and that till his *Imperial* Majeſty has Occaſion to make Uſe of them, they are to be quartered in the Kingdom of *Bohemia*.

From *Vienna*. By Letters from *Conſtantinople*, of the 23d paſt, the Peace between the *Turks* and the *Perſians* was not yet concluded.

From *Venice*, *Oct.* 16. An Officer of Truſt arrived a few Days ago from *Conſtantinople* at the *French* Conſul's, who brought certain News, that the Peace is ſigned between the *Turks* and *Perſians*; and that in a Divan, the Grand Seignior came to a Reſolution to declare War againſt two Powers.

From *Mantua*, *Oct.* 16. On the Arrival of the *Imperialiſts* before *Mirandola*, the *French* under the Count *de Maillebois*, rais'd the Siege, leaving 8 Pieces of Cannon, 2 Mortars, with a great Quantity of Ammunition behind them.

From *Naples*. Count *de Traun*, Governor of *Capua*, has lately play'd off a Stratagem upon the *Spaniſh* Troops which inveſt that Place, whereby 500 were kill'd and 600 wounded.

From the *Hague*, *Oct.* 22. Nothing has been talk'd of here for ſome Days paſt, but an Augmentation of the Land-Forces of the Republick, and putting the Naval upon a better Foot.

From *Berlin*, that his *Pruſſian* Majeſty was alive on the 26th Inſtant, N. S. and thought a little better; but however without Hopes of Recovery.

From *Stockholm*; that the Treaty ſigned lately between that Crown and the Crown of *Denmark*, is a Treaty of Friendſhip, for preſerving the Tranquillity of the North, and is to laſt 15 Years.

The Marſhal *d'Aſfeldt*, juſt before he broke up his Camp, wrote to the Magiſtrates of *Worms*, that he had the King's Order to quarter 8000 Men upon them: They anſwer'd it was impoſſible for them to quarter any Troops, being in Want of almoſt all Neceſſaries: That they had neither Wood, nor Straw, nor Hay, nor Oats; but were willing to pay a Sum of Money in Lieu of them: The Marſhal replied, that the King's Order was poſitive, and the Troops muſt be there the 25th of *October*. The Duke of *Wirtemberg* being informed of all theſe Circumſtances, orders 4000 *Imperial* Troops and 4000 *Huſſars* to paſs the *Neckar* privately in the Night between the 23d and 24th, and with them he entered *Worms* at Six o'Clock the 25th in the Morning, and thereby prevented the *French*, who were come as far as *Spiers*.

From *Bruſſels*. They write from *Dunkirk* and *Calais*, that *Engliſh* Sailors arrive in theſe Ports from Time to Time, who are ſent to *Breſt* and other *French* Ports, to ſerve on board the Fleet of his moſt *Chriſtian* Majeſty.

The

DIVINITY.

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THE LONDON MAGAZINE.

NOVEMBER, 1734.

PROCEEDINGS and DEBATES in the *laſt Seſſion* of PARLIAMENT; continued from *Page* 519.

RESOLUTION *about the* Sinking Fund, *&c.*

ON *March* 11, the Houſe of Commons (according to Order) reſolved itſelf into a Committee of the whole Houſe, to conſider further of Ways and Means for raiſing the Supply granted to his Majeſty; and a Motion was made as follows, viz. That it ſhould be reſolved, that towards raiſing the Supply granted to his Majeſty, there ſhould be iſſued and applied the Sum of 1,200,000*l.* out of ſuch Monies as had ariſen, or ſhould or might ariſe, for the Surpluſſes, Exceſſes, or overplus Monies, commonly called the Sinking Fund: Which Motion was warmly oppoſed; but after a Debate the Queſtion was carried in the Affirmative: After which the following Reſolution paſſed without any Oppoſition, *viz.* That the Sum of 1,678*l.* 11*s.* 10*d.* Half-penny, remaining in the Receipt of his Majeſty's *Exchequer*, on Arrears of former Land-Taxes, ſhould be applied towards raiſing the Supply granted to his Majeſty, for the Service of the Year 1734. Both which Reſolutions, being next Day reported to the Houſe, were agreed to; and a Bill was ordered to be brought in purſuant to the firſt, and an Inſtruction was ordered for the Land-Tax Bill Committee to receive a Clauſe purſuant to the ſecond. (See the Lords Proteſts on the firſt of theſe Affairs, p. 200.)

DEBATE *on the Motion for repealing the* Septennial Act.

ON *March* 13. upon a Motion made by *P——p G——n*, Eſq; it was ordered, that the Serjeant at Arms ſhould go with the Mace into *Weſtminſter-Hall*, and into the Court of Requeſts, and Places adjacent, and ſummon the Members there to attend the Service of the Houſe; and he being returned, a Motion was made by *W——m B——ley*, Eſq; and ſeconded by Sir *J——n St. A——n*, for repealing the *Septennial Act*. (See both their Speeches at large, in our *Magazine* for *April*, from p. 202 to 206.)

J——n C——t, Eſq; Member for *W——te Cb——b* in *Hampſhire*, ſpoke next, in Subſtance as follows, *viz.* Sir, as I happen to differ in Opinion from the two honourable Gentlemen who have ſpoke in Favour of this Motion, I ſhall endeavour to follow them in every Thing they have ſaid, and give my Reaſons for not thinking the Arguments they have made uſe of any way concluſive. They have talked a great deal of our antient Conſtitution, and ſeem, I think, mighty deſirous of reverting to it; but if Gentlemen will conſider the Diſadvantages as well as the Advantages which attended every Part of our old Conſtitution, I believe they will not be ſo very fond of returning to it. I ſhall agree that there were ſuch old Statutes as have been mentioned, relating to the frequent holding of Parliaments; but that Gentlemen may recollect a little the Nature of thoſe Parliaments, and the Rights and Prerogatives which the Crown at that Time enjoyed, or at leaſt pretended to, I ſhall

ſhall beg Leave to read ſome Extracts which I have taken from one of our moſt judicious Writers about parliamentary Affairs; I mean the famous Mr. *Prinne* (*here he read ſome Extracts from his Writings, ſhewing the many Powers and Prerogatives which our Kings of old pretended to*). Thus we may ſee that the Kings of *England* had antiently ſuch Prerogatives as would be very inconſiſtent with thoſe Privileges which the People of this Nation now enjoy. This was our old Conſtitution, and I ſhould be glad to know, if it be to this Form of Government that Gentlemen would now have us to return.

The hon. Gentleman mentioned next the heavy Complaints that were made againſt K. *Charles* the Firſt, and his Son K. *James* the Second, and the great Misfortunes which both theſe Princes fell into by not giving Ear to thoſe Complaints: But I muſt take Notice, that there never was a Complaint againſt either of them for continuing the ſame Parliament too long; all the Complaints againſt both were, for not calling or holding any Parliament for ſeveral Years together; and this it was that brought all their Misfortunes upon them. And as to the long Parliament in K. *Charles* the Second's Reign, it is certain that there was a great deal of more Reaſon to complain againſt their Conduct during the firſt Years of their ſitting than there was towards the latter End; ſo that no Part of the Hiſtory of either of theſe 3 Reigns can afford ſo much as a plauſible Argument in Favour of the Motion now made to us.

It has been alledged, Sir, that the Crown muſt always neceſſarily have a much greater Influence upon *Septennial Parliaments*, than it can ever have upon thoſe which are choſen and continued only for three Years: But it is my Opinion, if ever the Crown ſhould attempt, if ever any Miniſtry ſhould be wicked enough to endeavour to gain a corrupt Influence over the Parliament, it will be as eaſy to gain it over the one Sort of Parliament as over the other; for if ever the Members choſen and returned, or the Majority of them, ſhould be ſuch as will ſtoop to Corruption, the Infection may be eaſily ſpread, the alluring Baits may be thrown out in ſeven Days as well as ſeven Years; nor do I think it ſuch a difficult or tedious Affair to find out who may be the Perſons proper to be wrought on; that is a Knowledge that may be eaſily acquired after the Elections are over, and before it may be neceſſary for the Parliament to meet: Nay, if ever ſuch a Thing ſhould happen (which I hope never will) I am convinced it would be much more eaſy for ſuch a Miniſtry to manage a *Triennial Parliament*, than it will ever be to manage a *Septennial*; for it is well known how ſtrongly Men may be wrought on by Hopes and Promiſes; and it is certain, that by ſuch Hopes and Promiſes, ſome might be kept firmly attached to a Court and Miniſtry for two or three Years, who could not be kept ſo for four or five; therefore I muſt conclude, as Hopes and Promiſes are more eaſily given than Penſions or Bribes, it would be more eaſy for the Miniſters to keep a *Triennial Parliament* depending upon them, than to keep a *Septennial* in any Sort of Dependence. And as to paſt Times, we by Experience find, that the Court has never gained much by long Parliaments; on the contrary, we have always found that the Party againſt the Court has gradually increaſed in Number by the long Continuance of the Parliament, inſomuch that from a ſmall Minority in the Beginning, they have often come up to very near an Equality, ſometimes to a Majority before the End; ſo that if we reaſon either from the Nature of Mankind, or from Experience, we muſt conclude, that the Liberties of the People are better ſecured by *Septennial* than they can ever be by *Triennial Parliaments*.

The preſent Power of the Crown has been ſet in the moſt hideous Light, and the Number of Places now at the Diſpoſal of the Crown, has been repreſented as of the moſt dangerous Conſequence to the Independency of Parliament: But in this I muſt think the Gentlemen are likewiſe very much miſtaken: I muſt even think, that the Diſpoſal of thoſe Poſts and Places which are neceſſary for the Support of our Government, rather weakens the Influence and Intereſt of the Crown, both in the Parliament and in the Country; becauſe it is certain, that there is never any Poſt or Place to be diſpoſed of, for which there are not three or four Candidates at leaſt; the Crown can give it but to one, and by giving it to any one of the four, the other three are diſappointed and diſobliged, by which the Crown very probably raiſes up three Enemies for the Sake of ſecuring one Friend, upon whom no very great Dependence can perhaps be had; for if it be a Place for Life, the Perſon who got it becomes then independent upon the Crown, and may ſoon come to be diſobliged by being refuſed ſome ſecond Favour. This every Man who hears me muſt by his own Experience be convinced of, and therefore tho' it be abſolutely neceſſary for the executive Part of our Government, which is lodged in the Crown, to have the Diſpoſal of thoſe Poſts and Places, yet it cannot from thence be inferred, that the Power of the Crown is thereby greatly increaſed.

The hon. Gentlemen ſeemed to inſinuate that the principal Motive for paſſing the *Septennial Bill* now no longer ſubſiſted; but this alſo I muſt beg Leave to differ from them.

'Tis true, one of the Motives for paſſing that Bill was, the great Ferment which the Nation was then in; but this was not the principal Motive, and if it had been ſo, the Motive is very far from ceaſing to ſubſiſt.

Does not every Gentleman know what a Spirit of Diſcontent, nay, I may ſay of Diſaffection, was artfully raiſed over the whole Nation but laſt Year? And can any Gentleman ſay that that Spirit is now totally ſubſided? Or can any Gentleman believe that there was not a great deal of the Spirit of *Jacobitiſm* at the Bottom of thoſe Diſcontents, which were then without any Ground endeavoured to be raiſed? I am perſuaded, Sir, that the Ferment the Nation is now in, and the Ferment it was in when the *Septennial Bill* was paſſed into a Law, proceed originally from the ſame Cauſe, therefore I muſt take the Motive for continuing it to be now much the ſame with that which was then for enacting it; and as the Motive is now the ſame, I hope it will prevail with this Houſe not to repeal a Law from which the Nation has received ſo great Benefit.

Sir *T——s R——n*, Member for *M——tb* in *N——nd*. Sir, I cannot content myſelf with barely giving a Negative to this Propoſition, but muſt beg your Indulgence in offering a few Reaſons which will induce me to be againſt it; and to make two or three Obſervations upon what has fallen from the honourable Gentlemen who have introduced and ſpoke in Favour of it.

In my Opinion, Sir, we ſhould fix the Duration of Parliaments to a ſhorter or longer Period, according as 'twill promote the Welfare of the Nation, and ſupport and ſtrengthen our preſent Conſtitution; and when that is once fixed, the Conſideration, whether the Thing be popular or unpopular, or whether it may be conſonant to the Practice of our Anceſtors, ought not to influence any Gentleman in giving his Vote.

It has been ſaid by the hon. Gentleman who ſpoke firſt, that the renewing of the *Triennial Bill* will leſſen the Expences at Elections. Sir, I think nothing is more demonſtrable, than that frequent Elections will always occaſion frequent Expences, and other Irregularities too notorious not to lye within the Compaſs of every Man's Obſervation; and that Men's Minds, which never fail to be inflamed in a Conteſt between two Parties, will always preſerve thoſe Heats in View of a quick Return of electing: That theſe and many other Inconveniencies can be fairly charged on *Triennial Elections* is indiſputably true; and if *Septennial Parliaments* do not entirely remove theſe Evils, at leaſt they mitigate their Influence.

Gentlemen have urged, that Expences at Elections are voluntary; this is indeed in ſome Meaſure true, but by this Alteration of the Law, the Temptation will never be at a great Diſtance; the Opportunity for Corruption, Idleneſs and Debauchery, will happen once in three Years inſtead of once in Seven; for I am afraid the Law we have lately made, which the hon. Gentleman who made the Motion has taken Notice of, cannot yet have produced the good Effect we expected from it: Reformations of any Kind cannot be brought about on a ſudden, eſpecially in Things of this Nature, where the lower Claſs of the People are Parties concerned.

Sir, the Law for *Triennial Parliaments* continued in Force for 22 Years: In that Time many Inconveniencies were found to ariſe from it; and it was likewiſe found that in many Reſpects it did not anſwer the End for which it was made. I think it lies upon thoſe Gentlemen who are Advocates for this Propoſition, and which ought to be the Foundation of their Arguments in Support of it, to ſhew us what the Evils are which are attendant upon *Septennial Parliaments*, and how they would be removed by the Alteration propoſed: If they had done this, if any ſuch Thing could be done, the Argument would have ſome Weight; but to me this appears ſo far from being the Caſe, that on the contrary, how many good Laws have paſſed in Favour of the Subject, how little Reaſon have the People of *England* to be diſpleaſed with the Actions of their Repreſentatives ſince the *Septennial Act* took Place, which is 18 Years ago? What is done within every Man's Memory cannot be liable to any Miſrepreſentation. Hiſtories of former Parliaments, or of paſt Times, may be partially related, but our own Experience cannot deceive us; and I appeal to thoſe who now hear me, whether we have yet had any Reaſon to complain of the Conduct of *Septennial Parliaments*.

And beſides, Sir, there is no Miſchief can be done the Subject in a *Septennial Parliament*, which may not be done in a *Triennial*; but on the contrary, the ſhort Duration of a *Triennial* will not allow ſufficient Time to the compleating many good Undertakings, which may be accompliſh'd by a *Septennial*; Miſchief being of its own Nature of quick Growth, and ſoon brought to Maturity; whereas Schemes for a general Good ripen by ſlow Degrees, and require a Length of Time in rearing up to Perfection.

Gentlemen have brought Arguments in Support of this Propoſition from the Practice and Laws of our Forefathers, and deduce the Expediency of the triennial Bill, from the original Formation of our Conſtitution. For my Part I do not comprehend what is meant by our old Conſtitution, and therefore when Gentlemen make Uſe of the Expreſſion, our old Conſtitution, I muſt look upon it as an indefinite Term, which can admit of no direct Anſwer: But would they fix it to a Reign, or to any certain Number of Years, I could undertake to ſhew, that in no Period of Time they ſhall fix on, ſince the Conqueſt, we ever had ſuch a one as we ſhould be now willing to ſubmit to, and reſt ſatisfied

with: I know of no ſettled Conſtitution till the Revolution; 'tis from that happy Period I date our having any at all. It may indeed be agreeable to the ancient Laws of the Realm, that there ſhould be frequent Parliaments, that is, that Parliaments ſhould be frequently holden; but from whence will Gentlemen prove, that it has been eſtabliſhed as a fundamental Maxim in what is called our old Conſtitution, that there ſhould be frequent Elections; ſure at leaſt I am, if the Nature of our Conſtitution required that there ſhould be ſuch, the Practice of our Anceſtors has not always correſponded with it.

It would be a tedious Taſk to ſhew in what Manner Parliaments have been called and holden, and to trace out all the Variations of our Laws, or rather Practice, in this Reſpect, ſince the Conqueſt, 200 Years after which, I believe, there was no ſuch Thing in Being as a Houſe of Commons, at leaſt, if there was any ſuch Aſſembly, they met but very ſeldom: But Gentlemens Thoughts will prevent me in what I could offer on this Head, and therefore I ſhall not enter into a Detail of Particulars, with which many others may be much better acquainted; only, in general, I will venture to ſay, that from the earlieſt Records of Time to the Revolution, the Crown made Uſe of their Prerogative ſo far with Regard to Parliaments, that the People never knew when there would be a new Election, or how long the Power, they gave their Repreſentatives when elected, might be continued to them: If we look back into our Hiſtory, we ſhall find, in ſome Reigns, Parliaments choſen by the People, and diſſolved by the Crown, before they were ſuffered to meet at all; in other Reigns, a very long Intermiſſion of Parliaments; and in others again a Parliament perhaps in Being, but for many Years ſucceſſively not once ſuffered to ſit. Theſe, Sir, were real Grievances: And in this reforming Age, we ſeem to be as uneaſy, and as fond of taking Precautions againſt imaginary Dangers, as ever our Anceſtors were about providing againſt thoſe that were real.

My worthy Friend and Contemporary at the Univerſity, who ſeconded the Motion, has ſhewn the Practice of ſeveral of our former Kings in this Particular, and indeed has ſpoken in Favour of the Motion, with ſo much Decency and Weight, that it requires one much better ſkilled than I am in our *Engliſh* Hiſtory and Parliamentary Proceedings, to do the ſame Juſtice to the other Side of the Queſtion; but he has quoted two Reigns, which will, in my Opinion, both turn againſt the Motion he has ſo handſomely ſupported. Theſe, Sir, are the Reigns of K. *Charles the Firſt*, and K. *Charles the Second*; but before I take Notice of them give me Leave to mention another Reign, I mean that of Q. *Elizabeth*, which both the worthy Gentlemen have very prudently avoided mentioning on this Occaſion, tho' it be a Reign that is ſeldom forgot to be brought upon the Carpet, when a Compariſon is to be made, in order to depreciate the Actions and Meaſures of the preſent Times: In the long Reign of that Queen, a Reign which laſted 44 Years, there were in all but ten Parliaments choſen, and in theſe ten Parliaments there were but 13 Seſſions, and, except the laſt, never any one of theſe Seſſions continued many Weeks together. Beſides, Sir, however glorious the Reign of that Princeſs may be in other Reſpects, yet it is certain, that in many Inſtances ſhe uſed her Parliaments in ſuch a Manner, as, I hope, we ſhall never ſee Parliaments treated for the future.

As for the Reign of K. *Charles the Firſt*, I little expected, Sir, that Reign would have been introduced in this Debate, eſpecially by thoſe who are Advocates for this Queſtion; for ſurely that Reign ought to be buried in Oblivion, by thoſe who would plead for the Liberty of the Subject, and are for leſſening the Prerogative of the Crown; becauſe in no preceding Reign was the laſt ever carried higher, or the other in greater Danger of being utterly ſubverted and deſtroyed. Were it neceſſary for the Point I am contending for, I would undertake to prove, that as long as he had any Power, he was daily attempting by his Prerogative, to have made Parliaments uſeleſs: And therefore I ſhall eaſily agree with the hon. Gentleman, that he neglected calling frequent new Parliaments: But give me Leave farther to obſerve, that during that King's Reign, no Parliament was called, there was not ſo much as one in Being; no! not for 12 Years together; during which Time Hiſtory does not give the moſt favourable Account of him with Reſpect to his ſeveral Attempts upon the Liberties of his Subjects, which the hon. Gentleman has put a very handſome Gloſs upon, by ſaying, that theſe Attempts were made by the Advice of Syccophants and Flatterers: Whoever the Authors were, Sir, the Facts are true, and the Conſequences, had they not been prevented, muſt have proved fatal to the Rights of the People. When I have ſaid this, I would not have it underſtood as if I approved of the Steps afterwards taken, by which that unfortunate Prince was brought to his tragical and untimely End; but as his Fate ought to be a Warning to all future Princes, not to make any Encroachments upon the Liberties or Privileges of the Subject, ſo it ought to be a Warning to all thoſe who are true Lovers of our Conſtitution, to be extremely cautious of introducing any new Regulations or unneceſſary Amendments. And this, Sir, I take to be a Leſſon much more proper for the preſent Queſtion than that which my hon. Friend

Friend has been pleaſed to recommend to us from the Fate of that Prince; ſince the Queſtion is not now about complimenting the Crown with any new or extravagant Powers, nor about denying the People any of thoſe Rights which they are entitled to by Law.

I was equally ſurpriſed, Sir, to hear the long Parliament of K. *Charles* the ſecond (which continued 17 Years) ſo much as mentioned by thoſe who are for ſhortening the Duration of Parliaments; for, in my Opinion, the Conduct of that Parliament, if it proves any Thing, ſhews, that the long Duration of a Parliament does not neceſſarily make it entirely ſubſervient to the Will of the Prince. Tho' that Parliament has ſince been treated with great Indignity, tho' I will not now take upon me to determine whether it deſerved the Uſage it has met with from ſome People; yet I think I may ſay, that a Majority of the Members thereof, eſpecially towards the End of it, were ſteady in the Support of the Liberties of the People; and had not they made a noble Stand againſt the Attempts of the Crown in thoſe Days, we ſhould not now have been debating this Point.

Thus, Sir, the Inſtance of this Parliament, if it proves any Thing, I ſay, proves that the Parliament which ſate the longeſt ever any did in *England*, could not be influenced by the Crown to come into Meaſures inconſiſtent with the Liberties of the People: And if Gentlemen will but recollect the Annals of that Parliament, they will find that it was more ſubſervient to the Court, the firſt, ſecond and third Years, than it was the ſixth or ſeventh; and it was leſs ſo the eleventh or twelfth, than it was the ninth or tenth: And I agree with the hon. Gentleman, that the further it removed from its Original, the better Title the Members acquired to the Denomination of veteran Troops, which he has been pleaſed to compare them to; but this Title they merited for a Reaſon very different from what he has aſſigned: It was not becauſe they knew no other Command but from the Perſon who gave them their Pay, but it was becauſe they became every Day more and more obſervant of their Duty, more watchful over the Liberties of their Fellow Subjects, and leſs tractable to the Meaſures of the Court, inſomuch that at laſt, by their perſevering in an honeſt Oppoſition to thoſe Meaſures, they forced their own Diſſolution; and this always has been, and always muſt be the Caſe as to all Bodies of the ſame Men, when long kept together, and attempted to be ſeduced by Bribery and Corruption; for few Men are ſo entirely debauched and abandoned to Shame, but that ſooner or later they will be actuated by the Love of Virtue and publick Good, which will at laſt make them ſtubbornly reſiſt the Deſigns of a profligate Court againſt the Liberties of their Country: And this was certainly the Caſe as to that Parliament, otherwiſe K. *Charles* would not ſo eaſily have parted with a Parliament he had been ſo long and with ſo much Expence endeavouring to form to his own arbitrary Views; therefore, Sir, if any Argument is to be drawn from this long Parliament, it may certainly be made Uſe of as the ſtrongeſt Reaſon why a *Septennial Parliament* ſhould be preferred to a *Triennial*.

As a further Proof, Sir, that the Balance of Power in the State is demonſtrably more in favour of the People in a Parliament that hath its Duration for ſeven Years, than in one choſen every third Year; and that the Crown will always have leſs Influence in a *Septennial* than a *Triennial Parliament*: Let us but recollect what has happened ever ſince the *Septennial Law* took Place; as the hon. Gentleman who ſpoke laſt has already obſerved, does not Experience ſhew us that every Seſſion will increaſe an oppoſing Party? Has it not been hitherto always found, that the Party againſt the Court has in every fifth or ſixth Seſſion been more in Number than it was the ſecond or third? And as no Step has been made to increaſe either the Prerogative or Power of the Crown ever ſince *Septennial Parliaments* have had a Being, why ſhould we go about to make an Alteration in that Part of our Conſtitution, from which we have never yet felt the leaſt Inconvenience? Might not therefore a Deſire to revert back to the Practice of our Anceſtors in this Particular, be compared to a Man in his full Growth and Strength deſiring to return back to his Childhood?

It has indeed been inſinuated by both the hon. Gentlemen, who have ſpoken on the other Side of the Queſtion, that undue Influence has been attempted in Elections; that Money has been ſent down from the Treaſury to gain Returns from Boroughs in the Country; by which the Elections have been rendered ſo expenſive to the Country Gentlemen that it is with great Difficulty they can from their private Fortunes ſupport ſuch Expence, or withſtand ſuch Influence; and this is indeed the principal Argument I have yet heard made Uſe of in Support of this Queſtion: Tho' I am no Way privy to, nor do I believe that any ſuch Practices have been lately attempted; yet, Sir, upon this Occaſion, I will for Argument's Sake ſuppoſe it to be true; I will ſuppoſe that the Court does intermeddle in Elections, and that Sums of Money have been ſent into the Country for that Purpoſe; but how this comes to be owing to *Septennial Parliaments* I cannot comprehend: Would it not be as much in the Power of the Court to intermeddle in the Elections for a *Triennial*, as in thoſe for a *Septennial Parliament*? And

if a Country Gentleman can ſcarce bear up againſt theſe Practices when he has ſix Years Reſpite to recover the Expences and Trouble he may have been put to by ſuch Attempts on his Borough; for God's Sake! how will it ſtand with him when the Battle is to be fought every three Years? Surely he will be then much leſs able to bear ſuch Expences, or to withſtand ſuch Influence; and therefore if the Court ever has endeavoured, or if it ever ſhould endeavour to influence Elections by the Force of Money, that Influence would be much more dangerous in *Triennial* than in *Septennial Elections*; from whence I muſt be of Opinion, if this Queſtion ſhould ſucceed, it might in Time more effectually eſtabliſh the abſolute Power of the Crown, and deſtroy the Liberties of the People, than any other Method that could be thought of.

The worthy Gentleman who made the Motion has told us, that an Annuity for ſeven Years is more valuable than an Annuity for three, and from thence he ſeemed to infer, that a *Septennial Parliament* muſt be more expenſive than a *Triennial*, in the ſame Proportion as an Annuity for ſeven Years deſerves a better Conſideration than an Annuity for three: But he does not conſider that a Parliament for ſeven Years is above twice the Duration of one for three; ſo that if *Triennial Parliaments* were to come in the Place of *Septennial*, a Man muſt be thrice choſen before he can continue ſo long in this Houſe as he would do were he to be choſen for ſeven Years at once; and it is certain that the Expences or the Purchaſe (if with him we ſuppoſe ſuch Purchaſes) of three, or even of two Elections for *Triennial Parliaments*, will always amount to more than the Expences or the Purchaſe of one Election for a *Septennial*.

If then the Expenſiveneſs of Elections be one of the Evils attendant upon *Septennial Parliaments*, it is certain the changing of them into *Triennial* will be ſo far from removing that Evil, that it will neceſſarily increaſe it. And I believe ſome Gentlemen will, in another Particular, find their Expectations as little anſwered by the preſent Motion: I mean, that they will not find it ſo popular a Motion among the Generality of Electors as ſome of them may imagine. It may indeed pleaſe thoſe of the Populace who have no Votes, who are fond of Noiſe and Buſtle, and who would be glad of any Change by which they might have a more frequent Chance to get drunk and be idle. It may alſo be agreeable to the lower and meaner Sort of our Electors, who have heretofore perhaps too often made their Market upon ſuch Occaſions; but to the honeſt Shop-keeper, and the quiet and fair Trader, who have no other Views but to gain a comfortable Subſiſtence, by carrying on their reſpective Trades, and to the better Kind of our Freeholders, and to the Gentry in general; to all thoſe Sorts of Men, in ſhort, whoſe Inclinations we ought to have the chief Regard to, the propoſing of this Bill will be found, I believe, not to be a very proper Way of paying court.

The worthy Gentlemen, Sir, who have ſpoken on the other Side of the Queſtion, make a very partial Uſe of our antient Conſtitution, when they plead for a ſhorter Duration of Parliaments, becauſe in former Times, Inſtances may be found of frequent Elections, but forget at the ſame Time to remind us of the different Situation of our Affairs, both at Home and Abroad. Muſt not proper Allowances be made for the ſeveral Changes which have ſince happened in our Conſtitution, and the different Relations we now bear to foreign Nations? For without a Parity of Circumſtances, Gentlemen cannot reaſonably expect an Equality of Conſequences.

Formerly Parliaments ſat but ten, fifteen, or twenty Days, and diſpatched all the Buſineſs they had before them in that Time; we now ſit four or five Months, and find ſufficient Employment; the Reaſon of this Difference is obvious; our Government has ſince gone thro' ſo many Changes, and the Riches and Commerce of this Nation have ſo much increaſed, that this Houſe is now engaged in a much larger Circle of Buſineſs; and at the ſame Time hath aſſerted a Right to ſeveral Powers in the State, which, till within theſe 100 Years, the Crown has often conteſted: May not Gentlemen as well infer, becauſe ſome Parliaments in former Times have ſat but 20 Days, that we ought now to follow their Practice in this Particular, as to plead for a ſhorter Duration of Parliaments, becauſe there may be found Inſtances of annual Elections in remote Ages?

Would Gentlemen, Sir, who ſpeak ſo favourably of antient Times, have our Parliaments brought again to be entirely upon the ſame Foot they were formerly? Surely, No! As the Law now ſtands, the Crown cannot poſſibly prolong a Parliament beyond ſeven Years, and as the Affairs of the Publick are now diſpoſed, it muſt neceſſarily meet every Year. Formerly the Crown could keep a Parliament in Being without any Limitation of Time for their Diſſolution, and, as I have ſaid before, did ſometimes prevent them, tho' elected, from ever meeting; nay, at other Times, there has been for many Years together a total Intermiſſion of Parliaments. I therefore really think, no one can make the leaſt Compariſon on this Head; at leaſt I ſuppoſe the worthy Gentlemen would not be willing to return to the Practice of preceding Times in theſe Particulars.

In ſhort, Sir, I think the *Septennial Act* as well adapted to our preſent Conſtitution, as well calculated to anſwer the Purpoſes and ſecure the Freedom of Parliaments, as any Regulation

gulation that can be made; and I do not know any one particular Instance in which our Liberty and Constitution have been more strengthened and improved since the Revolution, than by those Laws which have been made relative to the chusing, sitting, and Duration of Parliaments.

Before I leave this Subject, I must take this Opportunity to return my Thanks to the hon. Gentleman who called for the reading of the *Septennial Act*, because the Preamble puts me in Mind of our being indebted to that Law, for the Prevention of a second Rebellion: I am convinced it was to that seasonable Alteration we then owed the Preservation of our Tranquillity, and perhaps every Thing that is dear to us; for the Minds of the People were at that Time so exasperated and inflamed, the Spirit of *Jacobitism* was got to such a Height in the Nation, that had an Election come on, after the first Parliament of the late King ought to have expired by the *Triennial Act*, 'tis not hard to say what fatal Consequences might have ensued. But I neither mention this as thinking it entirely our present Situation, or to draw an Argument from thence in Support of what I am contending for: However I must say that the recollecting how much we owe to the *Septennial Act*, makes me the more unwilling to part with it. 'Tis like Friendship in private Life, where we have once established a thorough good Opinion of a Man, and have received great Favours from him, it is with Difficulty, it is with great Concern we are prevailed on to give Credit to any Thing that may tend to his Disadvantage.

Many Instances might be brought, Sir, to shew the Inconveniences that would attend the Success of the Bill now proposed to us; but as I have already taken up much more of your Time than I at first intended, I shall only mention one, which is, The great Hindrance it might be in the Dispatch of our foreign Negotiations. As we have been within Doors often told of Reports without Doors, I must take the Liberty to mention one which we have heard both within and without. Have we not often heard without Doors, have not we been told in a former Debate in this House, that several Letters have been lately sent to foreign Courts, in order to discourage them from treating with us at this critical Juncture, by assuring them that the next ensuing Parliament will be of a Complection very different from this? I cannot in the least suppose that such Letters were either written or concerted by any one within these Walls; but I must presume the Authors are by this Time convinced of their Error, since I find so much Pains has lately been taken, and so much Rhetorick employed, both in weekly and other Papers, to persuade us of the Inconvenience of the *Septennial Act*, and the Necessity of repealing it; from whence I conclude, that those Gentlemen, who were the Authors of such Letters, begin now to see that they will be disappointed in their Expectations; and in order to make Amends for this Disappointment, they are for repealing the *Septennial Act*, that they may have a fresh Opportunity of taking another Trial four Years hence. But be this as it will, it is certain, that what I have just mentioned may be practised, and will always be an Inconvenience and a Hindrance in the carrying on of our foreign Affairs, towards the End of a *Septennial Parliament*: And shall we by a new Law give an Opportunity and a Temptation to the Enemies of the Government, to repeat those and such like Practices and Suggestions, to the great Prejudice of the Nation, at the End of every three Years?

Before I conclude, Sir, I cannot help observing, that during the seven Years I have sat in Parliament I have heard many Questions introduced into this House which have very much surprized me. Among others I have heard a Proposition made, which, as it appeared to me, would have made the Army useless upon any Emergency, when we might have had the greatest Occasion for their Service. I have heard another Question about making a perpetual Law to regulate an annual Constitution, which would indeed have had a quite different Effect from the former; for in Process of Time this last Question, had it succeeded, might have made the Army our Sovereign, and King, Lords and Commons, insignificant: And the Proposition now before us, would, in my Opinion, tend to weaken our greatest Security, I mean the landed Interest of the Kingdom, by giving them frequent and unnecessary Temptations to extraordinary Expences, and might farther introduce new Calamities and Confusions into this Nation. What other Question can follow to keep Rank with those I cannot divine; but the Spirit of Reformation seems to be now so very much the Fashion, that I do not doubt but fertile Imaginations will always find, and will never be at a Loss for popular Topicks to introduce.

No State, Sir, was ever so exactly framed in all its Parts, as not to make new Laws sometimes necessary to remedy the Evils which Time and Corruption may bring upon it; and for this Reason every State is invested with a Power of altering or repealing old Laws, and substituting new in their stead, where those existing are found to be deficient: In this I shall agree with the hon. Gentlemen; but give me Leave farther to observe, that this Power may be made Use of to the Overthrow as well as the Support of the Constitution; and therefore when we proceed to the Exercise of this Part of the legislative Power, especially in Things which relate to the very Fundamentals

damentals of our Conſtitution, the worthy Gentlemen will, I hope, agree with me, that we ought to uſe it with the greateſt Prudence and Caution.

At preſent, Sir, I think our Conſtitution is ſo well regulated in all its Parts, the Scales are ſo juſtly poiſed, as not to want any new modelling, nor any additional Weight to be thrown into the other Scale: We muſt be all ſo ſenſible of the Happineſs we enjoy under our Conſtitution, as now eſtabliſhed, that our chief Concern and Study ought to be how to preſerve it in the happy Situation it is now in; and if we can tranſmit it to our Poſterity in the ſame Luſtre and Perfection we now clearly perceive it to be in, our Succeſſors will have no juſt Reaſon to accuſe the preſent Generation of having made an ill Uſe of that great Truſt which is repoſed in every Man who has a Voice in this Place. All Changes, tho' never ſo well intended, are hazardous; but as the Change now propoſed appears to me, I think it would certainly have a quite different Effect from what theſe worthy Gentlemen expect who are the Advocates for it: I am perſuaded, that inſtead of amending or improving, it would weaken the Conſtitution; and therefore I think it a Duty I owe my Country to give my diſſent to it, in this publick manner.

L——d *N——l S——t*. Sir, Tho' the honourable Gentleman who made this Motion, and the honourable Gentleman who ſeconded it, have ſupported it in ſo ſtrong and handſome a Manner, that an Attempt to add any Thing to what they have ſaid, eſpecially in one ſo young and unexperienced as I am, may be looked on as Preſumption; yet I cannot help declaring my Approbation of the Motion in the beſt and moſt publick Manner I am able.

The honourable Gentleman who read you a long Extract out of Maſter *Prinne*, ſeemed rather, in my Opinion, Sir, to divert than inſtruct the Houſe; and tho' I could not join with Gentlemen in their Mirth upon ſo ſerious a Debate, yet I muſt own I cannot conceive to what Purpoſe that long Extract was read to us upon the preſent Occaſion: Nor can I ſee what the Queſtion now before us has to do with the Prerogative of the Crown, either as now enjoyed, or as claimed in any Time paſt. Becauſe Gentlemen have mentioned our old Conſtitution, and have taken Notice of a particular Regulation with reſpect to the holding of Parliaments, which was then in Force, and which they deſire to be re-eſtabliſhed; is it from thence to be inferred, that they deſire to reſtore, in all its Parts, our ancient Conſtitution, as it ſtood at any Period of Time. No, Sir, when we talk of our old Conſtitution, with regard to any Amendment or Alteration now propoſed, we are to pick out thoſe Cuſtoms, which appear to be good, and which ought to be reſtored; and we are to reject thoſe which appear to have been bad.

The Queſtion now before us, Sir, is not whether our Conſtitution be now in the general better regulated than it ever was at any former Period. The Queſtion now before us is particular; it is, whether our Conſtitution, with reſpect to the holding of Parliaments, was ever under a better Regulation than it is at preſent? And that it was ſo ſeems to me to be demonſtrable from the very Nature and Deſign of Parliaments; for this Houſe is properly the grand Inqueſt of the Nation, they are to repreſent the Grievances of the People to their Sovereign, and the People are always to chooſe proper Repreſentatives for that Purpoſe; that Choice ought therefore to be annual, becauſe the Perſon that may be a proper Repreſentative one Year, may before the next, or at leaſt very ſoon after, be concerned in making the People ſuffer thoſe very Grievances which they want to complain of; and ſurely ſuch Perſon would not then be a proper Repreſentative of the People, nor would they chooſe him had they it in their Power to make a new and free Choice.

This, Sir, was our old Conſtitution, with reſpect to the holding of Parliaments: They were, or at leaſt ought to have been, not only annually held, but annually choſen: It is well known that Prorogations are but of a late Date; they were firſt introduced to favour the arbitrary Views of ſome of our ambitious Kings; and as they owed their Origin to ſuch a corrupt Fountain, I am perſuaded we never can from them expect any Good. However, Sir, the Queſtion now before us does not go ſo far, nor are we obliged to have Recourſe to remote Ages for a Precedent for what is now propoſed: When we now talk of our old Conſtitution we are to conſider it as it was ſettled and reformed at the Revolution, and at that Time, as has been before obſerved, the Patrons of Liberty did not think their Work was compleat without having the Point fully and clearly ſettled; and therefore they were never at Reſt till they had obtained that very Law which is now deſired to be reſtored: For this Reaſon I cannot but think that Gentlemen have given themſelves a very unneceſſary Trouble in explaining to us ſo particularly the Hiſtory of former Reigns, or the Complaints againſt former Kings; for the not holding any Parliament at all, or the continuing the ſame Parliament for a great Number of Years is in effect the ſame; in the laſt Caſe as well as the firſt, the People have no Opportunity of having their Grievances either repreſented or redreſſed, becauſe after a Number of Years the Members may either become unacquainted with, and regardleſs of the Grievances of the People, or they may themſelves have ſo great a Hand in thoſe Grievances, that for their own ſelfiſh Ends they will prevent their being redreſſed.

It has been ſaid, Sir, that the reſtoring of this Law would create great Heats, and raiſe dangerous Contentions in the Nation. If it were a new Law, a Law which we had never any Experience of, this Argument might have ſome Weight, but the direct contrary of this is known to be true from the Experience we had of it, while it was allowed to continue in Force. Beſides, Sir, this is one of A thoſe Arguments that prove too much; for it is as good an Argument for us to continue our ſelves for ſeven Years longer, or indeed for a perpetual Parliament, as it is for a *Septennial*: And it is an Argument that has in all Countries been made Uſe of for ſubverting the Liberties of the People. In all free Countries there muſt now and then happen ſome little B Feuds and Diviſions among the People, which ambitious wicked Men have uſed all their Cunning and all their Eloquence to ſet in the moſt terrible Light, and under the Pretence of preventing thoſe Feuds and Diviſions, have in moſt Countries prevailed upon the People to give up, or at leaſt to allow themſelves to be robb'd of thoſe Privileges which were C their only Defence againſt Tyranny and arbitrary Power.

Another Objection againſt this Motion is, that a *Septennial Parliament* is neceſſary for eſtabliſhing and confirming our Credit abroad. If this, Sir, be yet to do, if our Credit abroad remains yet to be either eſtabliſhed or confirmed, I will ſay that we have lately ſpent many Millions, and have made many Treaties to D very little Purpoſe. Is not this likewiſe an Argument for ſettling the Duration of our Parliaments at a much longer Term? For if our Credit abroad were any Way ſtrengthened by a Parliament to continue for ſeven Years, would it not be much more ſo by a Parliament to continue for ſeven Times ſeven? But this is not the Caſe; our foreign Neighbours judge E better of the Condition and Circumſtances of this Nation, than ſome of ourſelves ſeem to do; our Credit among them depends upon their believing that there is an Union and mutual Confidence between the King and his People; and is there any Thing can tend more towards weakening their Belief in this Reſpect, than their hearing that the King does not incline to truſt his People with a frequent Choice F of their own Repreſentatives? Will not every Man from thence conclude, that either the People are diſaffected, or that the Government is purſuing ſuch Meaſures as they think may not be agreeable to the Generality of the People? And I believe it will be allowed that ſuch a Notion would not contribute much towards eſtabliſhing or confirming our Credit abroad.

While no Meaſures are purſued but ſuch as G are for the Honour and Intereſt of the Nation, I am certain that a Parliament ſent here by the free Choice of the People for three Years, or even but for one, would be as ready to confirm thoſe Meaſures as a Parliament ſent here for ſeven Years. But if ever it ſhould hereafter happen that Meaſures, even deſtructive to the Nation, ſhould be purſued, only to ſave and ſupport a falling Miniſter, or by Way of temporary Expedients only, to put off the evil Day during his Time, he might indeed have a better Chance to get ſuch Meaſures confirmed or approved of by the Members of a *Septennial Parliament*, who had ſuch a long Term to reap the Fruits of their ſervile Compliance, than he could have to get ſuch Meaſures confirmed or approved of by the Members of an *Annual* or *Triennial Parliament*, who muſt ſoon return to the People for their Approbation or Diſapprobation of what they had done: And a Parliamentary Acquittal would be of much more Conſequence in the firſt Caſe than in the laſt; for if an *Annual* or *Triennial Parliament* ſhould be ſervile enough to approve of Meaſures contrary to the general Senſe of the Nation, the People would ſoon have an Opportunity of doing themſelves Juſtice in a new Parliament; but if the People were to have no ſuch Opportunity for ſeven Years, it might then be out of their Power.

It has likewiſe been ſaid that frequent new Parliaments would produce frequent Changes in our Adminiſtration, ſo that we never could ſteadily purſue any Meaſure Foreign or Domeſtick. As to Changes, Sir, in our Adminiſtration, if *Triennial* or *Annual Parliaments* ſhould produce *Triennial* or *Annual Miniſters*, it would give me no great Concern, and I dare ſay, the Nation very little Uneaſineſs; but how this ſhould make us unſteady or unſettled in the Purſuit of our publick Meaſures either Foreign or Domeſtick, I cannot indeed conceive; for if the Meaſures were apparently for the Good of the Publick, the new Miniſters would certainly, for their own Safety and Honour, purſue them as ſteadily as the old could have done; and if the old had entered upon any Meaſures inconſiſtent with the Good of the Nation, I think the Change of Miniſters would be a lucky Change for the Nation, becauſe it would put a Stop to the Purſuit of ſuch Meaſures. So that if there were nothing elſe could be ſaid in Favour of the Motion, this very Argument that has been made Uſe of againſt it, would be ſufficient for perſuading me to give my Vote for it.

The hon. *J——n C——is*, Eſq; Member for *E——e* in *Suffolk*. Sir, I have indeed heard ſome Mention made without Doors of the Propoſition now under our Conſideration; but I never expected to have heard it moved in this Houſe, eſpecially at a Time when the Circumſtances of *Europe* ought to prevent our attempting any Thing that may in the leaſt tend towards weakening our Conſtitution, or

unſettling the Meaſures of his Majeſty's Government. As for my own Part, Sir, the Queſtion can no way affect me: Let it be agreed to, or let it be rejected, as to my particular Circumſtances they will remain the ſame; but as we are not to regard our private or particular Intereſt, but that of the whole Community, in every Queſtion that ariſes in this Houſe; I therefore think I am obliged not only to give my Vote againſt this Queſtion, but to give my Reaſon, at leaſt the principal Reaſon which induces me to be againſt it: And it is this, that, in my Opinion, the Motion ſeems calculated for no other End but to continue that Ferment and that Spirit of Diviſion and Diſaffection which was ſo artfully raiſed in the Nation upon a late memorable Occaſion, and which has already almoſt ſubſided, and muſt entirely ſubſide, as ſoon as the People ſhall have come to their right Senſes, ſo as to be able to judge coolly and impartially about that Affair: But this they could never come to do, if the preſent Motion ſhould ſucceed; the Nation would be kept always in a Ferment, the Diviſions about one Election would no ſooner be A over than thoſe about another would begin, and the Paſſions of the People would be every Year ſcrewed up by ſome new Art, in order to ſupport or render ſucceſsful the ambitious Views of ſome private Men; this would of Courſe very much weaken his Majeſty's Government, and diminiſh his Influence in all Foreign Negotiations; for which Reaſon I B ſhall moſt heartily give my Vote againſt the Motion now made to us.

[*To be continued.*]

A Relation of the Retreat of King STANISLAUS *from* DANTZICK; *in a Letter written by himſelf to a Perſon of Great Diſtinction.*

AS I can eaſily figure to myſelf your Uneaſineſs at my leaving *Dantzick*, 'tis but juſt that I relate to you the Manner of it: The Zeal you have ſhewn for my Intereſt, claims this from me; and you will ſee in it the all-powerful Hand of God, who can ſupport us when every human Aſſiſtance fails, and we ſeem inevitably loſt.

I am ſenſible it has been thought imprudent in me, for continuing in that City till it was reduced to the laſt Extremity: But when we act from Principles of Conſcience, of Honour, and our Country's Love, may we be allow'd to arm ourſelves againſt Danger, and to prefer the Security of our Perſons to thoſe three Principles, which conſtitute the Man of Honour?

For beſides that I expected Succour daily, and a haſty Retreat would have put me out of Condition to receive them, I ſhould, by my leaving *Dantzick*, have open'd the Gates of it to the Enemy, the Magiſtrates holding out the Siege from no other Motive than to defend me. Thus, laying aſide the Vanity which a Conſciouſneſs of Reſolution and Intrepidity might inſpire, I was oblig'd, either to continue in the City, in order that the expected Succours might have Time to arrive; or bury myſelf in the Ruins of it, with thoſe brave Citizens, and thoſe dear *Poliſh* Friends, who with their Wives and Children ſhar'd my Fate. I perſiſted in this Reſolution till the infamous Surrender of *Munde* *, the capitulating of which, forc'd the *Dantzickers*, with my Conſent, to provide for their own Safety: Upon which Occaſion, finding they were going to change their Sovereign, I thought myſelf bound in Gratitude, not to expoſe them to the Grief of abandoning me, but to diſpenſe with their Fidelity by my leaving their City, which, how deſperate a Reſiſtance ſoever has been made, could not have held out any longer; not to mention my being ſollicited by all the *Poliſh* Noblemen, who made their Safety conſiſt in my Preſervation; ſo that after the Enemy demanded the Surrender of my Perſon as the firſt Article of the Capitulation, I reſolv'd to leave *Dantzick*.

'Twas on this Occaſion I experienc'd the Zeal of thoſe who are ſincerely attach'd to my Intereſt, by the different Projects which were form'd to facilitate my Eſcape, inſomuch that a Lady, confiding in a Peaſant of that Country whom ſhe knew, was ſo much a Heroine as to offer to diſguiſe herſelf as a Peaſant, and paſs for my Wife.

Another Expedient was propos'd to me, and this was, to put myſelf at the Head of a hundred intrepid Men, and force a Way thro' the Enemy: But I judg'd it impracticable, becauſe of the Inundation, which extended three Leagues one Way, and of the Lines of Circumvallation on the other, which it would be impoſſible to paſs on Horſeback. The Method I concluded the ſafeſt, was that which the A———r propos'd; and accordingly I went to his Houſe, in order to put it in Execution, on the Evening of the 27th of *June*, being Sunday, upon pretence of ſpending a quiet Night there, by removing out of Danger of the Bombs, which began to fall in the Part where I reſided.

* *Wechſelmunde.*

At Ten in the Evening, having diſguis'd myſelf as a Peaſant, with only a coarſe Shirt on, and accompanied by General *Steenflieth*, I left the A———r's Houſe to go and meet an Officer who waited for me on the Rampart, where being arrived, we croſs'd the Ditch in two little Boats; the Officer leaving us behind, rode forward to ſecure a Poſt held by a ſubaltern Officer and a few Soldiers; immediately a Quarrel aroſe, and in a Moment I ſaw the ſubaltern Officer preſent his Piece to the other, refuſing to let either himſelf or his Company paſs; his over-great Vigilance oblig'd the Officer to tell him that it was I; but the ſubaltern Officer ſuſpecting his Veracity, came to the Boat, look'd me in my Face, and knowing me, tho' 'twas the Duſk of the Evening, made me a very low Bow, and wiſh'd me a good Journey. As the ſubaltern Officer knew me, I was aſſur'd that my Eſcape would be no longer a Secret, and conſequently that my Safety was very precarious. After taking Leave of the Officer, we row'd thro' the Inundations, in Hopes of reaching the *Viſtula* to croſs it the ſame Night, and to arrive by Day-break beyond ſuch Poſts of the Enemy as lay neareſt to the City. But how great was my Surprize, to ſee the Peaſants, after they had rowed about a Quarter of a League, carry us to a poor Hut which ſtood in the Middle of the Waters, and tell us, that we muſt paſs all that Night and the next Day in it, the Night being already too far advanced for us to get to the *Viſtula* before Day-break! We were forced to obey, and accordingly landed, but with heavy Hearts, becauſe of the little Haſte we made, and the evident Hazard we run.

We went into the Room, and as the Sight of it made me have no great Inclination to ſleep, there not being ſo much as a Corner for me to reſt myſelf, I took this Opportunity to get acquainted with my illuſtrious Company, which conſiſted of four Perſons: The firſt was our chief Guide, who appear'd to me the Moment I ſaw him (and I was not miſtaken in my Conjectures) a very ſilly Fellow: He aſſum'd an Air of Authority, and claiming Obedience to his Orders, would not ſuffer any one to debate or argue. I ſhould willingly have ſubmitted to this Subordination, had I not perceived that our Commander tho' he was wholly unacquainted with ſuch Poſts of the Enemy as it was neceſſary for us to avoid, fir'd by no other Motive than the large Reward the A———r had promiſed him) was determin'd to conduct us at Random. The ſecond, whoſe Name and Profeſſion I enquir'd, anſwer'd, that he was a Merchant, but had fail'd: He ſpoke the *Poliſh* Tongue, and appear'd a Perſon of Merit. The other two were *Schnaphans* *, and ſeem'd by their Air and Manner complete Villains. I ſpent the reſt of the Night on a Bench, leaning upon the Merchant, with whom I made myſelf moſt familiar, by Means of the *Poliſh* Tongue, which gave us an Opportunity of converſing together with Eaſe.

On *Monday* Morning, being the 28th, I left the Room, in order to take a View of the City, which was ſtill bombarding. When I reflected on its unhappy Fate, eſpecially as all the good faithful Friends I left in it would ſoon be obliged, againſt their Will, to declare themſelves my Enemies, I could not poſſibly have felt greater Tortures, had my Entrails been torn away: But afterwards reflecting on myſelf, not knowing whither to go, or what to do; altho' I was ſo hardened by Misfortunes, I yet ſhould have ſunk under them, had it not been for the immediate Aſſiſtance of the Almighty. Whilſt I was revolving theſe Things, I heard the Enemy fire from all their Batteries and from their Fleet, accompanied with a general Diſcharge of their ſmall Arms: I concluded that this was by way of rejoicing for the taking of *Munde*, which gave me no little Diſquiet; and indeed I was in ſuch deep Affliction, that General *Steenflieth* was obliged to pull me by the Sleeve, and awake me as out of a deep Sleep, in order to make me partake of a poor Soup he had dreſs'd. A little after a *Schnaphan* landed from his little Boat, ſaying that his Captain had ſent him, with a ſhort Letter and two little Pieces of dried Tongue, for General *Steenflieth*. The Letter was ſent to wiſh him a good Journey, but we could never diſcover who it came from, nor by what Means the *Schnaphan* found us out. I drew a mournful Conſequence from hence, as it ſhew'd that our Departure from *Dantzick* was no longer a Secret; to which I added, the ſlow Progreſs we made; two important Articles, the failing in which could portend no Good. But Heaven was pleaſed to order it ſo, to keep us from confiding in human Meaſures, and oblige us to rely on his holy Providence only, by which he conducted us. I was very impatient all the Remainder of that Day till Night came, in the Beginning of which we embark'd, rowing perpetually through Reeds and impracticable Places, being oblig'd every Moment, where there was no Depth of Water, to draw the Boat over Marſhes into the Ditches where there was ſome. About Midnight we arriv'd, as we thought, near the Bank of the *Viſtula*, where our Conductors oblig'd us to land, and theſe, after holding Council together, without communicating the Particulars of it to us, order'd General *Steenflieth* to walk on Foot along the Bank with our chief Conductor, and the Bankrupt Merchant who

* *Peaſants who ramble about in Parties and rob Paſſengers.*

ſpoke *Poliſh*; after which the two *Schnapbans* went again into the Boat with me, aſſuring me, that we ſhould meet with our Companions at about a League's Diſtance from the Place where we then were.

I was no way pleas'd with this Separation, fearing that I ſhould not meet again with General *Steenflieth*.

I ſuppos'd, that being now arriv'd at the *Viſtula*, we were to croſs it at this Place; but I was miſtaken, for 'twas the farther Side of the *Nering*, whence there would have been no Poſſibility of our getting away.

After we had row'd on very painfully during two Hours, I enquiring after our Comrades, was anſwer'd, that they were before, and that we ſhou'd ſoon be up with them. As Day began to peep, and all the Houſes thereabouts were frequented by *Muſcovites* or *Coſſacks*, it would not be poſſible for us to reach, before the Gloom was diſpell'd, the Place where we were to croſs the *Viſtula*; we therefore were forced to ſtop once more at a Houſe belonging to a Peaſant, with whom my Conductors were acquainted. As we were going in, the Peaſant was aſk'd whether any *Muſcovites* lodg'd in his Houſe, he anſwer'd there did not, but ſaid that ſeveral came to it in the Day-Time; notwithſtanding this, we were forced to ſtay with him; a Moment after which my two *Schnapbans* took me into the Garret, threw me a Bundle of Straw, and bid me lie ſtill, ſaying, that they in the mean Time would be upon the Watch, and go in Queſt of my Companions.

After being kept awake two Nights, I wanted a little Sleep, but that was impoſſible; and finding my Bed very hard, I roſe up and look'd thro' a little Window, whence I ſaw, about twenty Paces from me, two *Muſcovites*, who were looking after their Horſes which fed in the Meadow: An Officer was walking up and down thereabouts, and a Party of *Coſſacks* (ſix in Number) paſs'd within half a Dozen Paces of me. This unpleaſing Sight obliged me to retire immediately to my Bundle of Straw, to reflect on the Means how to extricate myſelf from this Blockade, not knowing that it was ſtill cloſer than I imagin'd; for the Landlady came and whiſper'd me not to make a Noiſe, ſaying, that there were five *Coſſacks* at Breakfaſt in her Houſe. Upon receiving theſe Orders I did not ſtir once; and, during the two Hours they ſtaid there, I over-heard from my Garret all their Diſcourſe, which related to the Siege of *Dantzick*. After they were gone, the Landlady, having probably reflected, by the Apartment I had been thruſt into, that there was ſome Myſtery in all this, came again to me, aſk'd me ſimply whence I came, and who I was, ſaying, that ſhe knew very well, by the *German* I ſpoke, that I was not of that Country, and ſaw by my Face that I was not a Peaſant. I made her believe whatever ſhe pleas'd: But 'twas much worſe when ſhe told me, that her Houſe was in Danger, and that the *Muſcovites* would burn her alive in caſe they found me in it. I trembled at theſe Words, being afraid ſhe would turn me out of Doors; but us'd all the Arguments poſſible to remove her Fears, and deſir'd her not to diſturb me.

'Twas on *Tueſday* the 29th, when finding myſelf alone in this Garret, ſeparated from General *Steenflieth*, I ſuffered a very cruel Kind of Torment, which is, the being incapable to act when we are endued with the greateſt Activity, and the being obliged to wait, motionleſs, in Expectation of the moſt diſmal Accidents. This State of Inactivity ſuggeſted the moſt gloomy Reflections, in the Midſt of which I made two that gave me real Conſolation; firſt, that God had depriv'd me of General *Steenflieth*, the only Man who could aſſiſt me, purpoſely that I might confide in him only; and, ſecondly, that 'twas viſible a Divine Providence ſuperintends all Things. You are to know, that at my leaving *Dantzick* the A———r had given us two hundred Ducats, one hundred to *Steenflieth* and one hundred to me: The Moment we ſet out, as I am not us'd to carry Money about me, and finding it heavy, I reſolv'd to eaſe myſelf of it inſtantly, and give it *Steenflieth* to keep. However, notwithſtanding the great Inclination I had to do this, I yet (but how I can't tell) delay'd giving it him: And after we were ſeparated, I conſider'd the dreadful Condition I ſhould have been in had I been without a Penny about me: Which Circumſtances reviv'd me, and made me firmly believe, that I was under the immediate Protection of Heaven.

Quite tir'd with my preſent Situation, I came down, in order to get ſome Intelligence from my Guides. Theſe told me, that they knew General *Steenflieth* was not above a Quarter of a League off, and would come up with us that very Night, at the croſſing of the *Viſtula*; and that the Boat was quite ready to carry us over; but as the Wind blew very hard, they did not know whether it would be ſafe for us to croſs, it being but a very ſmall Vedelin. I told them that we had no Time for debating; and that as we could not run a greater Hazard than in ſtaying where we were, it was abſolutely neceſſary for us to ſet out at all Adventures.

This Reſolution being taken, the Moment it began to grow Dark we ſtept into the Boat, and left it a Quarter of a League farther at the Extremity of the Floods. We then walk'd a large League to the *Viſtula*; it being a Marſh, we walk'd the greateſt Part of the Way up to the Knees in Mud. Being got

to the Bank, one of my *Schnaphans* bid me ſtay there with his Comrade, ſaying, that he, in the mean Time, would go a Quarter of a League farther, and ſee whether the Boat was at the Place he had appointed. There we waited a full Hour for him; when he at laſt return'd, to tell us, that he had not found the Boat, and that the *Muſcovites* muſt have carried it off. What could we do? only return from whence we came. Accordingly we walk'd another League back, and at laſt got to a Houſe, the Landlord of which appear'd a rational, active, reſolute Man. He engag'd to procure me a Paſſage over the *Viſtula*, and was as good as his Word; and hiding me in his Garret, he went to look for a Boat, and to enquire whether it would be ſafe for us to croſs over.

On *Wedneſday* the 30th, not being able to ſleep, as I was ſtanding at my Garret Window, I had the Pleaſure to ſee our chief Guide, who had wander'd with General *Steenflieth*, come into the Houſe. Immediately I enquir'd after the General, and was anſwer'd, that he went the Night before to the Rendezvous at the Paſſage of the *Viſtula*, where the *Coſſacks* met 'em on the Bank; that he himſelf had taken to his Heels; but as for General *Steenflieth*, he did not know what was become of him: Whence I concluded, that I had quite loſt him. Nevertheleſs I behav'd with Courage under this new Diſappointment, when I reflected, that ſince I was thus abandon'd, it would be abſolutely neceſſary for me to rouze up all my Faculties, and not ſuffer myſelf to be over-power'd by Affliction, how grievous ſoever it might be. As I was thus labouring with theſe inward Struggles, my Landlord came, about five in the Evening, and ſaid, that he indeed had met with the Boat of a Fiſherman, at whoſe Houſe two *Muſcovites* lodg'd, but that there was no getting thither, becauſe of the great Number of *Coſſacks* who were diſpers'd up and down, either to look after their Horſes that were grazing in the Meadows, or in Search of me, my retiring from *Dantzick* being no longer a Secret, and that they ſeiz'd all ſuch Peaſants as were about my Age and Stature.

At this News, I concluded that it would now be impoſſible for me ever to eſcape. I then held a Council with the Peaſants, the Reſult of which was, that we ſhould continue that Night, and all the next Day, in the ſame Place; which we did accordingly.

On *Thurſday* the 1ſt of *July* I again ſummon'd our Council, to enquire whether there was no other Paſſage where we might croſs with Safety. I am to inform you, that our Conſultations were regulated by a great Bottle of Brandy, which the A———r had cans'd to be put into a Hamper, that ſerv'd as a Bottle-Caſe, with a Bottle of *Hungarian* Wine, to which, I may juſtly affirm, I ow'd my Subſiſtence, during the ſeven Days of my vagrant Life. To return to the Brandy: It was neceſſary to proportion the Quantity of it; for when my Peaſants took but a Sup, they would be faint-hearted, and declare, they could not ſee how it would be poſſible for us to go forward, and that they were afraid of being taken and hanged; but when they drank more, they would have conducted me through the Enemy's Camp. By this means I was ever fluctuating between two very dubious Extremes: Add to this, that I ſpoke ſo little *German*, that I could ſcarce explain myſelf, or underſtand their Jargon.

About ſix in the Evening, the Landlord of the Houſe came, with an Air of Joy, and aſſur'd me, that all the *Coſſacks* who had been in the Neighbourhood the Night before, were gone; that the Paſſage was open, and that the Boat waited for me on the Shore of the *Viſtula*, at a League's Diſtance from the Place where we then were. I waited very impatiently for the Duſk, which being come, I mounted a Horſe, and ſet out with my Landlord, who got upon another. The Order of our March was thus; the Landlord was to ride before, I was to follow him at fifty Paces Diſtance, and the three Peaſants were to walk on Foot, and form the Rear-Guard.

In this Manner we paſs'd thro' dreadful Sloughs, in which my Horſe, who could ſcarce ſtand upon his Legs, fell upon his Noſe at every Step he took. We could perceive the Enemy's Fires every where round us; and were forced to paſs, upon Account of the Ditches, very near the Village of *Heyſmark*, where there was a very conſiderable Poſt. 'Twas here the Enemy embark'd their Artillery and Ammunition, in Proportion as they arriv'd.

Having rode happily half a League without meeting with a ſingle Perſon, my Landlord deſir'd me to halt there, ſaying, that he, in the mean Time, would go once more and ſee whether the Paſſage was open, the Place being moſt difficult of Acceſs. I had not waited long before he return'd in the utmoſt Surprize, and told us, that all the Neighbourhood thereabouts was full of other *Coſſacks*; that he had even been examin'd, but had got clear, by declaring, that as he was carrying Proviſions to the Army, he had loſt his Horſes in the Meadows, and was then looking for them. At this News all my Companions were in the utmoſt Conſternation, and declar'd unanimouſly, that we muſt return to the Place from whence we came. As we ſhould have run a manifeſt Hazard in ſo doing, I aſſur'd them that I would never agree to it; and that all we had to do was to arm ourſelves with great Clubs, and knock down the *Coſſacks*, in caſe we were ſuperior

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in Number and could over-power them; or otherwiſe to uſe the ſame Expedient in which our Landlord had ſucceeded, *viz.* to ſay that we were looking for our Horſes, which were ſtray'd in the Meadows. However this Propoſal was not reliſh'd, upon which my Landlord bid us halt, ſaying, he would go once more upon the look-out, and ſee whether he could not find a Paſſage either to the Right or Left.

Whilſt this was doing, (we all lying upon our Bellies) my three miſcreant Peaſants were going to abandon me, declaring continually that they would not be hang'd. Hearing this, the only Favour I requeſted, was, that they would ſtay till my Landlord came back. Accordingly I prevail'd with them; and the Landlord return'd ſoon after, to tell us, that the *Coſſacks* were gone, and that the Paſſage was open that Inſtant. Immediately I mounted my Horſe, and my three Peaſants follow'd me at a great Diſtance, firmly reſolv'd to run away in Caſe any unlucky Thing befel me or my Landlord. We walk'd for half a League, till we came to the Bank, when we ſaw coming towards us a little *Muſcovite* Waggon, with three Men in it; upon which we ran behind a Tree, and ſtood there unperceiv'd. We left our Horſes at a hundred Paces from hence, and walk'd on Foot a Quarter of a League. My Landlord, making me lie down among the Flags on the Shore of the Viſtula, went in queſt of the Boat. However, he did not leave me long in this Poſture, and I ſoon ſaw him return with the Boat, at the very Time that my three Peaſants came up with us. We then embark'd, and by the manifeſt Aſſiſtance of God, reach'd the other Side of the Viſtula.

There, we very fortunately found a large Village, where we arriv'd on *Friday* the 2d of *July*, at Day-break. I was no ſooner got into it but I aſk'd for Horſes, in order to proceed on my Journey; but this was not poſſible. My Peaſants, who now thought themſelves out of Danger, went into a Houſe, laid down, in Spite of all the Arguments I could uſe, and fell into a deep Sleep. I was forc'd to let them ſleep on, and walk about the Houſe as Centinel: But grown quite weary of this Poſt, I return'd into the Room, when waking very gently, and with the utmoſt Caution, one of my Peaſants, I intreated him, in the ſofteſt Words, to go and hire Horſes for us. Accordingly he roſe, went out, and return'd in about two Hours, but ſo drunk that he could ſcarce ſtand upon his Legs, bringing with him a Man, who offer'd to hire us two Horſes and a Calaſh, but upon Condition, that we ſhould leave the Value of them with one of the Townſmen, to prevent their loſing any Thing by us, in Caſe we ſhould be plunder'd by the *Coſſacks*. As 'twas not our Buſineſs to haggle, and we wanted to be gone, I made ſhort Work of it, by purchaſing the Equipage for the Price demanded, *viz.* 25 Ducats. While this was doing, a Crowd got round us; before whom my drunken Peaſant began to expatiate on his great Merit, ſaying, that he would not be bubbled, but would know what Reward was to be given him, he having ventur'd his Neck to conduct me. Upon this our chief Guide, fir'd with the Spirit of Generoſity, began to ſquabble with him, ſaying, that he was a Raſcal, that this was not a Time to debate on ſuch Matters, and that he had exerted himſelf as much as any Body, and yet had not made any Demand. This Quarrel, which roſe to a great Height, prov'd to the Crowd that I was a Perſon of Conſequence, inſomuch that every one began to diſtinguiſh me from my Companions. I reconcil'd Matters as well as I could; and would very willingly have left my drunken Peaſant, who now was of no Uſe to me, had I not been afraid that, intoxicated as he was, he would have quite diſcover'd me. I therefore was oblig'd to pack him up in the Calaſh, and ſupport, or rather carry him on my Back, to keep him from breaking his Neck. My chief Guide rode before, to conduct the Calaſh; and I left the third, whom I believ'd had moſt Senſe, with Orders to go and acquaint the A——r of my having happily croſs'd the Viſtula. At laſt we ſet out, about Noon, without daring to aſk the Way, to prevent, in Caſe of a Purſuit, any one from giving the leaſt Intelligence about me. I myſelf ſteer'd our Courſe by the Map, being well acquainted with the Situation of that Country; and as we were to paſs the *Nogat*, I always went towards the Point where it ſeparates from the *Viſtula*, leaving *Marienburgh* to the left, it being garriſon'd by the Enemy. I went by upwards of twenty Villages, poſſeſs'd by either *Saxons* or *Muſcovites*, without any one's taking the leaſt Notice of me.

After travelling very hard during four Hours, our Horſes were quite tired; the Weather alſo was very ſultry, ſo that it was very neceſſary for us to refreſh them; but with what Safety could we ſtop, as the whole Country was full of Enemies? Providence, however, furniſh'd us with an Opportunity, we ſpying at a hundred Paces from the Road, a lone Houſe, without one Soul in it. We afterwards ſet out again, and arriv'd at Eight in the Evening at a Publick Houſe on the Shore of the *Viſtula*. We found an old Boat which lay upon the Land, when my Peaſants fancied that we were got to the *Nogat*, and ſo were reſolv'd to croſs it in this crazy Veſſel; but I happening, very fortunately, to enquire of a Paſſenger whether this were the *Nogat*, he anſwer'd it was not, but that I was not above a League and half from it, and that this was the *Viſtula*.

Had

Had it not been for this Information, we ſhould have croſs'd the *Viſtula*, and ſo had been undone; we therefore told the Landlord, that we were Butchers belonging to *Marienburgh*, and intended to croſs the *Nogat* to buy Cattle: He told us that this would be impoſſible, all the Boats, to the very ſmalleſt, having been taken away and carried to *Marienburgh*, upon Account of the *Poliſh* Troops that were roaming in Parties up and down the Country on the other Side of the *Nogat*. Hearing this, I could not ſee a Poſſibility of my eſcaping, and we were forc'd to ſpend the Night in the Barn, our Horſes being quite ſpent. Juſt as Day began to break, my Peaſants came to this Reſolution, that we muſt go over the Bridge to *Marienburgh*, and that they could not think of any other Method: I obſerv'd to them, but to no Purpoſe, that there was a Garriſon in this City, and that we ſhould certainly be ſeiz'd by it: They were deaf to my Arguments, and even threatned to leave me in Caſe I did not comply: However, I at laſt prevail'd ſo far, that we ſhould proceed to the Shore of the *Nogat*, and that in Caſe we had not an Opportunity of croſſing it, we then ſhould go by *Marienburgh*; accordingly we went all along the Bank, thro' Woods and moſt execrable Ways, till we arriv'd at a little Village.

I ſaid to them, that it would be proper for us to ſtop; but my two Peaſants, who were always for domineering, refus'd, declaring that it was to no purpoſe, and even dangerous for us to make any Enquiry, ſince we were ſure that we could not paſs the River any where but at *Marienburgh*: Nevertheleſs I at laſt was ſo far Maſter, that one of my Peaſants went into the Houſe to make ſome Enquiry, but, very luckily for me, the Inhabitants could not ſpeak any Tongue but the *Poliſh*, as he came and inform'd me, adding, that he could not make them underſtand him.

Upon this I alighted from the Calaſh, with deſign to ſpeak to them; but this my Peaſants oppos'd, they being afraid that my Speech would betray me. After diſputing ſome Time, they came from the Calaſh, and told me plainly that they would leave me, being determin'd to ſave their Necks: I willingly conſented, being no longer able to bear with their Inſolence and Stupidity. I then went into the Houſe, and told the Landlady very courteouſly, that I wanted to croſs the *Nogat*, in order to go and buy Cattle; but ſhe told me, that there was not one Boat upon the River, and that ſhe herſelf had a few Cattle to diſpoſe of: I anſwer'd, that I would alſo purchaſe ſome of her at my Return, but that I ſhould think myſelf obliged to her, if ſhe could find means for me to croſs the River: The good Woman replied, I ſee you are an honeſt Man, ſo will let my Son conduct you; a Quarter of a League from hence is a Friend of ours, a Fiſherman, who lives on the other Side the Water, and keeps a little Vedelin in his Houſe; upon my Son's making a Signal to him, he will come to this Side and take you into his Boat: I thank'd the good Woman, and ſtept into the Calaſh with her Son: My raſcally Peaſants, who were ſtill there, obſerving me not to be ſo much dejected as before, and that I had a Guide, ſuſpected I had now got what I wanted, ſo came up to me with a Deſign of getting into the Calaſh, and this not being a proper Seaſon for Reproaches, I did not ſay a Word to them: I therefore ſet out, and after riding a Quarter of a League, came to the Banks of the *Nogat*, where indeed the Landlady's Son, at his firſt Signal, made his Friend the Fiſherman come out of his Hut, and drag his little Vedelin after him into the River: The Moment he was come over to us, I ſtept into his Vedelin with one of my Peaſants, and left the other with our Equipage, it not being poſſible for us to convey it croſs the River, and order'd him to wait there till his Comrade, whom I intended to ſend back the ſame Day, was return'd to him.

In this Manner, Praiſe be to Almighty God, I croſs'd the *Nogat*, and, very luckily for me, found in the little Village call'd *Biabagora*, ſituated on the River's Side, a ſmall Waggon and two Horſes, which brought me happily to *Marienwerder*, on *Saturday* the 3d of *July*, after having ſent away my Peaſant with a ſhort Letter to the A———r. Finding myſelf alone in the publick Houſe, I took a little Reſt, after ſuſtaining incredible bodily Fatigues, without being able to give any Eaſe to my Mind, which was in great Agitation upon account of my Uncertainty what Courſe to take.

I can juſtly affirm, that the Satisfaction which my Eſcape gives me, is not capable of ſoothing my Affliction, as I no longer enjoy the ſincere Friends whom I loſt, and that after the moſt cruel Manner in *Dantzick*. I don't pity them as Priſoners of War, for that is the Fate of Men of Honour; but what Compaſſion do they not merit, ſhould they be reduc'd to the Condition of Slaves, at the Expence of their Conſcience and Liberty?

The next Day after my Arrival at *Marienwerder*, I was ſo fortunate as to meet again with my faithful Companion General *Steinflieth*, which is a great Conſolation to me.

Fog's Journal, Nov. 2. N° 313.

Character of CYRUS *the Great: From* M. Roland.

WE may look upon *Cyrus* as the wiſeſt Conqueror as well as the moſt accompliſh'd Prince, that we read of in profane Hiſtory. He had Wiſdom, Moderation, Courage, Grandeur of Soul, Nobleneſs of Sentiments, a marvelous Dexterity in managing the Minds and gaining the Hearts of Men, a compleat Knowledge of all Parts of the Military Art according to the Practice of thoſe Times, a vaſt Extent of Knowledge ſupported by prudent Reſolution to execute great Projects.

It happens often that thoſe Heroes who diſtinguiſh themſelves in Battles, and make a ſhining Figure in War, ſhall appear weak, and of no great Conſequence at other Times, and with Reſpect to other Affairs. *Cyrus* always appear'd the ſame, always great, even in the moſt inconſiderable Things; ſafe in his Greatneſs, which he knew how to ſupport by real Merit, he ſtudied only to be affable, and to render himſelf eaſy of Acceſs; and the People paid him in Sentiments of Love and Reſpect, infinitely more than he gave up by lowering himſelf down to a Familiarity with them.

Nothing can be more pleaſing and inſtructive than to read in *Xenophon*, in what Manner he lived and convers'd with his Friends, always preſerving as much of his Dignity as was neceſſary to maintain Reſpect, but far removed from a certain Pride and Haughtineſs which deprives the Great of the moſt innocent Pleaſures of Life, by hindering them from enjoying the ſweet and amiable Converſation of Perſons of Merit, who happen to be of a Condition inferior to them.

The Uſe he made of his Friends may ſtand as a perfect Model to all thoſe who are placed in the firſt Rank of Mankind; with him they not only enjoy'd a Liberty, but receiv'd his expreſs Command to ſay every Thing they thought; and tho' he was himſelf ſuperior in Knowledge to them all, yet he did nothing without conſulting them; whether his Deſign was to reform ſomething that was wrong in the Government, to make ſome Changes and Alterations in the Army, or to form a Plan for ſome Enterprize, he would have every Man ſpeak his Opinion, and very often he reaped a Benefit from it, very different from one, of whom *Tacitus* ſays, that it was *a ſufficient Reaſon for him to declare againſt the beſt Council, that it did not come from himſelf.*

Cicero ſpeaking of *Cyrus*, ſays, that during the whole Time of his Government, he never gave any Man a raſh, angry or inſolent Word: *Cujus ſumma in imperio, nemo unquam verbum ullum aſperius audivit.* This little Sentence is a high Encomium upon this Prince. *Cyrus* muſt have been perfect Maſter of himſelf and of his own Paſſions, while in a Life of ſo much Hurry and Action, while in ſpight of that Giddineſs which Sovereign Power is but too apt to inſpire, he could poſſeſs his Soul in ſuch a calm Situation that no Diſappointment, no unforeſeen Accident, no Diſcontent ſhou'd be able to ſower his natural Temper, or draw from him a harſh and offenſive Word. But that which was ſtill more truly Great and Royal in him, was the inward Conviction that govern'd him, that all his Cares, all his Attention ought to tend towards the Happineſs of his People, that it is not by amaſſing of Riches, by the Splendor of Retinue, and Equipage, by the Luxury and Expence of a Table, that a King ſhould be diſtinguiſh'd from his Subjects, but by a Superiority of Merit in all kinds, and above all by an indefatigable Application in watching their Intereſts, and in procuring them Quiet and Plenty. He often uſed to ſay while he was entertaining himſelf with the great Men of his Court, concerning the Duties of Royalty, that a Prince ſhould look upon himſelf as a Shepherd (it is the Term that ancient Hiſtory both ſacred and prophane has given to good Kings) that he ought to have Vigilance, Application, and Goodneſs, that he ſhou'd watch that the People may reſt in Safety, that he ſhou'd take upon himſelf Cares and Troubles, that they may be free from them, that he ſhou'd chooſe ſuch Things as may be ſalutary to them, and reject whatever may annoy them, that he ſhould place his Happineſs in ſeeing them encreaſe and multiply, and expoſe himſelf couragiouſly in their Defence: This (ſays he) is the juſt Idea, and natural Image of a juſt King; it is but reaſonable that his Subjects ſhou'd do him the Services of which he ſtands in need, but it is ſtill more reaſonable that he ſhould apply himſelf to make them happy, becauſe it is for that Purpoſe he is made a King, as a Shepherd is made ſo, only to take care of the Flock.

It was by the Concurrence of all theſe Virtues that *Cyrus* brought it about to found an Empire that comprehended ſo many Provinces, that for many Years he peaceably enjoy'd the Fruits of his own Conqueſts, that he found the Way of making himſelf both eſteem'd and beloved not only by his own natural born Subjects, but by all the Nations he had conquer'd, and that after his Deceaſe he was lamented as the common Father of all theſe People.

This is the Picture (ſays *Fog*) that all Hiſtorians have given us of *Cyrus* the Great, a Picture that will fit very few Princes ſince him; but indeed very few Princes ſince him have had the like Advantages of Education; in

Perſia

Perſia at this Time, the Education of Youth was the great Concern of the State, and the Methods of it were appointed by the Laws (See p. 539.) *Cyrus* went thro' the ſame Diſcipline with the other Youth, he was not privileg'd to be more ignorant than any other Perſon in the Kingdom, becauſe he was to be greater; but the Diſtinctions of Greatneſs are very differently underſtood from what they were in thoſe Days: Some Emperors and Princes long ſince *Cyrus*, by the Help of able Maſters and Inſtructors, have indeed been taught to play tolerably well upon the Fiddle, an Art (or Trick I may call it) of which *Cyrus* was altogether ignorant; for the Time that other Princes lay out in acquiring this trifling Accompliſhment, *Cyrus* employed in learning Juſtice, Morality, and the Exerciſe of Arms.

Craſtſman, Nov. 2. N° 435.

The Riſe and Fall of RUFINUS: *Extracted from a late Author.*

RUFINUS was a Native of *Gaul*, but ſo obſcure, that none of the Hiſtorians have been able to deduce his Pedigree; and we find little mention of him, till he procured a conſiderable Employment under *Theodoſius the Great*; by what Ways and Means he was advanced into that Poſt, we are not told with any Certainty: Perhaps they were too flagrant to be named. However that be, he at laſt became *Premier Miniſter*, and *ſole Favourite*.

His Perſon was tall and well made; his Addreſs ſmooth and affable; his Converſation ſubtle and inſinuating; which fitted him wonderfully for the Intrigues of a Court. But his Elevation quite turn'd his Head; and inſtead of making a right Uſe of it, by conducting himſelf with Gratitude and Acknowledgement to the *Perſons*, who rais'd him; with Regard and Decency to his *Superiors*; he grew treacherous to the *one*, and inſolent to the *others*. He began to forget his Original; to neglect his old Friends; to talk loudly of his Services and Deſerts; and to flatter his Ambition and Avarice with unbounded Proſpects.

In order to accompliſh his Deſigns, he found it neceſſary to remove Men of Worth and Probity from the Court. Men above the Temptation of Money, who ſerved their Country and Prince without mean and ſordid Views, were the great Objects of his Rage. *Tatianus* and *Proculus*, Perſons of high Rank and conſiderable Families, were Eye-ſores to him. Their juſt and impartial Behaviour in their reſpective Stations was a conſtant Reflection on his evil Adminiſtration. He therefore took Care to miſrepreſent them to the Emperor, and by falſe Accuſations accompliſhed their Ruin, to the great Detriment of the Publick; who, when deprived of them, loſt a Patriot in the *One*, and a General in the *Other*.

But his Malice was not confined to ſingle Perſons. He was the Adviſer of the moſt arbitrary Meaſures, and the Promoter of Schemes moſt detrimental to the Publick; ſuch as were dangerous even to his Maſter *Theodoſius*, by expoſing him to a general Odium. He exerciſed at large an unlimited Power over the *Nobility* and *Populace*, who were now both miſerably degenerated. The Dignity of the *Patrician Order* was in a great Meaſure extinguiſhed. The Rights and Privileges of the *Plebeians* were groſly invaded. The Laws of the *twelve Tables*, the *Magna Charta* of the *Romans*, were no longer held ſacred, but openly and ſcandalouſly violated. The Conſtitution, and even the *Roman* Name itſelf was in Danger of being totally aboliſhed.

The *Senate*, that is the Majority of it, was become little better than a Collection, or Aſſembly of *Penſioners*, *Preferment Hunters*, *Boy-Politicians* and *Court-Slaves*; who, being veſted of their original Senatorian Authority, had loſt all Senſe of Juſtice, all Freedom of Voting, all that Force of Eloquence, and that Spirit of Liberty, which animated the *old Romans*, and made them the Terror of arbitrary Power. No Proceedings were too violent, no Decrees too unjuſt, no Reſolutions too abſurd, no Actions, no Managements too proſligate for them, when they were executing the Commands of their great Lord and Maſter, *Rufinus*. *Tiberius* had not more Reaſon to laugh at the baſe Compliances of the Senate in his Time, when he cried out, *O Homines ad Servitutem paratos! O Beaſts of Burthen!* than *Rufinus* had at the ſaviſh Condeſcenſion of this.

Nor was the *Eccleſiaſtical Polity* leſs corrupt than the *Civil*; for tho' the Church had at this Time a St. *Ambroſe*, and ſome few more Fathers, both in the *Eaſt* and *Weſt*, who were Champions for her; yet moſt of her chief Paſtors apply'd their Minds ſolely to temporal Concerns, and ſacrific'd the Duties of their Function to the ſordid Views of worldly Intereſt.

Thus *Rufinus* every where interpoſed, every where prevail'd. All Preferments, Eccleſiaſtical, Civil, and Military, were at his Diſpoſal; and even the Determinations of private Property began to partake of the general Corruption. No *private Law-ſuit* between Man and Man could be carried on without exorbitant Expence, and in all *State-Proſecutions* there hardly remain'd the outward Appearance of Juſtice. He had Informers and Evidences in conſtant Pay, who were inſtructed to ſwear any Thing, and accuſe any Body; by which Means he ſcreen'd himſelf from the juſt Reſentment

ſentment of thoſe, who ſought to redreſs the Injuries of the Publick. In a Word, his whole Adminiſtration was one continued Scene of Rapine; and tho' it laſted but a few Years, he had by his Grants from *Arcadius* (who ſucceeded *Theodoſius*, and by whom he was continued in Employment) with his Extortions from the People, heap'd together an immeaſurable Maſs of Wealth.

But this inſatiable Avarice and abominable Oppreſſion could not be borne for ever. His Power began viſibly to decline. The People freely arraigned his Miſmanagements, expoſed his Corruptions, and called aloud for Reſtitution and Juſtice. Some uttered bold Speeches in publick Aſſemblies; others wrote Invectives againſt him; and even his own *miniſterial Slaves* defended him with leſs Zeal and Alacrity than uſual.

All this *Ruſinus* obſerved with a ſtrict and watchful Eye. He was ſo conſcious of his own Guilt, that he apprehended every Thing from a *Party*, which was now gaining Ground upon him every Day; a Party, which was not only ſuperior to his own in Number, but much more conſiderable in Eſteem; being compoſed of Men of the firſt Rank, the largeſt Properties and the greateſt Abilities; who could not, without Horror, reflect on the Conſequences of an *exhauſted Treaſury* and an *endanger'd Conſtitution*; who preſerved the Principles of *Liberty*, *Honour*, and *Loyalty*, in the worſt of Times; even under his moſt deteſtable Miniſtry

In Order therefore to ſtem the Torrent of popular Hatred, he made a ſecret League with the barbarous Nations, who were then over-running *Europe*, and threw himſelf as his laſt Reſort into the Arms of *Alaric* the *Goth*.

But this Behaviour only rous'd the Indignation of his Oppoſers. The Meaſure of his Iniquity was now full. This laſt, treacherous Step incens'd the Multitude againſt him beyond all Bounds. They could not contain themſelves any longer; but reſolved to deliver and revenge themſelves on *ſuch a Monſter*; which they did by tearing him into a thouſand Pieces.

Thus fell the infamous *Ruſinus* a Sacrifice to popular Rage; and tho' his Death was violent, yet was it natural; for however wiſe Men may condemn ſuch *extrajudicial Puniſhments*, it is impoſſible to reſtrain the Fury of the People, when they find themſelves grievouſly oppreſſed, and depriv'd of all other Means of Relief.

I ſhall conclude (ſays the Letter-Writer) this little Piece of Hiſtory with obſerving, that tho' it does not appear exactly parallel, in every Circumſtance, to the Character of any one Man now living; yet if your Readers will give themſelves the Trouble to look round the World, it is not impoſſible that they may ſome where or other find a *Perſon in Power*, who bears a near Reſemblance to it, in many Particulars.

Free Briton, Nov. 7. N° 262.

Obſervations on King WILLIAM's *Government.*

THE Growth of the *Jacobite* Power, which became ſo formidable to K. *William*'s Government was owing to two principal Cauſes. It was owing, on the one Hand, to the unreaſonable Diviſions of the *Whigs*, in his Service, whoſe Ambition aſpiring beyond juſt Meaſure, and whoſe Envy maligning the worthieſt Men in his Favour, led them to join the *Tories*, in Oppoſition to the King and his Miniſters, whereby the Cauſe of the *Tories* was ſanctified by the Acceſſion of *Whig Confederates*, and that which could have no other Name than *Jacobitiſm*, whilſt it had none but *Tories* to conduct it, was now diſguiſed by the conſecrated Name of *Patriotiſm*.

On the other Hand, it is a Truth too ſadly notorious ever to be denied, that whilſt the Rage of *inveterate Jacobites*, and the Envy of *ambitious Whigs*, purſued K. *William*'s ableſt Counſellors, he had not that Firmneſs in giving Protection to the Worthy, and ſtemming the Violence of Faction, as might have been hoped for from a Prince of his Juſtice, Wiſdom, and Magnanimity: So that as he was too eaſily prevailed on to diſmiſs the moſt deſerving of his Miniſters when they were furiouſly puſhed by the *Tories*, it was not ſafe or natural for any Miniſters to hazard themſelves in the Service, when they ſaw that they could not depend on Support againſt the Malice of their Enemies.

The Lord Chancellor *Sommers* was not only the greateſt of K. *William*'s Miniſters, but perhaps, the greateſt that ever was a Miniſter. He had the moſt comprehenſive Genius, the moſt extenſive Knowledge, and the clearest Diſcernment; to ſuch Abilities he joined the moſt unaffected Modeſty: Difficult as the wiſeſt Men have found it to enjoy Fortune without Inſolence; he was that rare Example of a Man that enjoy'd it even without Vanity.

It may at once provoke Amazement and Indignation, that ſuch a Miniſter ſhould be hunted down by the Cry of Faction; that the Power of the Houſe of Commons ſhould be proſtituted to worry the wiſeſt and moſt faithful Counſellor that ever was employed by the Crown; and Impeachments be deviſed to blaſt his Reputation, by a Party who, tho' triumphant in their Outrage, were awed by the Clearneſs of his Integrity; and who, tho' they had Malice to accuſe, had neither Honeſty nor Courage to meet him in the Day of his Trial.

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This Injuſtice to Lord *Sommers*, on the Part of the Houſe of Commons, owed its Encouragement to an apparent Want of Firmneſs in the King: Whilſt the *noble Lord* was thought to be as much aſſured, as he was deſerving of all Protection from the Crown, his Enemies themſelves were afraid of attacking a Miniſter thus ſupported; and the Queſtion for addreſſing the King to remove him, was rejected by a Majority of that very Houſe, who no ſooner ſaw the King take the Seals from Lord *Sommers*, in compliance with the Malice of his Enemies, than they aſſumed a new Spirit, and, whilſt all the *Whigs* ſincerely attached to the *Revolution Government*, were diſmay'd by his unhappy Conceſſion to the *Tories*, they took the Advantage of the Publick Misfortune, and ſhewed K. *William* how little he had gained by diſmiſſing Lord *Sommers* to humour them; for, inſtead of receiving it as an Obligation to the People, they treated it as a Weakneſs in the King; and, ſince he had parted with one Miniſter, they ſoon made him ſenſible that he ſhould keep no Miniſters at all, impeaching every Man in his Service, condemning every Meaſure of his Conduct, and refuſing the juſt Supplies for his Security.

Succeeding Princes will be convinced from this Part of our Hiſtory, that unleſs they allow a firm and ſteddy Support to their faithful Servants, they will never be faithfully ſerved; there will be no Spirit in their Friends, nor Reſtraint upon their Enemies; that whenever Princes give up their Miniſters to the Violence of Factions, they ſurrender their own Power and Security, nor will ever be happy or proſperous whilſt they want Reſolution to withſtand thoſe Attempts againſt their Counſellors, which ariſe from no other Source than Envy, Malice, and perſonal Diſſatisfaction.

Univerſal Spectator, Nov. 9. N° 318.

The Art of Modern Converſation.

THE Topicks of *Modern Converſation* turn generally on what is *univerſally known*, or what is *ſcarce known* at all, that is, the *Diverſions* of the *Town*, or the private *Scandal* of it; for ſuch Subjects require neither much *Knowledge* nor much *Truth*; hence it is that the *pretty Fellows* of the *Town* have ſomething to ſay, and the *Ladies* an Opportunity to pour out that *Flow* of *Eloquence* which is ſo *natural* to them: And how happy is it that theſe Subjects ſhould be the *Mode*, for otherwiſe the *fineſt Aſſemblies* in this Nation would be little better than a *ſilent Meeting*; the *Coquette* would loſe her *pretty ſmart Liſp*, or dear *affected Drawl*, the *Prude* her cruel Pleaſure of *murthering Reputations*, and the *godious Beau* muſt give up the Art of opening and cloſing his Lips gracefully to a Pack of uncouth, unpoliſh'd Fellows, who think their Mouths were made only to ſpeak, without that graceful Grin, ſo neceſſary for the Diſcovery of the Teeth and enlivening Converſation.

To lay a Foundation for this *Science* of *modern Converſation*, I would prohibit all *Reading*, except *modern Plays* and *Pamphlets*, which may be allow'd, as they will not give too ſtrong a Tincture of *Wit* or *good Senſe*. To make Amends for the Prohibition of Books, I earneſtly recommend the *Learned* the *Dancing Maſters* of this *Metropolis*, who, with their *judicious* Allies the *Taylers* and *Mantuamakers*, will perfect their Pupils in the *Art* of *Dreſs*; two very important Points, which are introductory to the *Art* of *Behaviour*, and *Art* of *Converſation*.

A *Diamond Ring* is the moſt neceſſary Qualification, in my Opinion, for a *Polite Orator*: But tho' the Thing itſelf is neceſſary, yet the *Art* of uſing it is much more ſo. The Diſplaying a *fine Brilliant* glittering on the little Finger, when the Hand waves gently along with a ſoft, ſmooth Sentence, adds an irreſiſtible Force to whatever you deliver, gives it the *Stamp* of *Sterling Wit*, and makes it paſs *current*. In a *Controverſy* it has an equal Power; for if your Antagoniſt ſhould puſh you home with *Mode* and *Figure*, *Major* and *Minor*, there is no more neceſſary, but to make an *Extenſion* of that Hand on which you wear your *Diamond*, and you'll infallibly *dazzle* his *Underſtanding*, confute his *Syllogiſm*, and confound his *Logic*.

The *Ruffle*, if properly *handled*, is no weak Auxiliary to the *Art* of *Speaking*, as the *pleating* it, *pulling* it down, and *adjuſting* it, may ſupply a *Pauſe*, expreſs *Joy*, *Anger*, or ſeveral other Paſſions, according to the *Action* you uſe. A late *celebrated Player*, who always had the good Fortune to pleaſe, on any Emergency on the Stage had immediate Recourſe to the *expreſſive Ruffle*, and never without Succeſs.

There is one *Art* in *Converſation*, which tho' it has been cenſur'd by my *ingenious Predeceſſor*, the *Spectator*, is ſtill ſucceſsfully made uſe of; I mean the Art of properly introducing a *green Purſe* and 50 or 100 Guineas into a Diſpute, and by a *judicious Chink* confounding an Opponent who may not have above as many *Shillings*. If you'll contend it with Mr. *Plumb*, he will lay *you*, or any of your *Wits* about *Covent-Garden*, 500 *Pieces* on it, provided you *ſtake* the Money *down*. And ſure this Way of Converſation ſhould be allow'd to your *Logicians* of the *City* and *Wits* of St. *James's*, they having no other Method to refute an Argument.

In all *Converſations* where your *Men* of *Honour* are concern'd, the *Sword* has an uncommon Influence; *Action* has a ſtrange

Force; for one of your *militant Diſputants* about the *Tilt-Yard* and *Charing-croſs*, only by moving his *right Hand* in a croſs Line down to his *left Side*, will take off the moſt ſubtle *Syllogiſm* that can be urg'd againſt him; but ſhould that not avail, he will, in the Twinkling of an Eye, convince his Opponent of his Error, by running him through the Guts.

But to return to the *Inſtructions* of my mere *peaceful* Pupils: The *Rhetoricians* allow that there is a *dumb Kind of Eloquence*. According to this Maxim I've ſeen Perſons *confute* an Argument without ſpeaking a Word: This *Eloquence* is much in Uſe in the *Coffee-houſes* about the *Temple* and *Pall-mall*, where, if you ſhou'd inadvertently offer your Opinion in a Debate, one of theſe *ſilent Orators*, furniſh'd with a *well comb'd Toupee* and *immutable Countenance*, advances up to you with a *jaunty Trip*, *oppoſes* his *Front* to yours, *ſtares ſedately*, nor will he give up this his ſurprizing *Argument*, till he has *ſtar'd* you out of your *Reaſon* and out of the *Coffee-Room*.

London Journal, Nov. 9. N° 802.

Reflections on the Character of Rufinus *in the laſt* Craftſman. (See p. 573.)

WHO can reflect, without Horror and Deteſtation, upon *a Faction* grown up, by long Diſappointments, *to ſuch a Maturity of Wickedneſs*, that they ſeem capable of perpetrating any Villainy which they can find Opportunities to put in Practice? We have, however, one Thing to comfort us, that this *Patriot Rage* ſeems to flow from a *State of Deſpair*; they know that their Cauſe is gone, and their Game is up; *the Majority* is every where, but amongſt the Mob, abſolutely againſt them. Affairs *at Home* are in a good Situation, and Affairs *Abroad* (in ſpite of all their *Wiſhes* and *Labours*) are likely to be placed in ſuch a Situation, as will be *honourable* to his Majeſty, and *beneficial* to the People.

This our Patriots know; they feel *the Strength* of the Government, and their *own Weakneſs*, while they vainly boaſt of *their Power*. Not *one Word* of what they ſay about this is true: They are not a Party *gaining* Ground; for they *loſe* Ground every Day, and have done ſo for a Twelve-month paſt; they are *not ſuperior* in Number, nor more conſiderable *in Eſteem*; they are *much inferior* in Number, and have *loſt all Eſteem* among *impartial Men* of Senſe, and *hearty Lovers* of their Country: They are not Men of the *firſt Rank*, the *largeſt Properties*, and *the greateſt Abilities*; for, excepting *one or two* Families, they are generally Men of *ſmall Properties*, *decay'd Eſtates*, and as *deſperate* in their *Fortunes* as they are in their Minds.

But they ſay further, that *the Miniſter* hath forgot *his Original*, neglected *his old Friends*, and removed Men of *Reſolution*, *Worth*, and *Probity* from the Court; this alſo happens not to be true: The *Hon. Perſon* whom they mean, hath not forgot *his Original*; his Original was that of a Gentleman, of an antient and worthy Family; and he owes his Succeſs in the World as much to his *own Abilities* as any Miniſter ever did. He has *not forgot* his *old Friends*: But if ſome of his *old Friends* imagine that they are not diſtinguiſhed enough, and ſo turn *new Enemies*; 'tis not *he forgets them*, but *they forget him*. He never *removed* Men of *Reſolution*, *Worth*, and *Probity*, from the Court: But whatever Men of Reſolution, Worth, and Probity were once in Favour at Court, and are now removed, *they removed themſelves*; they formed themſelves into a *Cabal*; they entred into an Aſſociation, and *vowed* to oppoſe the Court in every Thing, till they had obliged his M—— to change his Miniſtry; and after ſuch a Reſolution, 'twas the wiſeſt Thing that ever was done, *to turn them all out*. This is the Truth of the Caſe. I don't ſay, that ſeveral of the Gentlemen who are diſmiſſed, were not Men of *Worth* and *Probity*; but, I ſay, in this Inſtance, their *Underſtandings* and their *Virtue* left them; they are not *Patriots*, nor are they *weak enough* to think themſelves ſo: But they are *angry*, *peeviſh*, *proud*, *ambitious* Men, who cannot be at reſt till *the Power* of the Nation is delegated into their Hands. This is the Truth, and this Truth *the Publick* ought to know. There are, indeed, ſome Gentlemen among theſe *Anti-Courtiers* whom I eſteem and value; not excepting *Fatiaus* and *Proculus*: But their preſent Behaviour I deteſt and abhor, as *diſhonourable* to his Majeſty, and *detrimental* to their Country: The Part which *theſe Whigs* act at preſent, is, in my Opinion, a Part infinitely worſe than that of *the Jacobites*; for theſe may juſtly be ſuppoſed to have Principles *againſt the Government*; but here are a Set of Men *principled for it*, and yet *acting* in the moſt deteſtable Manner againſt it.

Fog's Journal, Nov. 9. N° 314.

An Apology for Mrs. Oſborne.

Mr. *FOG*,

IF no other Circumſtance could invite you to pay your *Reſpects* now and then to your *Political Siſter*, Mrs. *Oſborne*, one would imagine, that the Example of ſo eminent a Writer as Mr. *D'Anvers*, might induce you, *merely* in Point of Civility, to ſhew her *little* Regard. Some *Eſteem* is certainly due to this *Majeſtic old Woman*, ſingly on Account of her *Age*, notwithſtanding the viſible Decay of her *Parts*, and total Loſs of her *Memory*.

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Can there be a more melancholy Conſideration than to find, that ſhe, who had long *ſuſtained* and *deſerved* ſo *great a Character*, ſhould *droop* under the Weight of her *Infirmities*; and wholy loſe the Uſe of that noble Talent of *Reaſoning*, which ſhe has often told the World it was her peculiar Happineſs *once* to poſſeſs; that the Want of *Memory* ſhould be manifeſtly diſcoverable in all her *Lucubrations*; that this Defect of *Judgment* and *Retention* ſhould betray her into Controverſy with her *Superiors*, concerning Points to which ſhe fondly eſteems herſelf *equal*; and that the Difficulties ſhe is preſſed with by *thoſe* who retain the Uſe of the *Talents* ſhe has loſt, ſhould encreaſe the Number of her *Abſurdities*, and lead her *inſenſibly* into *Obſcurity*? I ſhall therefore, Mr. *Fog*, take the Liberty to alleviate her *Diſtreſs*, by teſtifying to the Public, in your Paper, the ſingular Regard I bear for this *awful* old Lady; whom I have known from her *firſt Childhood*; and am ſorry ſhe has been ſo *imprudent* as to make herſelf *known* to the *World* in her *ſecond*.

But as I am fully perſuaded, that all the Faults ſhe has committed, proceed chiefly from a late wrong Turn in her Head; I will honeſtly lay before her, a ſhort Account of her *Conduct*, and of what has been ſo unkindly objected to it: And as her *Memory* does not aſſiſt her, to *ruminate* upon any Subject, which ſhe has not *lately* been engaged in, I will confine myſelf to that Part ſhe has taken, in the Queſtion concerning the *Independency* of *Parliament*.

Mr. *D'Anvers* has ſo long *ſet his Wit* againſt this moſt *Reverend Matron*, that he has rendered her *ridiculous* to a *Proverb*; which Treatment has ſo *enraged* her, that ſhe is quite driven off her Biaſs, and eſteems herſelf bound to *contradict* every Thing *advanced* by him.

I ſhall now ſhew what ought to have been her *Carriage* in this Debate; and how much ſhe has *miſbehaved* in it.

That Part of the Publick, who have ſeen her Papers, muſt have obſerved in moſt of them this Maxim, *That the Laws of the Land are the ſtanding Meaſure of the King's* Government, *and the People's* Obedience. Now the neceſſary Conſequences of this are, 1ſt, that we live under a *wiſe* and *good Government*; and 2dly, that it is therefore *impoſſible* for a Houſe of Commons to be *practiſed* upon by any *corrupt Influence*; and as the *Truth* of the Maxim might be admitted, upon the *Veracity* of Mrs. *Oſborne*, we muſt have abided the Concluſions, becauſe they *inevitably* follow. If this *Method* had been purſued, ſhe might very *ſafely* have obſerved in her moſt *ſignificant* Strain of Writing, *Thus have we demonſtrated, both the* Craftſman's *Ignorance of Argument, and Malice againſt the preſent Government*; and this would have been as *honeſt* as it is *concluſive* Reaſoning. It was her Buſineſs therefore, to have obſerved this Courſe of diſputing; but inſtead of that ſhe *eludes*, and by this means abſolutely *confirms* the Point in Diſpute, by endeavouring to turn the Queſtion about *Gifts* and *Penſions*, into *one* concerning *Places* of *Profit*; from whence the moſt *unreaſonable Suſpicions* ſeem to be entertained, that the *Corruption* the *Craftſman* exclaims againſt, has really *ſome Foundation*; and her Manner of encountering him throughout the Debate, is ſo far from *removing*, that it *eſtabliſhes* theſe *Suſpicions*.

The *Danger* of *Parliamentary Slavery* compared with *Regal*, it is true, has been fully ſhewn by the *Craftſman*; and *wiredrawn* by him, into a *diſtant* Reflection upon ſome *late Practices*; but the *real Argument* upon which this proceeded, was *viſibly* too *abſtruſe*, and the Deductions from it *too remote*, to have had any *bad* Effect on the Minds of the People; yet this *headſtrong old Woman* could not avoid attacking the *Craftſman* here; and notwithſtanding her *Impotency*, *oppoſed* her *Feminine* to his moſt *Maſculine Parts*; by which Means an Opinion may be *engender'd*, that the Obſervations of Mr. *D'Anvers*, altho' they are the moſt *foreign* to our *Wiſe* and *Happy Adminiſtration*, are *very applicable* to the Conduct of *thoſe* at the *Head* of it.

The laſt Inſtance of her *Miſbehaviour* that I ſhall mention, in which her *Imprudence* is not leſs conſpicuous than her *Partiality*, is the following: She muſt, *forſooth*, ſhew her *Learning* in this *Debate*; and without either *Rhime* or *Reaſon*, quote a Paſſage from Biſhop *Burnet*'s Hiſtory, within *twenty Lines* of the moſt *untoward Remark*, which is perhaps to be met with throughout the Book. (See p. 541.) Upon this Mr. *D'Anvers* inſtantly recurred to the Paſſage; and not only found it *unfairly* quoted, but in Purſuit of what ſhe had thus pointed out, met with this *very Remark*, which ſeemed to have eſcaped his Notice: This, he has ſince ſo happily applied, in *Defence* of his own Argument, and to the *Deſtruction* of hers, as to have quite *dumbfounded* the old Woman; and proved that her *Want* of *Capacity*, is not a greater Objection to her being continued in the *Service* of her *Maſter*, than her *Want* of *Sincerity*.

I could add to the Number of theſe *flagrant Overſights*, with as much *Eaſe*, as this *ſuperannuated* old Woman *commits* them; but I don't intend to throw her into *Deſpair*. She is really an *Object* of *Pity*; and I profeſs I *aim* as little at *Calumny*, as ſhe *merits* it: If ſhe doubts this, I can only ſay it is her Misfortune to be ſtill under that *Infatuation* which has already ſo greatly *miſled* her; but to teſtify how *much Injuſtice* ſhe does me, to entertain the leaſt Suſpicion of my *Sincerity*, and

and how *little* this affects me, I will offer the *same* Excuse for her *Conduct*, that our *great Poet*, in the *Rape of the Lock*, does for *Belinda's*; a *little varied*.

If to her Share some Female Errors *fall,*
Think of her Years, *and you'll forget them all.*

Craftsman, Nov. 9. N° 436.

The Dissertation on Parties *continued.*
(See p. 32.)

THE *Constitution of the* British *Government* supposes our *Kings* may abuse their Power, and our *Representatives* betray their Trust; and provides against both these Contingencies, as well as human Wisdom can provide. The same *Constitution* is far from supposing the *People* will ever betray themselves; and yet this Case is possible. We do not read, I think, of more than * *one Nation*, who refused *Liberty*, when offer'd to them; but we read of many, and have almost seen some, who lost it thro' their own Fault, by the plain and necessary Consequences of their own Conduct. A wise and brave People will neither be cozen'd, nor bully'd out of their Liberty; but a wise and brave People may cease to be such; they may degenerate; they may sink into Sloth and Luxury; they may resign themselves to a treacherous Conduct; or abet *the Enemies of the Constitution*, under a Notion of supporting the *Friends of the Government*; they may want the Sense to discern their Danger in Time; or the Courage to resist, when it stares them in the Face. The *Tarquins* were expell'd, and *Rome* resum'd her Liberty. *Cæsar* was murdered, and all his Race extinct; but *Rome* remain'd in Bondage. From whence this Difference? *Machiavel* shall account for it. In the Days of *Tarquin*, the People of *Rome* were not yet corrupted. In the Days of *Cæsar*, they were most corrupt. A free People may be sometimes betray'd; but no People will betray themselves, and sacrifice their Liberty, unless they fall into a State of universal Corruption; and then they will be sure to lose what they deserve no longer to enjoy. To what Purpose therefore should our *Constitution* have supposed a Case, in which no Remedy can avail; a Case, which can never happen till the Spirit, which form'd *this Constitution* first, and hath preserved it ever since, shall be totally extinguished. Our *Constitution*, indeed, makes it impossible to destroy Liberty by any sudden Blast of popular Fury, or by the Treachery of a Few; for tho' the Many cannot easily hurt, they may easily save themselves. But if the Many will concur with the Few; if they will deliberately suffer their Liberty to be taken away by those, on whom they delegate Power to preserve it; this no *Constitution* can prevent. God would not support even his own Theocracy against the concurrent Desire of the Children of *Israel*, but gave them a *King* in his Anger. How then should our human Constitution support itself against so universal a Change, as we here suppose, in the Temper and Character of our People? It cannot be. We may give ourselves a Tyrant in our Folly, if we please. But this can never happen till the whole Nation falls into a State of political Reprobation. Then, and not till then, political Damnation will be our Lot.

If the People of this Island should suffer their Liberties to be at any Time ravish'd, or stolen from them, they would incur greater Blame, and deserve less Pity, than any enslaved People ever did. By how much *true Liberty* (that is, Liberty stated and ascertain'd by *Law*, in equal Opposition to *popular Licence* and *arbitrary Will*) hath been more boldly asserted, more wisely or successfully improved, and more firmly established in this, than in other Countries; by so much the more heavy would our just Condemnation prove in the Case here supposed. The Virtue of our Ancestors, to whom all these Advantages are owing, would aggravate the Guilt and Infamy of their degenerate Posterity; and if Servility and Servitude are to overrun the whole World, like Injustice, and Liberty is to retire from it, like *Astræa*; our Portion of the abandon'd Globe will have, at least, the mournful Honour, whenever it happens, of shewing her last, her parting Steps.

The antient *Britons* are to us the *Aborigines* of our Island. We discover little of them thro' the Gloom of Antiquity, and we see nothing beyond them. This however we know; they were *Freemen*. *Cæsar*, who visited them in an hostile Manner, but did not conquer them, perhaps was beaten by † them. *Cæsar*, I say, bestows very liberally the Title of *Kings* upon their Chieftains; and the Compilers of fabulous Traditions deduce a Series of their Monarchs from *Samothes*, a Contemporary of *Nimrod*. But *Cæsar* affected to swell the Account of his Expedition with pompous Names; and these Writers, like those whom *Strabo* mentions, endeavour'd to recommend themselves, by publishing Romances to an ignorant Generation, instead of Histories. These supposed Monarchs were the Heads of little Clans, *Reguli, vel melioris Notæ Nobiles*; and if in Island knew any Authority of the kind Sort in those Days, it was that of *occasional* and *temporary Monarchs*, elected in great Emergencies, ‡ *communi Consilio, Suffragiis Multitudinis*, like *Cassivelaunus* in *Britain*,

* *The* Cappadocians. *vid.* Strabo *Lib.* 12. —— *Libertatem repudiaverunt, ut quem sibi dent intolerabilem.* † *Territa quæsitis ostendit Terga Britannis.* ‡ *Cæs. de Bello G. lib.* 5 & 7.

Vercingetorix in *Gaul*. The *Kings*, who ruled in *Britain*, after the *Romans* abandon'd the Island, in the Beginning of the 5th Century, held their Authority from the *People* and govern'd under the Controul of *national Assemblies*, as we have great Reason to believe, and none to doubt. In short, as far as we can look back, a lawless Power, a Government by Will, never prevail'd in *Britain*.

The *Saxons* had *Kings*, as well as the *Britons*. The Manner, in which they established themselves, and the long Wars they waged for and against the *Britons*, led to and maintain'd *monarchical Rule* amongst them. But *these Kings* were in their first Institution, no Doubt, such as *Tacitus* describes the *German Kings* and *Princes* to have been; Chiefs, who persuaded, rather than commanded; and who were heard in the publick Assemblies of the Nation, according as their *Age*, their *Nobility*, their *military Fame*, or their *Eloquence* gave them Authority. But the *Saxon* Kings grew into Power in Time; and among them, as among other Nations, Birth, instead of Merit, became, for the Sake of Order and Tranquillity, a Title to the Throne. However, tho' these Princes might command, and were no longer under the Necessity of Governing by Persuasion, they were still under that of Governing to the Satisfaction of the People. By what other Expedient could they govern Men, who were wise enough to preserve, and exercise the Right of Electing their *civil Magistrates*, and *military Officers*, and the System of whose Government was upheld and carried on by a Gradation of *popular Assemblies*, from the inferior Courts to the high Court of Parliament; for such, or very near such, was the *Wittena-Gemote* in Nature and Effect, whenever the Word *Parliament* came into Use?

The first Prince of the *Norman* Race was an absolute *Conqueror*, in the Opinion of some Men; and I can readily agree that he assumed, in some Cases, the Power of a *Tyrant*. But this, and this alone will result from it; *unlimited*, or *absolute Monarchy* could never be established in *Britain*; no, not even by *Conquest*. The Rights of the People were soon asserted; the Laws of the *Confessor* were restored; and the third Prince of this Race, *Henry* I. covenanted in a solemn Speech to the People for their Assistance against his Brother *Robert* and the *Normans*, by promising that *sacred Charter*, which was in other Reigns so often and so solemnly confirmed; by engaging to maintain his Subjects in *their ancient Liberties*, to *follow their Advice*, and to rule them in Peace with *Prudence* and Mildness.

I need not descend into more Particulars to shew the Perpetuity of free Government in *Britain*. One continued Design against *Liberty* hath been carried on by various Methods, almost in every Reign, since the *Norman Æra*. In many, the Struggles have been violent and bloody. But *Liberty* still hath triumph'd over Force, over Treachery, over Corruption, and even under Oppression; so that I will affirm, without the least Apprehension of being disproved, that our *Constitution* is brought nearer than any *other* ever was to the most perfect Idea of a *free System of Government*. One Observation only I will make, before I leave this Head, and it is this: The Titles of those Kings, which were precarious, from Circumstances of Times, and Notions that prevailed, notwithstanding the genetal Acquiescence of the Nation to them, afforded so many Opportunities to our Ancestors of better securing, or improving *Liberty*. They were not such Bubbles as to alter, without mending the Government; much less to make Revolutions, and suffer by them. They were not such Bubbles as to raise Princes to the Throne, who had no Pretence to sit in it but their Choice, purely to have the Honour of bettering the Condition of those Princes, without bettering their own in Proportion.

There is another Reason to be given why the People of this Island would be more inexcusable than any other, if they lost their Liberty; and the opening and enforcing of this Reason will bring us fully into our Subject.

I supposed just now that our Liberty might be ravished, or stolen from us; but I think that Expression must be retracted; since it will appear, upon due Consideration, that our *Liberty* cannot be taken away by the Force, or Fraud alone of those, who govern; it cannot be taken away, unless the People are themselves Accomplices; and they, who are Accomplices, cannot be said to suffer by one, or the other. Some Nations have received the Yoke of Servitude with little or no Struggle; but if ever it is imposed upon us, we must not only hold out our Necks to receive it; we must help to put it on. Now, to be passive in such a Case is shameful; but to be active is supreme and unexampled Infamy. In order to become Slaves, we of this Nation must be beforehand, what other People have been render'd by a long Course of Servitude; we must become the most corrupt, the most profligate, the most senseless, the most servile Nation of Wretches, that ever disgraced Humanity; for a Force sufficient to ravish Liberty from us, such as a great *standing Army* in Time of Peace, cannot be continued, unless we continue it; nor can the Means, necessary to steal *Liberty* from us, be long enough employ'd with Effect, unless we give a Sanction to their Iniquity, and call Good Evil and Evil Good.

It may be said that even the *Friends of Liberty* have sometimes different Notions about it,

it, and about the Means of maintaining, or promoting it; and therefore that even the *British* Nation may poſſibly, ſome Time or other, approve and concur in Meaſures deſtructive of their *Liberty*, without any Intention to give it up, and much more without changing from the Character, which they have hitherto born among the Societies of Mankind, to that infamous Character I have juſt now ſuppoſed. If this were true, it would only furniſh more Reaſons to be always on our Guard, to be jealous of every extraordinary Demand, and to reject conſtantly every Propoſition, tho' never ſo ſpecious, that had a Tendency to weaken the Barriers of Liberty, or to raiſe a Strength ſuperior to theirs. But I confeſs I do not think we can be led blindfold ſo far as the Brink of the Precipice. They, who talk of Liberty in *Britain* on any other Principles than thoſe of the *Britiſh Conſtitution*, talk impertinently at beſt, and much Charity is requiſite to believe no worſe of them. But they, who diſtinguiſh between *practicable* and *impracticable Liberty*, in order to inſinuate what they mean, (or they mean nothing) that the Liberty eſtabliſhed by the true Scheme of our *Conſtitution* is of the *impracticable Kind*; and they, who endeavour, both in Speculation and Practice, to elude and pervert the Forms, and to ridicule and explode the Spirit of *this Conſtitution*; theſe Men are Enemies, open and avowed Enemies to it, and by Conſequence to *Britiſh* Liberty, which cannot be ſupported on any other Bottom.

But here again it may be ſaid that as *Liberty* is a Word of uncertain Signification, ſo is *Conſtitution*; that Men have taught the moſt oppoſite Doctrines, and pretended at leaſt to build them on the Principles of the *Conſtitution*. But the Anſwer is ready. It is true that there were formerly Men, who perſiſted long in the Attempt to talk and write that Chimæra, called *Prerogative*, into Vogue; to contend that it was ſomething *real*; a Right inherent in the *Crown*; founded in the *Conſtitution of our Government*; and equally neceſſary to ſupport the juſt Authority of the *Prince*, and to protect the *Subject*. How we had like to have loſt our *Liberty* by the Prevalence of *ſuch Doctrines*, by the Conſequences drawn from them, and the Practices built upon them, hath been touch'd in the Deduction of the State of *Parties*. (Vol. II. p. 556, 571.) But happily this Kind of Progreſſion from a free to a ſlaviſh Conſtitution of Government was ſtopped at the *Revolution*, and the Notions themſelves are ſo exploded in the Courſe of ſix and forty Years, that they are entertained at this Hour by no Set of Men, whoſe Numbers, or Importance, give them any Pretence to be reckoned among our *national Parties*. It is as true, that there are now Men, who purſue the very ſame Deſign by different Methods. The *former* attack'd, *theſe* undermine our Liberty. *Corruption* and *Dependency* are their favourite Topicks. They plead for the *firſt* as a laudable Expedient of Government; and for the *laſt*, I mean *corrupt, private Dependency*, as an eſſential Part of our *Conſtitution*. When they have perplex'd our Ideas of *Dependency* and *Independency*, they reaſon as if the *Independency of each Part of* A *the Legiſlature*, of the *King* particularly, aroſe from the *Dependency of the other Parts on that Part*. Now, this is both falſe and abſurd. It is falſe, becauſe the *conſtitutional Independency of each Part of the Legiſlature* ariſes from hence, that diſtinct Rights, Powers and Privileges are aſſign'd to it by the *Conſtitution*. But then this *Independency of one* B *Part* can be ſo little ſaid to ariſe from the *Dependency of another*, that it conſiſts properly and truly in the free, unbyaſs'd, uninfluenc'd, and independent Exerciſe of theſe Rights, Powers and Privileges, by *each Part*, in as ample an Extent as the *Conſtitution* allows; or, in other Words, as far as that Point, where the *Conſtitution* ſtops this free Exerciſe, and ſubmits the Proceedings of *one* C *Part*, not to the private Influence, but to the publick Controul of the *other Parts*. Before this Point the *Independency of each Part* is meant by the *Conſtitution* to be *abſolute*. From this Point the *conſtitutional Dependency of each Part on the others* commences. To talk of *natural Independency* belonging to the *Kingly Office*, D to an *Houſe of Peers*, or an *Houſe of Commons*, (the Inſtitutions of *Art*, not of *Nature*) is impertinent. —— It is abſurd, becauſe it abſolutely deſtroys the very Thing it is advanc'd to eſtabliſh; for if *A*'s *Independency* ariſes from the *Dependency of B*, and *B*'s *Independency* from the *Dependency of A*, then are *A*. and *B*. both dependent, and there is no ſuch Thing as *conſtitutional Independency* at all. The *Crown* is E the Source of *Honours*, and hath the Diſpoſal of *publick Employments*. This no Man diſputes; nor would any Man, I believe, go about to alter. But will it follow that the *conſtitutional Independency of the King* would be loſt, becauſe the *Houſe of Commons* give the Supplies, if he had not the Power of giving Part of this Money, in *Places* and *Penſions* F back again to the Members of that Houſe?

Notwithſtanding all theſe Endeavours to puzzle our *Conſtitution*, formerly in Favour of that *Prerogative*, by the Weight of which it muſt have been cruſh'd, and actually at this Time in Favour of *that Corruption* and *corrupt Dependency*, by which it would be ſoon demoliſh'd; the main Principles of the *Britiſh Conſtitution* are ſimple, and obvious, and G fix'd, as well as any Truths can be fix'd, in the Minds of Men, by the moſt determinate Ideas. We cannot loſe our *Liberty*, unleſs we loſe our *Conſtitution*, nor loſe our *Conſtitution*, unleſs we are Accomplices to the Violation

it; for *this Conſtitution* is better fitted than any, antient or modern, ever was, not only to preſerve *Liberty*, but to provide for its own Duration, and to become immortal, if any Thing human could be ſo.

Free Briton, Nov. 14. N° 262.

Remarks on the above Craftſman.

WHOEVER undertakes to write in Defence of Liberty, may, with ordinary Abilities, vindicate the Subject beyond the Poſſibility of Contradiction, and may indulge his Talent of declaiming on the general Rights of Nations, the Neceſſity of preſerving, and the Infamy of loſing them, without the leaſt Apprehenſion of being interrupted or anſwered: But when this Courſe of Declamation is undertaken with the wicked and pernicious Deſign of ſpreading unjuſt Alarms, of infuſing the Notion of Danger into the Minds of the People, in the Times of their greateſt Safety, it is done to make them ſhake the Foundations of their own Security, and riſe in Arms againſt the Guardians of their Tranquillity. This indeed requires Animadverſion, and that of the ſevereſt Kind: It is a Proſtitution of the beſt Cauſe to promote the worſt in the World.

The Author of the *Diſſertation on Parties* hath ſet out on this Subject, with various Aſſertions, which none in their Senſes will ever deny; and he may as long as he lives maintain, That Liberty was always the Privilege of *Britons*; that it is our Glory to poſſeſs it, and would be our laſting Shame to ſuffer it to depart from us; that whenever it leaves us, this Iſland will be its laſt Stage; and whenever we are bereft of it the Work muſt be done by our own Hands: I entirely ſubſcribe to this, and to a great deal more in the ſame Strain: I do not object that this *is the Truth*, but affirm *it is not the whole Truth*: I maintain, that this Liberty, which hath been the Boaſt of all Times, is the matchleſs Bleſſing of the preſent Reign; that it was never ſo fully enjoy'd, nor ſo well ſecured; that the Life of this Liberty is ſubſiſted by the Adminiſtration of the preſent Government; and that the Prince on the Throne by his Power and Influence, the vital Spirit of the Conſtitution.

Upon that particular Paſſage in the Craftſman, *which you have in p.* 579. B. he ſays, This Charge is not only *falſe in Fact*, but fraught with the moſt venomous Malice, as well againſt the happy *Eſtabliſhment of our Religion and Liberty*, as againſt the *King* himſelf, and *all the Princes of his Family*. It tends to caſt more *odious Colours* upon the Revolution, than all its Enemies ever contributed to it.

This Slander entirely turns upon *two Falſehoods* of as glaring Notoriety as Malignity. The one, *that the Government was* altered *by the Revolution, but not* mended. The other, *that the Princes of the* Proteſtant Succeſſion *had no Pretence to ſit in the Throne, but the* Choice of the People *ſince the Revolution.*

Now it is to the Glory of theſe Princes, that they were called to the Government by the *willing Voice of three Nations*, declared by numerous *Legiſlative Acts*. Yet call this a Matter of Choice, or any Thing elſe, it is, at the ſame Time, moſt undeniably true, that the *Proteſtant Succeſſion* in the *Houſe of Hanover*, did not altogether ariſe from Choice, but from *natural and neceſſary Conſequences* of *unalterable Principles*; and that the *Title of the Houſe of Hanover* to the Succeſſion of this Crown, was *not given*, or *created*, by any of the Acts of Settlement, but was originally eſtabliſhed by the *Bill of Rights* at the *Revolution*, which declared and enacted, that no *Papiſt* ought to be King or Queen of this Realm; ſo that by the *Fundamental Principles of the Conſtitution*, the Crown muſt of Right ſtand entailed upon that Family; from whence, as the *Houſe of Hanover* were the *only Princes of the Blood Royal of Great Britain*, who were capable of the Succeſſion, it could not, by the Laws of the Kingdom, have deſcended in any other Manner, but muſt or ought to have paſſed into that Family, tho' the ſubſequent Acts of Settlement had never been eſtabliſhed; for thoſe were only *Recognitions* and *Securities of a Right* which was already ſufficiently known, and which could not have been departed from without Violence done to all the Laws, or elſe, by ſome new Kind of Law, which muſt, by a monſtrous Stretch of Legiſlative Power, have declared the Right of Blood in the *Princeſs Sophia*, and *her Children*, to be forfeited without any Offence: So that it is baſe and falſe, beyond Example, to ſuggeſt that the Princes of the *Proteſtant Succeſſion* had *no Pretence to ſit in the Throne* but *Choice*, when they had the moſt *natural* and *legal Right*, coincident with *that Choice*, and could not have been excluded without Violence or Injuſtice.

This *inſolent* Aſſertion, *that the* Prince *on the Throne hath no Pretence to ſit on it* but *Choice*, is a very decent Argument from one *who hath no Pretence to live* but *Mercy*, and who hath render'd himſelf already ſo very conſpicuous, by avowing in open Rebellion, *that the* Prince *on the Throne had no Pretence to ſit in it at all*, as *makes* it ſuſpicious, by this Manner of writing Commentaries on the *King's Title*, that he hath not quite forgot his *former* Employment of *drawing Declarations for the Pretender*. And this Manner of phraſing his Majeſty's Title as a *Pretence*, is the Language of one who traiterouſly treated his *Royal Father* as a *Pretender*.

What elſe in the World can be the Conſtruction of Inſinuations that the Government, as it ſtood under *James* II. hath been *altered*, without being *mended*; that we have been *Bubbles*, to make a *Revolution*, and *ſuffer* by it; as if our Religion and Liberties were no Advantages; as if to recover even the *Being of Parliaments*, had altered our Government, without having *mended* it; and further, that we have *bettered* the Condition of thoſe who are our Princes, without bettering *our own in Proportion*; as if the very Excluſion of the *Pretender*, and of the *Popiſh Religion*, did not make a greater Difference in our Condition, *enjoying both Civil and Religious Liberty*, inſtead *of ſuffering all the Rage of Tyranny and Perſecution*; as if, I ſay, this was not more conſiderable than the Difference between an *Electorate of the Empire*, and *the Kingdom of Britain*.

The Prompter, Nov. 12. N° 1.

This is a new Deſign; and this firſt Paper gives an Account of the Title, which is taken from the PROMPTER *at the Play-Houſe; whoſe Office is thus deſcrib'd.*

HE ſtands in a Corner, unſeen and unobſerved by the Audience, but diligently attended to by every one who plays a Part; yet, tho' he finds them all very obſervant of him, he preſumes nothing upon his own Capacity; he has a Book before him, from which he delivers his Advice and Inſtructions. From this Part of his Conduct, a very good Moral is to be drawn, which, I hope, I ſhall never be ſo forgetful of, as to be accuſed of *talking without Book*.

He takes particular Care, not only to ſupply thoſe, that are *out* in their Parts, with Hints and Directions, proper to ſet them right; but alſo, by way of Caution, drops Words to thoſe, who are perfect, with an Intention to keep them from going wrong. I have often obſerved the moſt expert and couragious General tremble thro' Fear of miſſing his Inſtructions, and the wiſeſt of Monarchs lend him an attentive Ear. I have ſeen the merrieſt of Mortals not dare to crack a Joke, till he gave them the *Cue*, and the moſt deſpairing of Lovers refrain from Sighs and Tears, till they had his Permiſſion to be miſerable. I have ſeen a diſcontented Stateſman huſh Sedition, at his Nod; and a very habile Prime Miniſter, not able to pay Penſions without his Advice and Concurrence. In ſhort, I have ſeen ſo much, that I ſhall not heſitate to pronounce him a Director of the Ignorant, a Comforter of the Afflicted, a Terror to the evil Actor, and a *Counſellor to the Counſellors of Kings*.

He has Scouts and Meſſengers to attend him; by diſpatching one of theſe, he can, at a Minute's Warning, bring the greateſt Characters of Antiquity, or the pleaſanteſt of the preſent Times, upon the Stage, for the Improvement or Diverſion of the Audience.

Among his *Inſtrumenta Regni*, his Implements of Government, I have taken particular Notice of a little Bell, which hangs over his Arm: By the Tinkling of this Bell, if a Lady in Tragedy be in the Spleen for the Abſence of her Lover, or a Hero in the Dumps for the Loſs of a Battle, he can conjure up ſoft Muſick to ſooth their Diſtreſs; nay, if a Wedding happens in a Comedy, he can ſummon up the Fidlers to diſpel *Care* by a Country Dance. I muſt inform my Readers, that I have procured an emblematical Bell for theſe Purpoſes, and that whenever any of theſe Misfortunes ſhall befal them, I can call up a muſical Spirit of Chearfulneſs, and make them as *merry*, as is conſiſtent with the old *Proverb*.

Another Tool of his Authority, is a Whiſtle, which hangs about his Neck: This is an Inſtrument of great Uſe and Significance: I won't ſay but the Sound of a Boat-ſwain's Whiſtle may be ſometimes more terrible; but I am ſure, it cannot be more punctually obeyed. Dr. *Fauſtus*'s celebrated Wand has not a more arbitrary and extenſive Power, than this muſical Machine: At the leaſt Blaſt of it, I have ſeen Houſes move, as it were, upon Wings, Cities turned into Foreſts, and dreary Deſarts converted into ſuperb Palaces: I have ſeen an Audience removed, in a Moment, from *Britain* to *Japan*, and the frozen Mountains of *Zembla* reſembling the ſunny Vales of *Arabia Fœlix*: I have ſeen Heaven and Earth paſs away, and Chaos enſue, and from thence a new Creation ariſe fair and blooming, as the Poet's Fancy; and all by the powerful magic Influence of this Wonder-working Whiſtle. No body will be ſurprized, after this, to hear, that I have made uſe of all my Intereſt, to procure from the ingenious Mr. *Chetwood*, an atteſted Copy of this marvellous Inſtrument, by virtue of which, and ſome Directions from that eminent *Adept*, I ſhall be able to preſent my Readers with a never-failing Variety of Objects.

Thus qualified, and fired by ſuch Examples, I enter boldly upon my Province. The Compariſon between the World and the Stage will hold in all Points: I could go thro' with it, if it were not too old to be repeated, as well as too certain to be doubted. Therefore, when we daily ſee ſo many Miſ*acts* amiſs, can we entertain any Doubt, that a good *Prompter* is wanting? I will do my beſt to make up for that Defect, by cloſely imitating that worthy Officer at the Play-houſe. I ſhall give the *Word* impartially to every *Performer*, from the Peaſant to the Prince, from the Milk-maid to her Majeſty,

every Part, whether Male or Female, ſerious or humorous, high or low, ſhall be carefully and equally *prompted*.

Univerſal Spectator, Nov. 16. N°. 319.

Of Lazineſs.

SIR,

'WE are miſtaken, ſays the Duke of 'Rochefoucalt, if we think that 'none but the more violent Paſſions tri-'umph over the reſt. Love and Paſſion have 'a great Power over our Soul; but Lazineſs 'alſo, as weak and languiſhing as it is, ſel-'dom fails of ſometimes making a Con-'queſt: It will get the better of our De-'ſigns, and control all the Actions of our 'Life.

This Author made this Reflection on the Habit of Lazineſs among a People reckon'd the moſt active in the World. If it was ſuited to the *Natives* of *France*, it may with more Propriety be adapted to the Genius of *Great Britain*, where *Indolence* ſeems to be the reigning Paſſion: The *Spleen* and *Vapours*, thoſe diſtinguiſhing Characteriſticks of the *Engliſh*, with all Deference to the *Learned* of *Warwick-lane*, take their firſt Riſe from that dangerous Malady of having *nothing to do*; for I cannot call that *doing any thing* which may as well be let alone. The *fine Lady* and the *Beau* are in a perpetual Hurry all the Morning to finiſh that important Buſineſs of *Dreſs*; they get to the *Mall* by *twelve*, walk till *two*, dine by *five*, are at the *Play* or *Opera* before *ſeven*, at *Quadrille* before *eleven*, and in *Bed* perhaps by *four*, and not out of it till *eleven again*; thus the whole Action of the 24 Hours, as *Dreſſing*, *Eating*, *taking Snuff*, *drinking Tea*, *playing at Cards*, and *Sleeping*, is but one entire *Progreſs* of *Lazineſs*; for in theſe very Articles I affirm they are *doing nothing*.

But of all Inſtances of *Indolence*, *Lady Fanny Careleſs*, who cannot take the Trouble of giving even the neceſſary Orders for her Dreſs, is the moſt ſurprizing; ſhe leaves every Thing to her *Woman*, and puts on juſt what ſhe may think proper to give her; ſhe cannot undergo the Fatigue to ſay, *my Night Gown*, or, my *dreſs'd Clothes*, when ſhe muſt afterwards bear that inſupportable Toil of having them *pinn'd on*.

Nor is this *Lazineſs* the Vice of the Court-End of the Town only; Mrs. *Primly*, the *Deputy* of the Ward's Wife, lives in her Dining-Room with a Clock at her Elbow, yet every Time it ſtrikes, ſhe rings the Bell for her Maid to come and tell her *how often* it ſtruck; for it would be too much *Drudgery*, and too violently *exhauſt* her *Spirits*, either to tell the Hours, or turn herſelf about to look up at the Dial-plate; ſhe cannot poſſibly demean herſelf to that *vulgar Taſte* of uſing her Faculties, but is ſo very *faſhionable*, and ſo very *lazy*, that ſhe is above attending to any Thing whatſoever: She *journeys* indeed, about half a Dozen Times a Day, from her Chair to her *Bouſet*, where her *Citron Bottle* ſtands, and by recruiting her Spirits there, makes ſhift to halt a few Minutes before her *Looking-Glaſs*, then with an affected Hobble recovers her *Elbow-Chair*, and ſinks into it, juſt expiring with the *Fatigue*.

Tho' Mrs. *Primly* abhors the Exerciſe of her Limbs, and ſpends her Life in ſedentary Satisfaction, ſhe is not a Jot more idle than Mrs. *Hoyden* a Juſtice of the Peace's Lady in *Yorkſhire*, who never can ſit ſtill a Moment: She has a thorough Averſion to the affected Nicety of the *Londoners*; ſhe riſes at the Dawn of Day to ride a *Fox Chace* of *forty Miles*, and afterwards with her *Spouſe*, her *Brother*, and ſome neighbouring Gentlemen, ſhe adjuſts the Courſe, recites the ſurprizing Incidents of the Chace, and runs all the Ground over again; ſhe never fails any Horſe-Match, far or near; ſhe'll ride 20 Miles to pay a Viſit: In ſhort, ſhe is one of the *greateſt Riders* in the *County*, and one of the idleſt Females in it.

I am

Your *idle Correſpondent*,

J. LAWRENCE.

London Journal, Nov. 16. N° 803.

Obſervations on the Reign of Queen ELIZABETH.

WE had no *real* or *complete Liberty* till the *Revolution*: But as People will ſee Things more clearly by *Facts*, than by all *the Reaſoning* in the World, we will lay before them a ſhort Account of *the beſt Reign* before the *Revolution*, which they may *compare* with any Reign ſince, and with *the preſent Reign*, that ſo they may make a *true Judgment* of the *different State* of Things.

The Reign I refer to, is that of Q. *Elizabeth*, and I will give it in or near the Words of the Author of a late Pamphlet, call'd, *Ancient and Modern Liberty ſtated and compared*.

This Princeſs, (ſays he) tho' her Government tended in general to the Publick Welfare, yet governed as *abſolutely without the Conſent of the People*, as her *Arbitrary* Predeceſſors or Succeſſors.

She often ſent for *the Speaker* of the Houſe of Commons, and told him, not only what ſhe would and would *not ſuffer to be done*; but alſo, what ſhe would or would *not allow to be ſaid*: Told him, ſhe wanted Money, and would have it; and that *Yea and Nay*

ſhould only be utter'd, when it was propoſed to be given; that *the Commons* underſtood not State Affairs; that State Affairs were not their Buſineſs; and that it behoved them only to meddle with what was properly within their own Province. She, by her Lord Chancellor, told *the Speaker*; and, by *the Speaker*, told *the Commons*, that they had *no Right* to judge of Returns in Elections; but that *her Lord Chancellor* ſhould be *the ſole Judge*, and determine in thoſe Caſes.

She impriſoned Members of Parliament merely by *her own Authority*; forbid ſome Bills to be read in the Houſe, others to be debated there; and *refuſed* the Royal Aſſent twice, to above 30 Bills each Time, that had paſſed both Houſes.

Never were *the Reins of Prerogative* held with a ſtricter Hand, or *the Yoke of Slavery* faſter bound upon the People's Necks, than at this Period of Time; and tho' the People were *driven*, where they ought to have *choſen* to go, yet they were *ſtill driven*; and the ſame Power that forced them into Foreign Glory and Domeſtick Proſperity, might, in the Hands of a leſs ſkilful or worſe diſpoſed Driver, have forced them into the Paths of *Contempt Abroad* and *Deſtruction at Home*. The *ſame Method* of Government was purſued in the *ſubſequent Reign*, and the Effects of that Method on different Maxims and Policy verify this Aſſertion.

All, therefore, that can be ſaid with regard to *the Liberty* enjoy'd in the Reign of *Q. Elizabeth* is, that ſhe who allowed her Subjects none, knew their Intereſt ſo well, and purſued it ſo ſteadily that, under her, they poſſeſſed a great many good Things, but were deprived of one of the greateſt of all, which is, making the Good they poſſeſs *the Effects of their own Election*.

To draw then a juſt Parallel between that Reign and the preſent, I think we may, without the leaſt Flattery affirm, that we now reap *all the publick Benefits* that accrued to the Nation from her Counſels, without the latent Evil of being *forced* upon us, and conſequently rather *inflicted* than *beſtowed*.

Fog's Journal, Nov. 16. N° 315.

Obſervations on the Romans *and* Carthaginians, *and on the* French *Nation.*

AS the great Powers of *Europe* are at preſent engaged in War, it will not be amiſs to enquire what the World may expect may be the Conſequence of it.

As Money is called the Sinews of War, many will pronounce (without enquiring into any other Circumſtances) that the State which is able to raiſe the greateſt Sums, will weary out their Enemy, and of Conſequence muſt prevail at laſt.

Upon this we muſt obſerve, that tho' we allow Money to be the Sinews of War, yet it is certain, it is no longer ſo than while it paſſes thro' clean and uncorrupt Hands.

Whoever compares the Strength of the *Romans* with that of the *Carthaginians* at the Time of the firſt Punic War, will wonder that the former ſhould be able to make ſuch a Struggle againſt the latter. The *Carthaginians* at this Time poſſeſſed great Revenues, had the moſt extenſive Commerce, and were Maſters of a powerful Navy. The *Roman* Revenues were ſmall, they had little or no Trade, and no Fleet at all, and yet they did not only defend themſelves and their Allies, but humbled the *Carthaginians* to accept of Peace upon their own Terms.

At the Beginning of the ſecond Punic War the *Carthaginians* had recovered all their paſt Loſſes: They had at the Head of their Armies the greateſt Genius for War that has appeared either before or ſince his Time, I mean the victorious *Hannibal*; he overthrew the *Romans* at *Trebia*, at *Traſimene*, and at *Cannæ*, beſides many other Actions of leſs Conſequence, but thoſe three Defeats were ſufficient to have ruined any other Commonwealth in the World; and tho' it may be ſaid that *Hannibal* was too hard for ſo many *Roman* Generals, yet *Rome* was too hard for *Carthage* in the End, and ruin'd it by Methods which will always prevail, tho' ſometimes they are little regarded by thoſe who have the Government of Nations in their Hands.

In order to make myſelf better underſtood I muſt take Notice how different and oppoſite theſe contending People were in their Manners and Inclinations. In *Rome* virtuous Poverty was honour'd, publick Spirit was the Principle that govern'd every private Man's Actions, great Offices in the State were ſought not for Profit but for Honour, and when they were conferr'd, thoſe upon whom they fell received them as Opportunities of diſtinguiſhing themſelves in the Service of the Commonwealth, not as Occaſions to enrich themſelves and raiſe their Families at the Expence of the People. In *Carthage* every Thing was venal, great Wealth ſupply'd the Place of Merit (however acquired;) Men eagerly ſought for Offices, not with a Deſign of being uſeful to the Commonwealth, but as a Means of growing rich by cheating the Publick; and when ſome Fellow roſe to be the Head of a prevailing Faction, to be ſervile and obedient to his Orders was all the Qualification that was required either for Civil or a Military Employment; ſo that it was not *Fabius* that checked *Hannibal*, but *Scipio* that conquer'd him, ſo much as the *Roman* Virtue that overcame the *Carthaginian* Corruption.

I cannot help being of Opinion that in all corrupt Governments, the Caſe will be much the ſame; when Men work themſelves into the Service of the Publick by Faction, and are to be ſupported in it by Bribery, ſome one Man who is the Leader will have the Diſpoſal of every Thing, and then it is not likely but that the Soldiery will grow baſe, as well as the Civil Mercenaries, at leaſt A
thoſe who have the chief Command amongſt them will be ſo.

All *Europe* has been ſometimes alarmed at the great Power of *France*, and thoſe who have examined its Trade and Revenues, have been ſurprized that it ſhould be able to maintain ſuch vaſt Forces; but in *France* they are not eaten up alive by Swarms of Locuſts in B
Civil Employments; their Salaries are very ſmall, nor is the Pick-Pocket Term *Perquiſits* ſo much as known amongſt them.

All the Nobility of *France*, except Children and Perſons ſuperannuated, ſerve in the Troops. You ſee a Man of the firſt Quality at the Head of almoſt every Regiment. It is a Notion among the Nobility there, that high Titles and a good Eſtate oblige a C
Man to lay himſelf out in the Service of his Country; and if a great Man does now and then a little impair his Fortune, he thinks it more honourable to do it by ſerving in the War, than by keeping Company with Whores, common Sharpers, or *Italian* Fidlers.

Upon the Whole, if the *French* Nobility D
enjoy ſome Privileges beyond the common People, the common People have no Reaſon to envy them, ſince their Nobility fight their Battles, and half maintain their Armies, and of Conſequence eaſe them in their Taxes.

But there is another Thing which goes a great Way in Affairs of this Nature, and that is Reputation; a Country which has the E
Fame of being wiſely govern'd will be both feared and courted. The *Romans*, after they had ſuffered two great Defeats from *Hannibal*, received Ambaſſadors from the People of *Naples*, who brought with them a great Treaſure in Gold, which the *Neapolitans* offered to lend them, upon a Preſumption that they muſt have been under ſome Difficulties to raiſe Money, and alſo to make an Alliance F
with them; they accepted of their Alliance, but refuſed their Gold; they took only one Goblet in order to preſerve as a Memorandum of their Friendſhip; the *Neapolitans* judg'd wiſely that ſo virtuous and brave a People would prevail at laſt, and that this good Turn of theirs would not be forgot in Times to come.

Craftſman, Nov. 16. N° 437.

The *Diſſertation on* Parties *continued, from* P. 581. *In which the Nature of the* Britiſh Conſtitution *is farther explained; with ſome Remarks on the Defects in the Conſtitution of the* Roman Commonwealth.

WE have been all of us, thoſe of every Side and Denomination, accuſtom'd too long to value ourſelves fooliſhly, or knaviſhly, on our Zeal for *this*, or *that Party*, or *this*, or *that Government*; and to make a Merit of ſtraining the *Conſtitution* different Ways, to ſerve the different Purpoſes of each. It is high Time we ſhould all learn, if that be ſtill poſſible, to value ourſelves in the firſt Place on our Zeal for the *Conſtitution*; to make *all Governments*, and much more *all Parties*, bow to *that*, and to ſuffer *that* to bow to none. But how ſhall this *Conſtitution* be known, unleſs we make it the Subject of careful Enquiry, and of frequent and ſober Reflection? Or unknown, how ſhall it become, what it ought to be, the Object of our Admiration, our Love, and our Zeal?

All publick Regiment, ſays Mr. *Hooker*, *hath ariſen from deliberate Advice, Conſultation and Compoſition between Men.* The Propoſition is univerſally true: It is as true in *Morocco*, as it is in *Britain*: We are not to wonder however, if Men do not look up to *this Original of Government*, nor trace the Conſequences from it, in moſt Countries. In the Inſtitution of Governments, too great Powers have been uſually given, and too great Confidence repoſed, either at firſt, or in Proceſs of Time. Theſe Powers have ſubſiſted, have been confirmed by more Time, and increaſed by the very Nature of Power. But the *original Compoſition*, for want of being expreſs'd, or ſufficiently imply'd, or frequently recurred to by the Forms of the Government, hath been forgot, or hath grown ſo obſolete, that they, whoſe Intereſt required that no ſuch Thing ſhould be believed, have thought themſelves at Liberty boldly to deny it; and not only ſo, but to ſuppoſe *ſome other Original of Government*. Strange Syſtems of *Policy*, and ſtranger of *Religion*, have been deviſed to ſanctify theſe Uſurpations. *Education* hath been ſet on the ſame Side; and *ſaucy Authority* hath prevail'd againſt the cleareſt Light of *Nature*, and the plaineſt Dictates of *common Senſe*. No Man, who hath read and look'd abroad into the World, will think this too ſtrange to be true; ſince there is no demonſtrated Truth (ſuch Truths I mean as are here ſpoken of) which may not be render'd, at leaſt, very problematical by long, uniform, poſitive Contradiction; nor any demonſtrated Lye, which may not be render'd probable to many, G
and certain to ſome, by long, uniform, poſitive Affirmation; according to a juſt Obſervation made by Father *Paul* on Occaſion of *Conſtantine*'s ſuppoſed Grant, and other

other Cheats of the Court of *Rome*. But we of this Country have been more happy. Our *original Contract* hath been recurred to often, we might safely defy the *Aſſertors of abſolute Monarchy and arbitrary Will*, if there were any worth our Regard, to produce any one Point of Time, ſince which we know any Thing of our *Conſtitution*, wherein the whole Scheme of it would not have been one monſtrous Abſurdity, unleſs an *original Contract* had been ſuppoſed. Sure I am they muſt be worſe than blind, if any ſuch there are, who do not confeſs at this Time, and under the *preſent Settlement*, that our *Conſtitution* is in the ſtricteſt Senſe a *Bargain*, a *conditional Contract between the Prince and the People*, as it always hath been, and ſtill is between the *repreſentative and collective Bodies of the Nation*.

That *this Bargain* may not be broken, on the Part of the *Prince*, with the *People*, the *legiſlative*, or *ſupreme Power* is veſted by our Conſtitution in *three Eſtates*, whereof the *King* is one. Whilſt the Members of the *other Two* preſerve their *private Independency*, and *theſe Eſtates* are conſequently under no *Dependency* except that which is in the Scheme of our *Conſtitution*, this Controul on the *firſt* will always be ſufficient; and a *bad King* muſt ſtand in Awe of an *honeſt Parliament*.

That *this Bargain* may not be broken, on the Part of the *repreſentative Body*, with the *collective Body of the Nation*, it is not only a principal, declared Right of the People of *Britain, that the Elections of Members to ſit in Parliament ſhall be free*; but it hath been a principal Part of the Care and Attention of Parliaments, for more than 300 Years, to watch over *this Freedom*, and to ſecure it, by removing *all Influence of the Crown*, and *all other corrupt Influence*, from theſe Elections. This Care and Attention have gone ſtill farther. They have provided, as far as they have been ſuffered to provide hitherto, by the *conſtitutional Dependency of one Houſe on the other, and of both on the Crown*, that *all ſuch Influence* ſhould be removed from the Members, after they are choſen. Even here the Providence of our *Conſtitution* hath not ſtopped. Leſt all other Proviſions ſhould be ineffectual to keep the Members of the Houſe of Commons out of this *unconſtitutional Dependency*, the Wiſdom of our *Conſtitution* hath thought fit that the *Repreſentatives of the People* ſhould not have Time to forget that they are *ſuch*. In a Word, our *Conſtitution* means that the Members of this Body ſhould be kept, as it were, to their good Behaviour, by the frequent Returns of *new Elections*: So that as a *bad King* muſt ſtand in Awe of an *honeſt Parliament*, a *corrupt Houſe of Commons* muſt ſtand in Awe of an *honeſt People*.

Between theſe *two Eſtates*, there ſtands a *third*, the *Houſe of Peers*; which may ſeem in Theory, perhaps, too much under the Influence of the *Crown*, to be a proper Controul upon it; becauſe the ſole Right of creating *Peers* reſides in the *Crown*. This would be the Caſe, and an intolerable one indeed, if the *Crown* ſhould exerciſe this Right often, as it hath been exerciſed ſometimes with univerſal and moſt juſt Diſapprobation. It is poſſible too that this may come to be the Caſe, in ſome future Age, by the Method of electing Peers to ſit in Parliament, for *one Part of the ſame Kingdom*, by the frequent Tranſlations of *Biſhops*, and by other Means, if the Wiſdom and Virtue of the preſent Age, and the favourable Opportunity of the preſent auſpicious and indulgent Reign do not prevent it. But in all other Reſpects the Perſons, who are once created *Peers*, and their Poſterity, having a Right to ſit and debate, and vote in the *Houſe of Peers*, which cannot be taken from them, except by Forfeiture; all Influence of the Kind I have mentioned ſeems to be again removed, and their Share in the Government depending neither on the *King*, nor the *People*, they conſtitute a *middle Order*, and are properly Mediators between the *other Two*, in the Eye of our *Conſtitution*.

It is by this Mixture of *Monarchical*, *Ariſtocratical*, and *Democratical Power*, blended together in one Syſtem, and by theſe *three Eſtates* balancing one another, that our *free Conſtitution of Government* hath been preſerved ſo long inviolate, or hath been brought back, after having ſuffered Violations, to its original Principles, and been renewed, and improved too, by frequent and ſalutary Revolutions. It is by this, that *weak* and *wicked Princes* have been oppoſed, reſtrained, reformed, puniſhed by *Parliaments*; that the real, and perhaps the doubtful, Exorbitancies of *Parliaments* have been reduced by the *Crown*; and that the Heat of *one Houſe* hath been moderated, or the Spirit raiſed, by the Proceedings of the *other*. *Parliaments* have had a good Effect on the *People*, by keeping them quiet; and the *People* on *Parliaments*, by keeping them within Bounds, which they were tempted to tranſgreſs. In a Word, two Things may be ſaid with Truth of our *Conſtitution*, which I think neither can, nor ever could be ſaid of any other. It ſecures Society againſt the Miſeries, which are inſeparable from *ſimple Forms of Government*, and is liable as little as poſſible to the Inconveniencies, that ariſe in *mixed Forms*.

Tacitus thinks *ſuch a Conſtitution of Government* rather a Subject of fine Speculation, than of Practice. He thinks it much more likely that *ſuch a Syſtem* ſhould continue to be admired and praiſed in Idea * than eſtabliſh'd in Fact; and if it happens ever to be eſtabliſh'd

* *Cunctas Nationes & Urbes* Populus, *aut* Primores, *aut* ſinguli *regunt. Delecta ex his & conſtituta Reipublicæ Forma laudari facilius quam evenire; vel, ſi evenit, haud diuturna eſſe poteſt. Ann. Lib.* 4.

eſtabliſh'd, he does not not imagine it can be ſupported long. Not only the real Difficulties, which his Sagacity preſented to his Mind, but his Reflections on the Conſtitution and Fate of the *Roman* Commonwealth might lead *Tacitus* into this Deſpondency. But what the Refinements of *Roman* Policy could not do, hath been done in this Iſland upon Foundations laid by the rough Simplicity of our *northern Anceſtors*.

There was ſo great a Mixture of monarchical Power in the *Roman Commonwealth*, that * *Livy* dates the Original of *Liberty* from the Expulſion of the *Tarquins*, rather becauſe the *Conſular Dignity* was made annual, than becauſe the *regal Power* had ſuffer'd any Diminution in that Change. The *dictatorial Power*, the moſt abſolute that can be imagined, was introduced in eight, or at furtheſt in eleven Years afterwards, and may therefore be reckoned coæval with the Commonwealth; and whatever Diminution either this, or the *conſular Power* might ſuffer, the Axes and the Rods were terrible to the laſt; eſpecially when they were carried before a *Dictator*, for whom the *Tribunes of the People* were not a Match, as they were for the *Conſuls*. But tho' there were *three Sorts of Power* exerciſed, there were but *two Orders*, or *Eſtates* eſtabliſhed in this Commonwealth, the *Patricians* and the *Plebeians*; and the ſupreme Power was divided accordingly between the *Senate* and the *collective*, not a *repreſentative Body of the People*. Theſe *two Orders*, or *Eſtates* had frequent Conteſts, and well they might ſince they had very oppoſite Intereſts. When the *Senate* was inflexible, the *People* had immediate Recourſe to *Sedition*. When the *People* was refractory, the *Senate* had Recourſe to a *Dictator*. *Sedition* was *temporary Anarchy*. A *Dictator* was a *Tyrant for ſix Months*, unleſs he thought fit to abdicate ſooner. The *Conſtitution* was ſuſpended, and endangered by both. It might have been deſtroy'd by the Exceſſes of *one*. It was deſtroy'd by the bare Duration of the *other*.

The State of *Rome*, and of the greateſt Men in that Commonwealth, would have deſerved Pity rather than Envy, even in the beſt Times, if their *defective Conſtitution* had not made ſuch a State of Trouble and Tumult the Price they paid for the Maintenance of their *Liberty*. But this was not the whole Price. Whilſt *Rome* advanced triumphantly in conquering the *World*, as her Orators, Poets and Hiſtorians have expreſs'd themſelves; that is, a few Nations round the *Mediterranean Sea*, and little more; her Citizens turn'd againſt one another thoſe Weapons, which were put into their Hands againſt the Enemies of *Rome*; mutual Proſcriptions and bloody Maſſacres followed; *each Party* triumph'd in its Turn; they were more animated and better diſciplin'd by their Conteſts; both grew ſtronger; the *Commonwealth* alone grew weaker; and *Pompey* and *Cæſar* finiſh'd the laſt tragical Scene, which *Marius* and *Sylla* began. In fine, the *Roman Commonwealth* would have been diſſolved much ſooner than it was, by the Defects I have mentioned, if ſuch a Spirit of Wiſdom as well as Courage, and ſuch an Enthuſiaſm for the Grandeur, the Majeſty, and the Duration of their Empire had not poſſeſſed this People, as never poſſeſs'd any other. When this Spirit decay'd, when this Enthuſiaſm cool'd, the *Conſtitution* could not help, nay work'd againſt itſelf. That *Dictatorial Power*, on which the *Senate* had always depended for preſerving it, compleated the Ruin of it, in the Hands of *Cæſar*; and that *Tribunitial Power*, to which the *People* had always truſted the Defence of their *Liberty*, confirmed their *Slavery*, in the Hands of *Auguſtus*.

Grubſtreet Journal, Nov. 21. N° 256.

Mr. *Bavius*,

I Beg Leave, by your *Journal*, to communicate to the Publick *a ſpeedy, ſafe, and effectual Cure for Vapours in Women*, which I found out as follows.

It was my Fortune to marry a Wife, young gay, and handſome; with whom I have lived in the greateſt Unanimity and conjugal Affection. After we had been ſeveral Years in this State, and bleſſed with a fair Offspring, ſhe proved with Child again, was ſafely delivered, and in a very fair Way of doing well, 'till her Month was almoſt expired. When on a ſudden ſhe complained of a Lowneſs of Spirits, Giddineſs in her Head, and a defective Memory. However, ſhe recovered her bodily Strength, grew plump, and looked perfectly well: Yet her Diſtemper increaſed to ſuch a Degree, that I heard nothing Morning, Noon, and Night, but a continual Repitition of her Miſeries; which ſhe ſaid, would ſoon end her Life; mixing all her Complaints with ſuch extravagant Queſtions, as made me apprehenſive it would turn to Madneſs. None but the fondeſt Huſbands can conceive my Grief. I applied to an Apothecary, who plyed her with Medicines, deſired her to take a chearful Glaſs to raiſe her Spirits, and go much abroad to divert her Melancholy. All this was done, but in vain: The Diſtemper ſtill increaſed, and ſhe commonly appeared in Tears. I conſulted ſome, who told me of many cured by different Ac-

* *Libertatis Originem inde magis, quia annuum Imperium Conſulare factum eſt, quam quod diminutum quicquam ſit ex Regia Poteſtate, numeret. Omnia Jura, omnia Inſignia primi Conſulis tenuere. Lib. Cap.* 1.

cident-

cidents, but none by the Phyſicians Aid. Then began I to think, that ſince only the Rich, and ſuch as pampered themſelves, and indulged their Appetites, were plagued with this helliſh Diſtemper, from which the laborious and indigent are free; I ſay, I began to think, that the ſame Diet and Exerciſe, which prove ſuch excellent Preſervatives to the Poor, muſt be as good Reſtoratives to the Rich. I therefore perſuaded a Friend of mine to counterfeit the Doctor, gave him proper Inſtructions, and then carried my Wife to him for Advice. Having heard her Caſe very attentively, he ordered her never to drink any Thing ſtronger than Small Beer; never to go abroad but to Church; and to be ſure to work ſome Hours every Day. She began this hard Taſk, as ſoon as ſhe came Home; but complained, that ſhe grew worſe and worſe. But when ſhe ſaw that I inſiſted on the Performance, ſhe continued it, and ſoon grew much better: And now (thank God) is as well as any Woman in the Pariſh. I know the Doctors, Surgeons, and Women, will all declare againſt me, and affirm, that Small Beer and Water will never raiſe low Spirits: But let the Huſbands conſider, that ſpirituous Liquors raiſe them only for a ſhort Space, after which they will ſink lower than ever; and that frequent going abroad will make their Dears brook ſtaying at Home much worſe. A Word is enough to the Wiſe.

I am

Your Humble Servant,

LAERTIUS.

Free Briton, Nov. 21. N° 263.

Reflections on a Paſſage in the Craftſman, *concerning* Church Eſtabliſhments.

THE *Writer of the Diſſertation on Parties* hath declared himſelf an *Enemy to all the Rights of the People*, by *Denying* the Principles of Liberty, in ſo capital an Inſtance, as to leave us without any Pretence to Civil Right, ſince he deprives us even of Liberty in *Matters of Conſcience*.

'Some Men there are, *ſays he*, *the Peſts* 'of *Society* I think them, who pretend a 'great *Regard for Religion in general*, but 'who take every Opportunity of *declaiming* 'publickly againſt that *Syſtem of Religion*, or, 'at leaſt, againſt that *Church Eſtabliſhment* 'which is received in *Britain*.' (*This being only a Digreſſion, we took no Notice of it in the* Eſſay *here referr'd to, which is that in* p. 578.)

The fierceſt *Bigots* that ever dragooned Mankind into Conformity, never laid down a ſtronger Propoſition for Syſtems and Forms, and all the Engines of Eccleſiaſtical Tyranny. By this the moſt ſincere Lovers of Religion, and the trueſt Friends of Liberty, who think, from Duty to God and Man, that the *Power of Churchmen* ought to be reſtrained, and the *Grievances of Church Government* redreſſed; ſuch are, by *this Author*, branded as the *Peſts of Society*.

From hence it follows that *all Diſſenters* from that *Church Eſtabliſhment* which is received in *Britain*; all Perſons who cannot aſſent to its Terms of Communion, its Modes, its Ceremonies, and infinite other Appurtenances of its Eſtabliſhment; all ſuch *Proteſtant Subjects* of *Britain*, be they *Preſbyterians*, *Quakers*, &c. all who are not *Syſtem-Mongers*, and Conformiſts to *eſtabliſhed Opinions*, are, in a Body, involved in this mild, this *gentle*, and *charitable* Cenſure of being *Peſts of Society*.

Certain it is, that by all the Conſtruction of Words, a *Church Eſtabliſhment* is nothing more than an *Eſtabliſhment of Churchmen*, with Powers, Privileges, and Revenues, ſuch as the Laws of the Kingdom allow them to enjoy, in ſtrict and abſolute Subjection to the Civil Magiſtrate. To differ in Opinion with theſe *Reverend Gentlemen*, concerning their Claims and Pretenſions, may well conſiſt with the greateſt Regard for Religion; and the Caſe hath ſometimes been, that ſenſible Men could not agree with them conſiſtently at all with any Regard for Religion. To load ſuch Difference of Opinion with an univerſal Cenſure of being the *Peſtilence of Society*, is a Strain that few Eccleſiaſticks, of common Diſcretion, would be ſo immodeſt, or ſo uncharitable, as to write in, and may ſeem much fitter for an *Inquiſitor of Portugal*, than for a Writer who pretends to plead in Defence of the *Liberties of Britain*.

We then come to the great Conſideration, how this learned Advocate of Civil Liberty is to be reconciled with common Sincerity, after ſuch a daring Invaſion of *Liberty in Religious Matters*, eſpecially as he might have been led by his Reflections a little further, without catching *the Peſtilence*, and have found that all Syſtems of Religion, or at leaſt *Church Eſtabliſhments*, which ſtand upon Support from Civil Power, are ſo far of a Civil or Political Nature, and as ſuch, *mere Things of this World*, nor any ways exempt from the Cenſures of free Enquiry.

Take it now as certain, that *the Gentleman* really and ſincerely means whatever he ſays throughout this Diſſertation; the Sum of it is this, that *Liberty* may be laudably exerciſed in *State Affairs*, but is a *Plague* where it meddles with *Church Points*.

As Truth is of an *univerſal* Nature, and cannot be confined to *Places*, the ſame Reſtraint on Liberty in *Church Enquiries* may be contended for, with Relation to *all Countries in the World*; ſo that the Force of this Argument will be infinite, and it will run in

theſe

these Terms: 'Some Men there are, the 'Posts of Society I think them, who pretend a 'great Regard for Religion in general, but 'who take every Opportunity of declaiming 'in Publick against that *System* of Religion, 'or at least against *that Church Eſtabliſhment* 'which is received in *Turkey*, *Morocco*, *Italy*, 'France, *Spain*, *Portugal*, &c.' For *Britain* is of no eſſential Import in this Propoſition, but as it is *one* of many Nations which hath received a *Church Eſtabliſhment*.

This is the *old Leaven of High Church*, a Cauſe which we once beheld in Perfection under the prevailing Power of this *very Perſon*, who writes *this Diſſertation*, and whoſe Heart is ſo much bewitch'd with Idolatry to it, that he cannot conceal his Bigotry for it, tho' profeſſing to treat of the Subject of *Civil Liberty*, with which it militates an everlaſting Warfare.

Fog's Journal, Nov. 23. N° 316.

Bel *and the Dragon.*

SIR,

I Was the other Day reading in my Bible, and it happen'd to be in the *Apocrypha*; and tho' this Part be not held of equal Authority with the reſt, yet many Things in it deſerve our Attention. I was ſtrangely affected with the ſtupid Idolatry of the *Babylonians*, who worſhiped an Idol call'd *Bel*, which had devoured every Day 12 great Meaſures of fine Flower, 40 Sheep, and 6 Veſſels of Wine; all which was paid for by the poor People. This Idol is deſcribed to be made of Brafs without, and of Clay within,— very fine Materials you will ſay to make a God of;— yet notwithſtanding he was made of ſuch baſe Metal, he had 72 Prieſts, with their Wives and Children in his Service.

There was alſo a great Dragon which they had in *Babylon* worſhiped, but I take it, that *Bel* and the Dragon were but two different Repreſentatives of one falſe Object of Worſhip. But ſee how Princes may be deceived in their Notions of a Divinity; for the King ſaid to *Daniel*, *Thinkeſt thou not that* Bel *is a living God; ſeeſt thou how much he eateth and drinketh every Day?* But *Daniel* ſmiled at this falſe Notion of a Divinity; he undeceived the King, and brought about the Deſtruction of Bel, and his Prieſts.

Did you never hear of an Idol ſet up in ſome other Country, that in all Reſpects anſwered the Deſcription of *Bel*? An Idol that had all Braſs without, and nothing but Mud and Corruption within; an Idol that devour'd much more than 12 Meaſures of fine Flower, 40 Sheep, and 6 Veſſels of Wine each Day, and all at the Expence of the poor People, eſpecially when he went upon ſome Pleaſures into his own Country; an Idol that had 72 Prieſts with their Wives and Children intirely in his Service.

I am told there is ſuch a Story in profane Hiſtory, but I have not been able to find it; perhaps you may have met with it in the Courſe of your Reading; if you have, I ſhould be glad you would give us ſome Obſervations upon it, and let us know particularly whether there was a *Daniel* who endeavoured to rectify the King's Judgment in Regard to this Idol, and whether his Deſtruction with that of his 72 Prieſts, their Wives and Children, was brought about at laſt.

Yours, &c.

Craſtſman, Nov. 23. N° 438.

The Diſſertation on Parties *continued from* p. 587. *In which the antient Conſtitution of* Spain, *and the Cauſes of its Subverſion are examined.*

THE Defects I have cenſured in the *Roman Conſtitution of Government*, were avoided in ſome of thoſe, that were eſtabliſhed, on the breaking of that Empire, by the *northern Nations* and the *Goths*; for I ſuſpect that the *Goths* were not properly and ſtrictly a *northern Nation*, any more than the *Huns* and the *Alans*, tho' they have been often confounded, and I believe by myſelf. --- Let us caſt our Eyes on *Spain* and *France*.

We cannot arrive at any particular and authentick Account of the Scheme of that Government, which the *Weſtern Goths* eſtabliſhed, when, driven out of *Gaul* by the *Franks*, they drove the *Vandals* and the *Alans* out of *Spain*; nor diſtinguiſh very accurately between ſuch Inſtitutions as were Parts of the *original*, *Gothic Plan*, and ſuch as were introduced into the ſeveral Kingdoms, that form'd themſelves on the Re-Conqueſt of the Country by the *Spaniards* from the *Arabs* and *Moors*. The Original of the *Cortes* particularly is quite in the Dark, as we are aſſured by a very * *judicious Writer*. Thus much however we may aſſert; that the *Gothick Kings* were at firſt *elective*, and always *limited*, even after they became *hereditary*; and that the *Cortes*, was an Aſſembly, that may be more truely compared to a *Britiſh Parliament* than the Aſſembly of the *Eſtates of France*. *Churchmen* had wriggled themſelves into a Share of temporal Power among the *Goths*, as they did in every Country where they were admitted to preach the Goſpel, tho' without any Authority from the Goſpel; ſo that the *Cortes* conſiſted of *Prelates*, as well as *Dukes*, *Maſters of Orders*, *Earls* and *Ricoſhomes*, who compoſed the whole Body of the Nobility; and of the *Procurators of the Commons*; that is, of the *Citizens* and *Burgeſſes*;

* *Dr.* Geddes *in his miſcell. Tracts.*

geſſes, choſen by the *Cities* and *Boroughs* to repreſent the *whole Body of the Commons*. To preſerve the Independency of this Aſſembly, *theſe Procurators* were to be paid by the *Corporations*, for which they ſerved; the *King* was to give no *Office*, or *Salary* to any of them, he was not to name their *Preſident*, nor even to *ſend Letters unopened to any of them*. No *Money* could be raiſed on the Subjects without their Conſent; and it was a ſtanding Maxim, or Order, that *Redreſs of Griveances* ſhould precede the *Grants of Supplies*. Such a Frame of Government ſeems built for Duration; and, in Fact, if it had not been undermined, it could not have been demoliſhed. It was undermined by the *Influence of the Court*, too much conniv'd at, and too long tolerated, *on the Members of the Cortes*. When *corrupt Majorities* were ſecured, Pretences were not wanting, for making Conceſſions to the *Crown*, repugnant to the Spirit of the *Conſtitution*, and even inconſiſtent with the Forms of it. Such Pretences, however plauſible, would not have been admitted by Men zealous to preſerve their *Liberty*. But the * *Members of the Cortes* were no longer ſuch Men, when *Caſtile* loſt her Liberties under *Charles* the Vth. The Cuſtom of bribing the *Repreſentatives of the Commons* by *Gifts* and *Promiſes*, and ſo ſecuring a Majority to the *Court*, had long prevail'd; and after that, it is not to be wonder'd at if *Exciſes*, given for eight Years only, became perpetual; if *Money* was granted before *Grievances* were redreſs'd; and if the *Precedent*, ſet in the Time of *Henry* the IId, was followed in all ſucceeding Reigns. The *Cortes* gave *this Prince* a Supply, for making War on the *Moors*; but the † Sum being repreſented by the Court to be inſufficient, it was carried that, in Caſe of a Deficiency, the *King* might raiſe, without calling a *Cortes*, the Money neceſſary to make good that Deficiency. This gave an incurable and fatal Wound to *that Conſtitution*. The *Precedent* having been made, in Favour of *one King*, and in one particular Conjuncture, it became a prevailing Argument, in Favour of *every other King*, and in every other Conjuncture.

Let me here make the following Obſervation: Tho' it be proper, in all *limited Monarchies*, to guard againſt all Conceſſions, or Uſurpations, that may deſtroy the *Balance of Power*, on which the Preſervation of *Liberty* depends; yet is it certain that Conceſſions to the *Crown* from the *other, conſtituent Parts of the Legiſlature* are almoſt alone to be feared. The Reaſons of this are obvious; for, firſt, a *King* is really nothing more than a *ſupreme Magiſtrate*, inſtituted for the Service of the Community, which requires that the *executive Power* ſhould be veſted in a *ſingle Perſon*. He hath, indeed, a *Crown* on his Head, a *Scepter* in his Hand, and *Velvet Robes* on his Back, and he ſits elevated on a *Throne*, whilſt others ſtand on the Ground about him; and all this to denote that he is a *King*, and to draw the Attention and Reverence of the Vulgar. Juſt ſo, another Man wears a *Mitre* on his Head, a *Croſier* in his Hand, and *Lawn Sleeves*, and ſits in a *Purple, Elbow-Chair*, to denote that he is a *Biſhop*, and to excite the Devotion of the Multitude, who receive his Benediction very thankfully on their Knees. But ſtill the *King*, as well as the *Biſhop*, holds an *Office*, and owes a *Service*. The *King*, when he *commands*, diſcharges a *Truſt*, and performs a *Duty*, as well as the *Subject*, when he *obeys*. Notwithſtanding which, *Kings* are apt to ſee themſelves in another Light; and Experience ſhews us that even *they*, who made them what they are, are apt to take them for what they are not. From hence it happened in *Spain*, and may happen poſſibly in other Countries, that the *Kings*, inſtead of being ſatisfy'd with, and thankful for the Dignity, Honour, Power and Wealth, which they poſſeſs'd in ſo eminent a Degree, repin'd at their being poſſeſs'd of no more; their Sycophants reaſoned, as if the ſole Power of the Government, and the whole Wealth of the Nation, belong'd of Right to *them*, and the Limitations of the Monarchy were ſo many Uſurpations on the Monarch. Beſides this conſtant Deſire of incroaching, there is another Reaſon why Conceſſions to the *Crown* are more to be guarded againſt than others, in *limited Monarchies*. The regal Power reſides in *one Perſon*. The other ſhares of the ſupreme Power are aſſign'd to *Bodies of Men*. From hence it follows that the Intereſt of the *King*, and the Intereſt of the *Crown*, cannot well be divided in the Mind of a *Prince*; whereas the Intereſt of *each Individual* may be diſtinguiſhed from the Intereſt of the *Nobility*, or of the *Commons*, and ſtill more from that of the *Nation*, in the Minds of thoſe, who compoſe an *Houſe of Peers*, or who are *Repreſentatives of the People*. Several other Reaſons might be inſiſted upon to eſtabliſh the Truth of the Obſervation, and to ſhew how unfairly they argue, who all along ſuppoſe that the *Independency of the Crown* may as eaſily be loſt, and the Balance of Power be deſtroy'd on that Side, by Conceſſions *from the Prince*, and Uſurpations of *him*, as the *Independency of the Lords*, or *Commons*, may be loſt, and the Balance of Power be deſtroyed on that Side, by Conceſſions from *the Prince*, and by *his Uſurpations*.

Happy had it been for the People of *Caſtile* if they had ſeen this Danger in Time, and had remedied, whilſt it was in their Power, thoſe Defects in their *Conſtitution*, whatever they were, which gave their *Kings* by Degrees ſuch an Influence over the *Cortes*, overturn'd at laſt the whole *Conſtitution*, and gain'd to the *German Race*, that began to reign in *Charles* the 5th, (for his Father *Philip*

* *Ib.* † *Ib.*

Up is ſcarce to be reckoned) ſuch an abſolute Power as the *Gothick Kings* had never been able to obtain. Tho' *Charles* the Vth was a very able Prince, yet had he been the meereſt Tool, a Thing of Straw, but ſomething leſs than a Scarecrow, and unable to protect the Property of his Subjects, he might ſtill have taken their Liberties from them, in that Conjuncture, as he did moſt effectually. *Corruption* was eſtabliſhed; a *Majority of the Cortes* was bribed; the *Nobility* was detach'd from the common Intereſt by *Titles*, *Places*, *Penſions*, and *Grants*; and the *Clergy* in general, for Exceptions there were, took no further Share in it than their particular Piques, or ſome indirect and fleeting Conſiderations inſpired them to take. The Nation ſaw itſelf betray'd, and the *Commons* proteſted loudly againſt the Proceedings of their *Repreſentatives*. But this was the very Point, for which the Enemies of the *Caſtilian Conſtitution* waited; and as ſoon as a Pretence for employing *Force* was given them, they muffled themſelves up in that threadbare Cloak of Zeal for the *Government*, and ſtabbed their *Country* to the Heart. An Ordinance of the *Cortes* had been made, about an hundred Years before, againſt increaſing the *ſtanding Forces* to more than 4000 Soldiers in Garriſons, and 1500 Ginets. This Ordinance had not been very well obſerved. The long Wars with the *Moors* made Armies often neceſſary, when there was no actual War. The Danger of being invaded by the *Moors*, (for every *Moorish King* was deemed a Pretender to the Throne) might ſerve to make them ſo repreſented; and when this Reaſon fail'd intirely, as it did by the Conqueſt of *Granada*, the laſt Poſſeſſion of theſe People in *Spain*, Pretences for keeping Armies on Foot were ſtill to be found. There were ſtill *Mooriſh Factions*; the *new Chriſtians* were *Moors* in their Hearts; amongſt the *old Chriſtians* there were ſeveral, who favour'd them; the *People* were not to be truſted with their own Preſervation; *Chievres*, the rapacious Miniſter of *Charles* V. and his *Journeymen*, (for ſo were thoſe *Spaniards* call'd, according to Dr. *Geddes*, who did not care how much their Country was plunder'd by Foreigners, provided they ſhared the Spoils) *Chievres*, I ſay, and his *Journeymen*, a real Faction, and perhaps not a great one, were the *faſt Friends of the Government*. The reſt of the Nation were *open*, or *ſecret Enemies*. According to this excellent Logick, the *former* were to be protected in Blundering, for they were guilty of that too, as well as in Blundering; and the *latter* were to be oppreſs'd for complaining. The *Nation* was ſacrific'd to a *Faction*, and an *excellent Conſtitution* deſtroyed, in Favour of a *profligate Government*. This Deſtruction however would not have been ſo eaſily accompliſhed, nor would *Caſtilians* alone have enſlaved *Caſtile* to a foreign Race, after aſſerting their Liberty ſo often, and ſo boldly, againſt Princes of their own Country, if two other Circumſtances had not concurred. *Ferdinand* had conquer'd *Navarre*, and a regular, diſciplin'd Army defended that Conqueſt againſt the *French*. This Army which was at Hand, march'd into *Caſtile*, defeated the *Commons*, and extinguiſh'd *Liberty* in a Country, where it had been long declining. The *Commons* were juſtify'd for taking Arms, in the Opinion of the *Nobility*, and even in that of *Adrian*, who govern'd during the Abſence of *Charles*, whoſe Præceptor he had been; for *this honeſt Man*, (too honeſt to be long endur'd on the Papal Throne, where he was afterwards placed,) affirmed that all the Troubles of *Caſtile* were cauſed by the *King*, and by his *covetous and tyrannical Miniſters*. The Conduct of the *Commons*, upon this great Occaſion, was in many Inſtances raſh and violent, as well as ill-adviſ'd and weak. But they were tumultuous Aſſemblies driven into Deſpair; and the *Nobility* who might have had great Sway amongſt them, and might have help'd to regulate their Fire, and to keep them ſober, help'd on the contrary to make them mad, either by neglecting them, or by taking Part againſt them, till it was too late; and then complained of their being mad with as ill a Grace as the principal Men of *Rome*, who help'd to *corrupt* that People, complained of their *Corruption*, and aſſign'd it as a Reaſon for depriving them of their *Liberty*.

There cannot be a greater Soleciſm in Politicks than that of a *Nobility*, under *monarchical Government*, who ſuffer the Liberty of the *Commons* to be taken away. In *Ariſtocracies* the *Nobility* get whatever the *Commons* loſe; but in *Monarchies* the *Crown* alone is the Gainer, and the certain Conſequence of their helping to enſlave the *Commons*, muſt be that of being enſlaved themſelves at laſt. How, indeed, ſhould it be otherwiſe; ſince the Liberty of the *Commons* cannot be taken away, unleſs the *Conſtitution* be firſt broken; and ſince neither the *Peers*, nor any one elſe, can hold their Privileges, or their Properties, by a better Tenure than that of *arbitrary Will*, when the *Conſtitution* is once broken? The *Grandees*, as they are pompouſly ſtyled, the Succeſſors of thoſe Men, who thought to riſe on the Ruin of the Commons of *Caſtile*, they, who have the vain Honour of cocking their Hats in the Preſence of their Prince, have been ſeen to ſtand at awful Diſtance, or approach with reſpectful Cringe, in the Preſence of a *Paraſite* and *Buffoon*.

I know full well that, in ſuch Governments as we ſpeak of here, it is both the Duty and Intereſt of the *Nobility* to oppoſe the Exceſſes of the *Commons*; but I know too that they have another Duty, which they are not to leave undone; another Point of Intereſt, which they are not to neglect.

There was a Time, our Fathers ſaw it, when an *Houſe of Commons* deſtroyed, inſtead of ſupporting, the *Conſtitution*, and introduced *Tyranny*, under Pretence of excluding *Slavery*. I think it might be ſhewn from the Anecdotes of that Age, that this could not have happened, if the *Court* had not been ſo long and ſo partially abetted by the greateſt Part of the *Nobility* and *Clergy*, both in the *Houſe of Lords* and out of it. An univerſal and timely Concurrence with the Spirit of the *Commons*, which was pious in the true Senſe of the Word at firſt, would have had, I preſume, the full Effect that every honeſt Man propoſed in a Parliamentary Reformation of the State; and thoſe fatal Opportunities, that were afterwards given to the *Republican*, *Preſbyterian* and *Independent Factions*, would have been avoided. But they, who could have trimmed (for there is a *wiſe* and *honeſt*, as well as a *ſilly* and *corrupt Trimming*) or have mediated with Succeſs, loſt the Power of doing either; ſome by abetting the *Crown* ſo long, for Fear of the *Commons*, and others by concurring with the *Commons* ſo far, for Fear of the *Crown*, that the *People* in general had no Confidence in the *former*, and that the *latter* were afraid to truſt their *Prince* after all they had done againſt him. If any Men had truſted to the plauſible Profeſſions of the *Court* at that Time, and the *Court* had ſubdued the *oppoſite Party*, we may judge, without any Breach of Charity, that theſe Men would have found themſelves deceived. Juſt ſo, if any Men, who meant the Reformation, not the Deſtruction of the State, believed in the canting Reformers of that Age, ſuch Men were no doubt egregiouſly deceiv'd. But I confeſs myſelf of Opinion, that there were few, or no ſuch Men. The good Intentions of the *Court* were diſtruſted even by thoſe who took Arms for the *King*; and the ill Intentions of many of the Leaders on the *other Side* were ſuſpected, no Doubt, by many, who took Arms for the *Parliament*. But *two* of the *three Eſtates* being ripe for the raſheſt Enterprizes, and the *third* being in no Condition to mediate, the Extremes claſh'd without any Power ſufficient to interpoſe; and when the Sword was drawn, the Sword could alone decide. I conclude therefore, from theſe two Examples, that as there cannot be a greater Error in Politicks than that of a *Nobility*, who aſſiſt a *Prince* to take away the Liberties and Privileges of the *Commons*, which was the Caſe in *Caſtile*; ſo the ſureſt Way of preventing that terrible Dilemma, wherein Men are obliged to chuſe either Submiſſion to *tyrannical Government*, or Concurrence with an *enraged and no longer governable People* (which hath been the Caſe in *Caſtile* and *Britain* both,) is for the *Nobility*, and the principal Men amonſt the *Commons*, to engage ſo early in the Cauſe of *Liberty*, that the *former* may be always in Condition to mediate with Effect, and the *latter* have always Power to allay the intemperate Heat of their own Body.

Univerſal Spectator, Nov. 23. N° 320.

Of Ghoſts and Apparitions.

THERE is no Folly more predominant (in the Country at leaſt) than a ridiculous ſuperſtitious *Fear* of *Ghoſts* and *Apparitions*. *Servants*, *Nurſes*, *old Women*, and other of the ſame Standard of Wiſdom, to paſs away the Tediouſneſs of a Winter's Evening, *pleaſe* and *terrify* themſelves and the *Children*, who compoſe their Audience, with ſtrange Relations of theſe Things, till they are even afraid of removing their Eyes from one another for Fear of ſeeing a *pale Spectre* entring the Room. Frightful *Ideas* raiſed in the *Minds* of *Children*, take ſo ſtrong a Poſſeſſion of the Faculties, that they often remain for ever fixt, and all the Arguments of Reaſon can never be able to remove them. Hence it is ſo many grown up People ſtill keep the ridiculous Fears of their Infancy: I know a Lady of very good Senſe in other Things, who, if ſhe is left by herſelf after 10 o'Clock at Night, will faint away at the Terror of thinking ſome horrid Spectre with Eyes ſunk, meagre Countenance, and threatning Aſpect is ſtanding at her Elbow: And an *Officer* in the *Guards* of my Acquaintance, who has often in *Flanders* ſhewn no Concern in marching up to the Mouth of a Cannon, has not Courage enough to be in the Dark without Company. As I think the *Fear* of *Ghoſts*, like all other Prejudices, to be imbib'd in our Infancy, I would recommend this Advice to all Parents, to take the utmoſt Care that the Minds of their *Children* are not vitiated by their *Servants Fables* of *Ghoſts*, and *Hob-Goblings*, and *Bugbears*, which, tho told to *pleaſe* them, or frighten them into *Good*, ſeldom fail of producing bad Effects.

There are ſome who are *Ghoſt mad*, and terrify themſelves becauſe the *Scripture* has mentioned the Appearance of *Ghoſts*. I ſhall not diſpute but by the *Power* of *God* an incorporeal Being may be viſible to Human Eyes, but then an all-wiſe Power would not have recourſe to a preternatural Effect but on ſome important Occaſion: Therefore my Intention is only to laugh a *ridiculous Fear* out of the World, by ſhewing on what abſurd and improbable Foundations the *common Notions* of *Ghoſts* and *Apparitions* are built, and upon what trifling Cauſes they reviſit us again.

In the Country there are generally allowed to be two Sorts of *Ghoſts*, the *Vulgar Ghoſt* and the *Ghoſt of Dignity*. The latter is always the Spirit of ſome *Lord* of the *Manor*

or *Juſtice* of the *Peace*, who, ſtill deſirous to ſee how Affairs go on in his Pariſh, rattles thro' it in a *Coach and Six* much about Midnight. This *Ghoſt* is in every Reſpect the very ſame Man that the Perſon whom he repreſents was in his *Life time*. Nay, the *Spirit*, tho' *incorporeal*, has on its *Body* all the Marks which the *Eſquire* had on his, the *Scar* on the Cheek, the *Dimple* on the Chin, and twenty other demonſtrative Signs, which are *viſible* to any old Woman in the Pariſh that can ſee *clearly* in a *dark Night*.

This *Ghoſt* keeps up to the Character of a good old grave Gentleman, who is heartily ſorry to think his Son will not live upon his Eſtate, but ramble up to *London*, and run it out perhaps in Extravagance: He therefore does nothing inconſiſtent with the Gravity of his Character, but ſtill retaining the *generous Heart* of a *true Briton*, keeps his Coach and Six and loves *good Living* and *Hoſpitality*; for after the Coach and Six has, with a ſolemn Rumble, paſs'd thro' the Village into his own Court-Yard, in a little Time after there is a great Noiſe heard in the Houſe of Servants running up and down Stairs, the *Jacks* going, and a great Clattering of *Plates* and *Diſhes*. Thus he ſpends an Hour or two every Midnight in *living well*, after he has been ſome Years *dead*; but is complaiſant enough to leave every Thing at his Departure in the ſame Poſition he found them.

There is ſcarce a little Town in all *England* but has an *old female Spirit* appertaining to it, who, in her *High-Crown Hat*, mighty clean Linen, and a *red Petticoat*, has been view'd by half the Pariſh. This Article of *Dreſs* is of mighty Concern among ſome *Ghoſts*; wherefore a ſkilful and learned *Apparition-Writer*, in the *Preface* to *Drelincourt on Death*, makes a very *pious Ghoſt* talk to a *Lady* upon the important Subject of *ſcowering a Mantua*. Before I leave my *Ghoſts of Dignity* I muſt take Notice of ſome who take Delight to appear as *formidable* as poſſible, and who are not content with appearing *without* any *Heads* themſelves, but their *Coach-men* and *Horſes* muſt be *without Heads* too, and the *Coach* itſelf all on *Fire*. Theſe Spirits, I know not for what Reaſon, are univerſally allow'd to have been People of *Quality* and *Courtiers*.

As for the *vulgar Ghoſt*, it ſeldom appears in its own bodily Likeneſs, unleſs it be with a *Throat* cut from Ear to Ear, or a *Winding-ſheet*, but humbly contents itſelf with the Body of a *White Horſe*, that gallops over the Meadows *without Legs*, and *grazes* without a *Head*. On other Occaſions it takes the *Appearance* of a *black ſhock Dog*, who with great, goggle, glaring Eyes ſtares you full in the Face, but never hurts you more than unmannerly puſhing you from the Wall. Sometimes a *Friendly Ghoſt* ſurprizes you with a *Hand as cold as Clay*; at other Times that ſame *Ghoſtly Hand* gives *three ſolemn Raps*, with ſeveral Particularities according to the different *Diſpoſitions* of the *Ghoſts*.

The *chief Reaſon* which calls them back again to *viſit* the World by Night, is their Fondneſs for ſome old Broad-Pieces or a Pot of Money they buried in their Life-Time; they cannot reſt to have it lye uſeleſs, therefore the *Gold* raiſes them before the *Reſurrection*. (*See another* Eſſay *on this Subject, with a pleaſant Story of* Biſhop Fowler *and* Judge Powel, *Vol.* I. *p.* 333, 335.)

The Prompter, Nov. 26. N° 5.

Of Love and Beauty.

THERE is nothing more generally believ'd by all, to be *known*, and leſs *underſtood*, in Fact, than *Love*. As Plants receive a Tincture from the Soil in which they grow, ſo Love too often receives a *ſtrong Colouring* from the Temper of the Lover. Hence that Variety which we ſee on the Theatre of the World——The *Platonic* and *Senſual*; the *Jealous* and *Indifferent*; the *Conſtant* and *Roving*; the *Over-warm* and *Too-cool*; the *Diſintereſted*, that has the Happineſs of the Object beloved, in View; and the *Intereſted*, that only conſults his own.

The true, and only Object of *Love*, is *Beauty*. He, therefore, (and only he) that can *taſte* Beauty, can *feel* Love. But there are two Kinds of Beauty, *mental* and *corporeal*; whence Love of Neceſſity, can never be the Reſult of *one* only: A Savage may taſte the *laſt*, that can have no Idea of the *firſt*; whereas none can *taſte* the *firſt*, without having, not only an Idea of the *laſt*, but a *Capability* of it.

The *Cue*, then, that I would give my pretty Readers in general, is, *not to be led by the Eye alone*. I do not offer them the *Counter Caution*, ſince they ſeldom take the Pains, to diſcover a *beautiful Mind* thro' an *indifferent*, or an *ugly* Maſk. They generally ſtop at firſt Appearances; and unleſs the Proſpect invite, ſeldom *walk into the Mind*: Whereas it is inconceiveable what Pains they'll take to find out Beauties in a Mind *prettily lodg'd*: Nay ſome will ſit down contented in the *Houſe*, tho' there be *no Inhabitants* at all, or, what is yet worſe, tho' it be haunted by *an evil Spirit*. As an Encouragement, however, for them to *look in*, tho' the Outſide may not tempt the Sight, I will venture to aſſure them, that the greater a Man's *Senſe* is, the higher will his *Sentiments* of Love be, and his *Paſſion* the more permanent.

I ſhall conclude with two different Pictures of Beauty drawn from the Life: When I behold the beautiful *Miranda*, adorn'd with Youth and Innocence; when I behold the lovelieſt of Complexions, enrich'd with the moſt

moſt regular and pleaſing Features, and warm-ed with the pureſt Blood, which no unbe-coming Deſires ſpread over her Face; when, in her Eyes, I read the Thoughts that ſwell her Boſom, and give her Soul to my View; when ſhe lays herſelf more open ſtill to my Admiration, and adds *Words* to *Looks*, that never contradict each other; when ſhe goes yet further, and, in the general Courſe of her Behaviour, I ſee *Complacency*, true *Regard*, decent *Mirth*, and agreeable *Sobriety*, blended together in ſuch a Manner, that an Action, which in *another* would be indifferent, in *Miranda* bears the Stamp of Merit: —— How ineſtimable would ſuch a Companion be! But when I turn my Eyes on her Siſter *Belinda*, and ſee a Form equal in Beauty to *Miranda*'s animated only by a *Conſciouſneſs* of her own *Beauty*; when I ſee Pride, or Scorn, for ever *peeping* out of her Eyes, and Folly *ſpeaking* out of her Mouth; when every Motion of *Belinda* is accompanied with an Affectation, *viſible* to every Beholder, and tending to *inſpire* Love, that ſhe may *exerciſe* Tyranny; when every Action is *ting'd* with *Self-Love*, and *Want of Regard* for every one elſe; —— I cannot help being concern'd, that Beauty ſhould *act* ſo unnatural a *Part*, as to turn its Arms againſt, and kill itſelf.

Fog's Journal, Nov. 30. N° 317.

Some farther Remarks on Richard II*d's Reign.*

WHOEVER takes the Pains to look into Hiſtory, and to examine the Attempts that have been frequently made upon the Liberties of *England*, will find that theſe Attempts have not proceeded ſo much from the evil Diſpoſitions of the Princes themſelves, as from their unhappy Choice of their Miniſters.

That unfortunate Prince *Richard* II. had Nothing in his Nature either Cruel or Tyrannical; his eaſy Temper lay indeed too open to the Inſinuations of deſigning Knaves, who poiſon'd his Mind, and made him believe that all thoſe that ſtood up for the Intereſt and Liberty of the Subject, were Enemies to his Perſon and Government. It does not appear however, that the People employ'd in this Reign did at their firſt coming into Power lay any Scheme, for making the Government Arbitrary, but the univerſal Hatred juſtly rais'd againſt them by their wicked Conduct, at length made it altogether inconſiſtent with their Safety that it ſhould be otherwiſe; therefore when they became ſenſible of the Danger their Crimes had brought them into, they ſaw plainly that they were all undone, unleſs they could procure a pack'd Parliament. To this Purpoſe they led the King to *Nottingham*, where having prevail'd upon him to ſummon the Sheriffs of all the Counties, they were tamper'd with (let who will be elected by the People) to return none but ſuch as the King or his Council ſhould name; but it ſeems the Sheriffs anſwer'd that they could not hinder the People from their antient Cuſtom of free Elections, nor would they return any other than ſuch as ſhould be thus freely elected; and indeed they were as good as their Words. The People being thus left at their Liberty, elected a Parliament of *Engliſhmen*, and the Sheriffs return'd the very ſame Perſons whom they elected, which is more than has been practiſed by the Returning Officers at all Times ſince.

The Conſequence of theſe Proceedings was ſuch as muſt always happen while the Conſtitution is preſerved Pure; this Parliament began by redreſſing the publick Grievances, and by examining into the Conduct of thoſe in the Adminiſtration; and having found that all the publick Calamities proceeded from them, they impeach'd ſeveral of them, and paſs'd a Bill for baniſhing out of the Nation many of their Tools and Underſtrappers, both Male and Female, Natives and Foreigners, and to crown the Work, they cauſed *Treſilian*, Lord Chief Juſtice of *England*, to be hang'd at Tyburn, as alſo the Steward of the Houſhold, with ſome others; and if that Tree had much oftner bore the like Fruit it would not have been worſe for the Conſtitution of *England*; but ſo tender was this Parliament of preſerving the Royal Prerogative, and the Dignity of the Crown, that they declared, that *conſidering the tender Age of the King, and the Innocency of his Royal Perſon, nothing ſhould be accounted any Fault or Diſhoneſty in him in any Manner, nor ſhould turn to his perſonal Prejudice by any Contrivance or Interpretation whatſoever.*

This Parliament being diſſolved, the Miniſters and Favourites began to think of recovering their Power, and they ſtill had ſuch a fatal Influence over the King's Mind, that he continued to be directed by them; ſo that they prevail'd upon him to ſupply the Places of thoſe that were hang'd and had been obliged to withdraw, with Tools and Creatures of their own, Perſons of the like Virtues with the former; but leſt they ſhould incur the ſame Fate, they took a ſafer Courſe than to tamper with the Sheriffs already named, and therefore appointed Perſons on purpoſe to be Sheriffs of the Counties, and procured others to be appointed Returning Officers in Boroughs, ſuch Men as would go thro' Thick and Thin for Hire, and to the Infamy of that Age be it ſpoke, there were Perſons to be found in this Nation profligate enough to undertake that Taſk.

Now you had all the ſcandalous Tricks put in Practice: In one Corporation perhaps where the Votes were but few in Number, thoſe

those who were known to have the fewest Votes were declared by the Officers duely elected, and if a Scrutiny was demanded it was refused, —— in populous Cities or Towns when the Returning Officers saw it going against the Side they were hired to return, they would shut up the Books, suffer no more to poll, and declare the Poll closed, then carry the Books to a private Place, without suffering the Inspectors to be present when they were cast up, or perhaps they did not give themselves the Trouble to cast them up at all, which is most likely, and peremptorily declare the two Tools to be fairly elected; so that only for the Form of an Election, if they had declared whom they thought fit without any Election at all, it would have been exactly the same Thing to the Publick.

Craftsman, Nov. 30. N° 439.

The Dissertation on Parties *continued from p.* 592. *In which the Defects of the Constitution of* France *are considered.*

THE *Commons of France* seem either not to have had, or to have lost, in the dark Beginnings of that Monarchy, all Share in the *supreme, legislative Power*. The great, original Defect of having but *two Estates* to share the *supreme Power* is an Objection common to the *Roman*, and to the *French Constitutions*, with this Difference; of the *three simple Forms of Government*, the *Monarchical*, the *Aristocratical*, and the *Democratical*, *Rome* wanted the *first*, and *France* hath always wanted the *last*. *Rome* had a *Nobility* and a *Commonalty*, but no Magistracy fitted by its Institution to answer the Purposes of that supreme Magistrate, who is called *King*, even in limited Monarchies. *France* hath always had a *King* and a *Nobility*; but the *People* have not had, I presume, since the Government of the *Franks* was fully established on this Side of the *Rhine*, and the Form of their Monarchy settled, any Share in the *supreme Power*, either collectively or representatively.

The *Franks* were a Nation of *Germany*, seated at one Time between the *Elbe*, *Rhine* and *Necker*, and at another (that is, in the Reign of *Theodosius* the younger) extending themselves on the *German* Side of the *Rhine*, from *Cologne* down to *Nimigben*, and still lower. What is known therefore of the Governments of the *antient Germans*, either from *Tacitus*, or any other good Authority, may be properly apply'd to their Government, whilst they continued in *Germany*, and even after they settled in *Gaul*, till such Times as we find, by Relations more modern, that a *different Form of Government* prevail'd amongst them. Now it seems to me extremely plain that a *different Form of Government* did prevail amongst them even from the Time of *Clovis*, the Conqueror of *Gaul*. In his first Expedition, indeed, he was the *Head of a Troop of Adventurers*, who chose him to lead them, but made their Conditions with him. The *Franks* therefore might be at this Time, in some Sense, *all free, perfectly equal, and independent*; but will it follow from hence that they continued to be so, in any Sense, after *Clovis* had founded their *Monarchy*; had destroy'd all their *little Kings*; united in one Body, and under his own Domination, all their *little States*, and changed the *Form of their Government*, by appointing *Dukes, Earls, Vicars*, and other Magistrates, to govern under him, according to the Model of Government in the latter *Roman* Empire? Certainly not.

The *general Assemblies*, that were held at first in the Month of *March*, and afterwards in the Month of *May*, were *national Assemblies* indeed; but not such as the *antient Germans* held; among whom the * *principal Men* consulted and decided about the *least*, and the *whole Body of the People* about the *greatest Affairs*. In *these Assemblies of the French* the *People* had nothing to do, unless we reckon for something the Function of † *hollowing*. In one Word, the People had not any Share in the *supreme Power*, either collectively or representatively, in the *original Plan of the* French *Government*. Whether they acquir'd any Share in *this Power* afterwards, let us enquire next. *Mezeray* pretends, and indeed the whole History of *France* vouches for him, *that no Nation ever honour'd their* Nobility *so much as the* French; *amongst whom the* Nobility *was not only exempt from all Sorts of* Impositions *and* Charges, *but commanded absolutely all* inferior Ranks, *who were almost in a State of Servitude*. How could it be otherwise, when the *Nobility*, and *chief Magistrates*, and the *Clergy* compos'd alone the *national Councils*, or *Parliaments*, and even exercised *distributive Justice* all over the Kingdom? Their Power increased, as that of the *Kings of the first Race* diminished. *Charles Martel*, indeed, who trusted to that *Battle Ax*, which gave him his *Name*, and to *foreign Troops*, laid aside the *national Assemblies*, neglected the *Nobility*, and misused even the *Clergy*, who damned him for it. But *Pepin* found it necessary to regain *both*, and attach them to his Interest, in order to mount the Throne. By attaching *them*, he attach'd the whole Nation to him. *Childeric* was deposed, and

* *De minoribus Principes, de majoribus omnes.* Tacit. † *Ils* (that is the *French*) *laisserent passer aux hauts Magistrats, les Ducs, les Comtes, et les Vicaires, le Droit de la Nation entiere; de sorte que le Commun n'eut plus d'autres Fonctions dans les Assemblées reelles, que d'y paroitre pour les Acclamations, que l'Usage rendoit necessaires.* Boulainv. Mem. Hist.

and he choſen King in a general Aſſembly held at *Soiſſons*. *Theſe Aſſemblies*, in his Time, in that of his Son *Charles the Great*, and ſo on, conſiſted of the *Nobility* and *Clergy* alone.

When the *third Race of theſe Kings* began in *Hugues Capet*, the *Lords* were ſo powerful in their *Eſtates*, and ſo independent in their *Governments*, that he was forced to come to a Kind of Compoſition with them. They became *Sovereigns*, each in his Territory, but held of the *Crown*, and acknowledg'd the *King* for the ſupreme Lord. There was ſcarce a *Town*, which had not a *little Sovereign*; ſcarce a *Caſtle* without ſome *little Tyrant*. The *Parliaments*, in theſe Ages, took ſeveral Turns; but ſtill they conſiſted of *Princes*, *great Lords*, *Biſhops*, and *Abbots*, who decided in them their Diſputes with *one another*, and with the *King*. *Such Aſſemblies as theſe*, under the *ſecond* and *third Race*, were the original Inſtitutions, from whence the *Parliaments of France* have proceeded; ſo that we may ſafely affirm the *Parliaments of France* never gave the *People* any Share in the Government of that Kingdom.

The Aſſemblies of the *three Eſtates*, the *Nobility*, *Clergy*, and *Commons*, were invented firſt by *Philip le Bel*. They were entirely unknown before the Year 1301. The People had no Right to any *ſuch Aſſemblies*; and when they were inſtituted, they were plainly deſigned for nothing leſs than the *Good of the People*. *The* Commons *were added to theſe Aſſemblies*, ſays Paſquier, *againſt the antient Order, or Practice of* France, *for no other Reaſon than this, that the principal Burthen or Charge, was to fall upon them.* This was the true Reaſon. *Redreſs of Grievances* had no Part in the Schemes of that *rapacious* and *proſuſe Prince*, who was the Author of this Inſtitution; and he that conſiders the Manner, in which *theſe Aſſemblies* were convened, the Powers they were ſuffer'd to exerciſe, the Subordination, in which the *Commons* particularly were kept, and the habitual, unavoidable Influence under which they lay, will be eaſily convinced that *ſuch Aſſemblies* were fitted to do the Jobs, and ſanctify the Iniquity of the *Court*, and nothing more. I conclude therefore, and upon ſufficient Grounds, that even ſince the Eſtabliſhment of theſe *Aſſemblies of the Eſtates*, in the Beginning of the 14th Century, the *People of France* have had no real Share in the *ſupreme Power of that Government*, either Collectively or Repreſentatively.

I might illuſtrate and prove what is here advanced by the Example of *every Aſſembly of the States of France*, of which we have any good Accounts, from the *firſt* in 1301, to the *laſt* that was held, as I remember, in 1614. But ſuch a Deduction would carry us too far. I ſhall conclude therefore with this Obſervation, That the *Friends of Liberty*, who live under *limited Monarchies*, cannot be too careful to preſerve their *Conſtitution* in Vigour, nor too fearful leſt their *Repreſentatives* ſhould be ſo influenced as to neglect their *Privileges*, miſapply their *Powers*, and depart from their *Integrity*; ſince theſe *Friends of Liberty* ſee that the *greateſt Maſters of Tyranny* have judg'd the *Form* without the *Spirit of a free Government* more favourable to their *Schemes of Oppreſſion*, than all the Authority, that *abſolute Monarchy* can give; and that they made an Innovation in the *Form of their Government* on this very Motive, and for this very Purpoſe. [*To be continued.*]

Poetical ESSAYS.

Wrote extempore by a Captain of a Ship upon his going to the Sun Tavern *at* Ratcliff, *and left in a Note in the Key-hole of his Door in Expectation of an* Exciſeman's *coming to viſit him who was reputed a ſober frugal Man; and intended as a Jeer on his Frugality and Employment.*

AT the ſign of the *ſun*,
As ſure as a gun,
You'll find us inſpir'd with *port*;
Without children or wives,
To ruffle our lives,
And free from dependence at court.

Thus by freedom and wine,
Like *ſuns* we all ſhine,
And when you ſhall our footſteps have trod,
With each gen'rous ſoul,
Your fame we'll enrol,
And adopt you the ſon of our god. E. C.

The Exciſeman's *Anſwer.*

NOR the charms of your wine,
Nor your *ſun* in a ſign,
I value ſo much as my gold:
My children and wife,
Are the joys of my life;
And a drunkard I hate as a ſcold.

In honeſty's cauſe,
And juſt *exciſe* laws,
I ſpend my days chearful and merry;
From each honeſt mind
Acceptance I find,
And I laugh at the wonders of *ſtarry*

To a young Lady, on her going out of Mourning into Colours.

WHILE ſable weeds, and mournful ſighs expreſt
The weighty grief that labour'd in your breaſt;
What heart ſo hard but melted at your woe?
What eyes were dry when yours with tears did flow?
The weeping world in ſympathy declar'd,
How much your ſorrows, and your pains it ſhar'd.
But heaven at length, in pity to our grief,
Has chang'd the ſcene, and giv'n the wiſh'd relief.
Reaſon again aſſumes her awful ſway,
And every paſſion does her pow'r obey.
No more the riſing ſigh or falling tear
Heave in the breaſt, or in the face appear;
But all ſerene, and bright, as opening day,
You lovely ſmile, and all mankind is gay.
No gloomy damps of heavineſs and care,
Can reach our hearts, now you inhabit there,
With every winning grace and pleaſing air.
But ſee the nymph in various colours ſhine,
Her look, her dreſs, her manner, all divine;
See every charm its well known place reſume,
And every beauty ſpringing in its bloom.
See in her cheeks the lilly and the roſe,
The faireſt white, and pureſt red diſcloſe.
See brighter ſuns rekindle in her eye,
And ſmiling Cupids round her boſom fly.
The nymph more lovely from her ſorrow ſhines;
As ſcorching fire the precious ore refines.
On all ſhe does — in every garb ſhe wears,
Each charm attends unbid, each grace appears.
If rob'd in green — her air and looks expreſs
A ſea-born *Venus*, in her native dreſs.
Nor leſs ſhe charms, when round her beauteous waſte
Flows the deep purple, or the yellow veſt.
Each dreſs each colour equally impart
Joy to the eye, and tranſport to the heart.
A thouſand beauties in their turn ſucceed,
For which again a thouſand hearts muſt bleed.
Beſt of thy ſex, that verſe ſhall e'er expreſs,
Whose be each ſilken luxury of dreſs:
To pay their homage, let both *Indies* meet
And lay their brighteſt treaſures at your feet.
Let every clime be rack'd, and diſtant ſhore
To grace thy toylet and enrich thy ſtore.
Not that thyſelf can any worth receive
From all the ornaments that art can give:
In thy own native innocence array'd,
Surely thou may'ſt ſcorn the borrow'd aid
Of glittering ſilks, ſoft damaſk, rich brocade.
Let meaner beauties prize ſuch helps of art
That only ſtrike the eye, not touch the heart:
Gawdy ſhew and tinſel dreſs *their* care
Whoſe chief perfection is, that *they are fair.*
But tho' the muſe, bright nymph, may haply trace
Each air, each feature of thy ſhape and face;
May different ſhades and various lights expreſs,
With all the gay variety of dreſs;
'Yet, who the beauties of thy mind ſhall paint?
'Or who deſcribe, where all deſcription's faint?
In *Cowley*'s verſe the fair *Orinda* ſhines,
And *Sacharissa* lives in *Waller*'s lines:
The nut-brown maid ſtill in her bloom appears,
Tho' ſince her youth have roll'd three hundred years.
Oh were my verſe with equal genius bleſt,
Would *Phœbus* tune my voice, and warm my breaſt;
Would every muſe and every grace conſpire
To ſwell the note, and animate the lyre;
To all the world the raptur'd ſong ſhou'd tell
How you the brighteſt of your ſex excel;
You then ſhou'd ſhine, the *one* diſtinguiſh'd flame,
And, as in merit, be the *firſt* in fame.

To Mr. James Dalacourt *in* Ireland, *upon his* Proſpect of Poetry.

HAIL gently-warbling *Dalacourt*, whoſe fame
Spurning *Hibernia*'s ſolitary coaſt,
Where ſmall rewards attend the tuneful throng,
Pervades *Britannia*'s well-diſcerning iſle;
In ſpite of all the gloomy-minded tribe
That would eclipſe thy merit—ſhall the muſe
High ſoaring o'er the tall *Parnaſſian* mount,
With ſpreading pinions, ſing thy wondrous praiſe,
In ſtrains attun'd to the ſeraphic lyre,
Sing unappall'd, tho' mighty be the theme?
O cou'd ſhe in thy own harmonious ſtrain
Where ſofteſt numbers ſmoothly-flowing glide
In trickling cadence; where the milky maze
Devolves in ſilence; by the harſher ſound
Of hoarſer periods ſtill unruffl'd, cou'd
Her lines but like thine own *Euphrates* * flow?
Then might ſhe ſing in numbers worthy thee.
But what can language do, when fancy finds
Herſelf unequal to the lovely taſk?
Can feeble words thy vivid colours paint,
Or ſhow the ſweets which inexhauſtive flow?
Hearken ye woods, and long-reſounding groves,
Liſten ye ſtreams ſoft purling thro' the meads,
And hymning horrid, all ye tempeſts roar;
Awake ye woodlands, ſing ye warbling larks
In wildly-luſcious notes; but moſt of all
Attend ye grateful fair, attend the youth
Who ſweetly ſings of nature and of you:
From you alone his conſcious breaſt expects
Its ſoft rewards, by ſordid love of gain
Unbiaſs'd, undebas'd; to meaner Minds
Belong ſuch narrow views; his nobler ſoul
Tranſported with a gen'rous thirſt of fame,

* *He has deſcrib'd that River in the* Proſpect of Poetry.

Sublimely riſes with expanded wings,
And thro' the lucid Empyrean ſoars.
So the young eagle wings its rapid way
Thro' heav'n's broad azure; ſometimes ſprings aloſt,
Now drops, now cleaves with even-waving wings
The yielding air, nor ſeas nor mountains ſtop
Its flight impetuous, gazing at the ſun
With irretorted eyes, whilſt he pervades
A trackleſs void, and unexplor'd before.
Long had the curious trav'ler ſtrove to find
The ruins of aſpiring *Babylon*
In vain — for nought the niceſt eye could trace,
Save one wide watry undiſtinguiſh'd waſte:
But you with more than magic art have rais'd
Semiramis's city from its grave;
You have revers'd the ſcripture curſe, which ſaid,
Dragons ſhall here inhabit; in your page
We view the riſing ſpires, the hurried eye
Diſtracted wanders thro' the verdant maze;
In middle air the pendent gardens hang,
Tremendous cieling — whilſt no ſolar beam
Falls on the lengthen'd gloom beneath; the woods
Project above a ſleep-alluring ſhade;
The finiſh'd garden opens to the view
Wide-ſtretching viſta's, whilſt the whiſpering wind
Dimples along the breezy-ruffled lake.
Now ev'ry tree irregular, and buſh
Are prodigal of harmony; the birds
Frequent th' aerial woods, and nature bluſhes
Aſham'd to find herſelf outdone by art:
Theſe and a thouſand beauties cou'd I ſing,
Collecting like the ever-toiling bee
From yonder mingled wilderneſs of flowers
The aromatick ſweets: while you, great youth,
O'er thy decaying country chief preſide;
Be thou her genius call'd, inſpire her youth
With noble emulation to arrive
At *Helicon*'s fair font, which few, alas!
Save you, have taſted, of *Hibernian* youth.
Thy country, tho', corrupted, brought thee forth
And deems her greateſt ornament; and now
Regards thee as her brighteſt northern ſtar.
Long may you reign as ſuch, and ſhou'd grim time
With iron teeth deprive us of our *Pope*,
Then we'll tranſplant thy blooming laurels freſh
From your bleak ſhore to *Albion*'s happier coaſt.

J. THOMPSON.

ODE *for his Majeſty's* BIRTH-DAY. *By the Rev.* Matthew Pilkington, *A. M.*

RECITATIVO.

GREAT, inexhauſted ſource of day,
Bright parent of the genial ray,
Unfold thy pureſt beams of light,
And bring with thee, enliv'ning pow'r!
Each ſilver-wing'd, each bliſsful hour,
Joy-creating, rob'd in white.

AIR.

Like thee AUGUSTUS reigns below,
From him diffuſive bleſſings flow,
And, cloath'd with grandeur, glory, love,
He emulates thy reign above.

DA CAPO.

AIR.

'Wake the ſoul-enchanting lute,
The warbling lyre, the breathing flute,
And touch the violin to ſound:
With joy let every voice proclaim
GEORGE, the fav'rite ſon of fame,
With all exalted virtues crown'd.
Sacred wiſdom, heav'nly gueſt!
And juſtice, attribute divine!
Fix their empire in his breaſt,
And bid the finiſh'd hero ſhine:
Who gives a luſtre to the throne,
And makes his people's joy his own.

DA CAPO.

RECITATIVO.

This day be ſacred o'er the earth,
The day that gave AUGUSTUS birth;
For he abundant wealth ſupplies,
And bids neglected merit riſe.

DA CAPO.

AIR.

Plenty, dreſs'd in ſmiles appears,
And learning, beauteous child of peace,
Her heav'nly form, delighted rears,
And pleaſure ſports in ev'ry face:
Thoſe bleſſings which unceaſing flow
From his indulgent bounteous hand,
Let proud oppreſſing tyrants know
To bleſs, is nobler than command.

DA CAPO.

RECITATIVO.

What muſe can in a glorious light,
His early excellence diſplay;
When, cloath'd with terrors, through the fight
He ſpread confuſion and diſmay!

AIR.

See! fir'd with ardour to engage,
The *Britiſh* AMMON pours along,
With an impetuous torrent's rage,
And pierces through the thickeſt throng!
Slaughter waſtes at his command,
And thouſands ſink beneath his hand;
The combat bleeds where-e're he goes,
And wide the purple deluge flows.

DA CAPO.

RECITATIVO.

While through the vanquiſh'd hoſt,
By his intrepid valour loſt,
Amazement, terror, diſcord fly,
And *fear*, with oft-reverted eye.

AIR.

Goddeſs, *glory*, haſte, prepare
The golden wreath for GEORGE's brow
GEORGE, more worthy of thy care,
Than all that nature form'd till now,
Tho' BRUNSWICK's and NASSAU's name
Have fill'd the loudeſt voice of fame.

DA CAPO.

AIR.

AIR.

Ye ever-watchful guardian pow'rs
Propitious round AUGUSTUS wait,
Bid the ſmiling, circling hours,
Waft new glories to his ſtate;
On him let every bleſſing flow,
That man can hope, or heav'n beſtow.
DA CAPO.

RECITATIVO.

Heav'n to grace his throne inclin'd,
Created, with exacteſt care,
CAROLINE, ſurpaſſing fair,
And ſtamp'd perfection on her mind.

AIR.

Worthy over hearts to reign,
Beauty's hand thy perſon dreſs'd,
The Graces too, a blooming train,
In ev'ry feature ſmile confeſs'd;
Ev'ry charm, and gift divine,
Lives in gracious CAROLINE.
DA CAPO.

CHORUS.

We aſk no more, propitious fate!
Peculiar bleſſings for our ſtate,
That plenty, wealth, and peace may ſmile,
And pour abundance o'er our iſle:
But hear, O! hear *Hibernia*'s pray'r,
Preſerve and guard the royal pair;
In that kind heav'n will give us more
Of glory, grandeur, wealth, and fame,
Than e'er adorn'd *Britannia*'s name,
Or ever bleſs'd the world before.

To Sir Thomas Cave, *Bart. Upon the Death of his Brother Sir* Verney Cave, *late of* Stanford *in* Leiceſterſhire. *By the Rev. Mr.* Nixon.

Tu Marcellus eris Virg.

ACCEPT (dear Sir) the muſe's pious woe,
Tears by ſincereſt ſorrow taught to flow;
The dictates of a faithful heart, that bleeds
For *Verney*'s loſs, altho' my *friend* ſucceeds.
Lamented ſhade! Lamented, but in vain!
Who this myſterious problem ſhall explain,
That heav'n ſhould ſuch ſuperior gifts ſupply,
Yet length of days for exerciſe deny?
That a bright wit, and a capacious mind
Enrich'd by nature, and by art refin'd,
E'er reach'd the noon of life, extinct ſhould leave
A *brother*, and a thouſand friends to grieve!
So in yon' azure fields of light above
Stars moſt benign in ſhorteſt circles move.
The * planet, friend of arts, with ſpeedy pace
Too ſoon accelerates his deſtin'd race:
Pregnant of ills, while *Saturn*'s baleful ſphere
Thro' a long ling'ring period rolls his tedious year.
But we (my friend) theſe depths in vain explore,
Our province not to queſtion, but adore.

Your mighty loſs no pow'rs can e'er retrieve,
Ours may from you a lenitive receive.
Think, when around your large demeſns you view,
With them enlarg'd your ſcheme of duties too.
Grateful to heav'n, repay with bounteous hand
All that the ſocial ties of life demand.
From the bright acts of your forefathers, know,
What to your country's public weal you owe.
Merit unaſk'd regard, th' oppreſt defend,
'To virtue only, and her friends, a friend;
Deep in your breſt this weighty truth engrave,
A noble mind, not fortune, makes a CAVE.

True Pleaſure always to be found.

HE that from pomp, and wealth, and honour flies,
May look on nature with undazzled eyes:
Read truth's eternal laws, and with delight
Count all the plants by day and ſtars by night.
It needs no toil to find the way to bliſs:
Who makes content his guide can never miſs:
No envious walls this flow'r of life embrace,
All wild it grows in ev'ry deſart place.
A glut of pleaſure drowns us like a flood,
And evil by exceſs proceeds from good!
Learn you, that climb the top of fortune's wheel,
The dang'rous ſtate which you diſdain to feel!
Your bigbneſs puts your happineſs to flight,
Your inward comfort fades with outward light:
While not a wretch, that ſweats behind the plough,
But ſleeps ſecurer from the reach of woe!
You live like captives, bound with golden chains,
The weight and ſplendor but increaſe your pains,
You ſtrive to ſhut out care, but ſtill the care remains.
While mild philoſophy purſues its ends
With eaſe and happineſs; alone, with friends,
In exerciſe, or ſtudy ſtill has pow'r
To vary joys; as time renews the hour:
Early as Phoſphor *ſhews his welcome ray,*
It ſtarts from ſleep, and gains upon the day:
Like the glad Perſian *hails the riſing ſun*
Makes induſtry point out the ſhade at noon;
And, when his flaming orb at eve declines
Meaſures the ſtarry vault with fancy'd lines;
Invokes the heav'n-born muſe from fame's abode
To waft the ſoul on fancy's wing abroad,
And riſe from nature, up to nature's God.—
But, if theſe proſpects ſpread too broad and high,
For the ſhort limit of a vulgar eye;
Let ſuch, to earth, their humbler views confine,
And learn a ſample of the whole deſign.
A bed of flowers, a grove, a level plain,
A rugged hill, a field of golden grain;
A ſwelling river more true pleaſure brings,
Than pomp can furniſh in the courts of kings.

* *Mercury.*

An Epigram on two great Men, written in 1725.

TWO genius's one age and nation grace:
Pride of our iſles, and boaſt of human race! [born!
Great ſage! great bard! ſupreme in knowledge
The world to mend, enlighten, and adorn!
Truth on *Cimmerian* darkneſs pours the day!
Wit drives in ſmiles the gloom of minds away!
Ye kindred ſuns on high, ye glorious ſpheres,
Whom have ye ſeen in twice three thouſand years, [birth;
Whom have ye ſeen, like theſe, of mortal
Tho' *Archimede* and *Horace* bleſt the earth?
Barbarians, from th' equator to the poles!
Hark! reaſon calls! wiſdom awakes your ſouls!
Ye regions ignorant of *Walpole*'s name;
Ye climes, where kings ſhall ne'er extend their fame: [fac'd,
Where men miſcall'd, God's image have de-
Their form bely'd, and human ſhape diſgrac'd!
Ye two-leg'd wolves! ſlaves! ſuperſtitious ſons!
Lords! ſoldiers! holy *Vandals!* modern *Huns!*
Boors! muſties! monks! in *Ruſſia*, *Turkey*, *Spain!* [the DEAN?
——— Who does not know Sir ISAAC, and

CUPID *better inſtructed: A Copy of ingenious* Latin *Verſes in the* Epithal. Oxonienſ. *upon the late* Royal Marriage, *by Mr.* Wm. Gibſon, *(my Lord of* London*'s younger Son) of* Chriſt-Church *in* Oxford; *tranſlated*, enpaſſant: *By a Servant.*

CUPID, full wing, once flew againſt the gate
(It's fabled) of the diſmal grot of *fate*,
Quiver revers'd, his arrows, ruſtling down,
Blended with *Dis's*, lay confus'dly thrown.
Groping, in haſte, to recollect, beneath,
His kinder ſhafts, he got the darts of *death*.
With theſe the archer blind rebaits, juſt then
As *prince* Naſſau approach'd the *princeſs* Anne.
Rueful miſtake! which *love* ſhou'd not have drawn,
He ſtruck the *chief* with weapons not his own.
Venus, with *ditt'ny*, bath'd the *grief* begun,
The blunder huſh'd, then diſciplin'd her ſon.
What bolts? whoſe blood is here? obſerve me *now*;
Go, tune him *to the muſic of thy bow.*
The golden *arrow, from the* ſilver *ſtring,*
Soothe any ſore, and ſweetens ev'ry ſting;
Sings well, and is diverſion for a king.
Inſpire 'an even paſſion, equal pain:
Naſſau's *for* her, *and* Anne *for* him *again.*
To grace the nuptials, all thy charms employ;
Nor cloud, nor conſequence, o'ercaſt the joy.
May a bleſt harmony ſubſiſt between,
To their *delight, and glory of our* queen.
Mars begs it, guardian of *Naſſau*'s great name;
And *Venus*, good to *Anne*, commands the ſame.

The *Moral*, in *Hudibraſtic*; by the *Tranſlator.*

LOVE, like young bowmen in the eaſt,
Muſt tip an Orange *firſt, or laſt.*
No man eats idle bread, for nought,
But he that's better fed than taught.
Our Cupid, *now, has learnt more wit:*
For they ſhoot wide, who never hit;
A courtier *grows, and, for his crimes,*
Your pardon, Sir, *craves twenty times.*
Maturely weighs each arrow-head;
Knows what is what, and gold from lead.
Nor creſs, nor pile, has lately ſquander'd;
Nor aims below the royal ſtandard.
Bends up for nought, in aulic *wars,*
But ſun, and moon, and ſeven ſtars:
Yet only twangs his yew *of* Spain,
Where men are infantes *till paſt men.*
An orient ſtar *led, thro' his blind-*
Side, to a prize *his eye of mind:*
The lightning ſaid, its he; *in ſpight*
Of fate, two *wrongs infer* one *right.*
Let fly; well ſhot! thanks to my ſpark;
A blind boy, once, has cleft the mark.
The upſhot wins all Engliſhmen,
Or love *ſhall ne'er draw bow again.*

The following is the Copy of a poetical Epiſtle from an ingenious Lady in the Weſt-Indies *to her Lover. It was directed thus:*

A Letter to my Love--All alone paſt 12, in the Dumps.

Abſent from all that cou'd inſpire
My Numbers, or my Soul, with Fire.

OH! weep with me the changing ſcene
Torn from thy arms, devour'd with ſpleen;
Inſtead of thoſe dear eyes, I look
Upon the fire, or elſe a book;
But oh! how dull muſt either be
To eyes that have been ſtudying thee!
Unleſs the poet does expreſs
Something that ſtrikes my tenderneſs,
I throw the leaves neglected by,
And in my chair ſupinely lie;
Or to the pen and ink I haſte,
And there a world of paper waſte.
All I can write, tho' love is here,
Does much unlike my ſoul appear.
Angry, the ſcrawling ſide I turn,
I write, and blot, and write and burn.
Then to the bottle I repair,
The poets tell us eaſe is there.
But I thy *abſent hand* repine,
Whoſe ſweetneſs us'd to zeſt the wine:
Wine in this ſullen moment fails,
I burn my pen, I bite my nails,
Rail at my ſtars, nay I accuſe
Even my *lover*, and my *muſe*.
Why did he let me go, I cry,
——— And now I think on't, tell me why:

You

You might have kind excuſes made
To one ſo willing to have ſtaid;
The night was rainy, and the wind
To all thy ſofteſt wiſhes kind.
For *thee* and *love* methought it blew
As if my parting pangs it knew,
As if *it* was a *lover* too.
I'm ſafely ſhelter'd from its pow'r;
But I regard its rage no more:
Now let it tempeſt as it pleaſe,
Or move the groves, or fright the ſeas;
It cannot now alarm my reſt,
Unleſs it reach thy dearer breaſt.
Oh! haſten to me, let my arms
Protect thee from the wint'ry ſtorms.
I tremble leſt the cold ſhould dare
To pierce thee——ſet my image there,
Defend it, if it has a charm,
From theſe, and every other harm.
I want thy boſom to repoſe
My beating heart, oppreſs'd with woes.
I want thy voice my ſoul to chear,
Thy voice is muſick to my ear;
I want thy dear lov'd hand to preſs
My neck, with ſilent tenderneſs;
I want thy eyes to make mine bright,
And charm this ſullen hour of night;
This hour, when pallid ghoſts appear,
Oh! cou'd it bring thy ſhadow here!
Ev'ry ſubſtance wou'd reſign,
To claſp thy aerial breaſt to mine;
Or if, my love, that could not be,
I wou'd turn air to mix with thee.

On the Death of Miſs B—— W——th.

Quis deſiderio ſit pudor aut modus
Tam chari capitis? Hor. lib. 1. Ode 24.

SHE's gone, ſhe's gone——I ſaw her mount the ſky,
And with new whiteneſs paint the galaxy.
Too happy had I been indeed, if fate
Had made her laſting as ſhe made her great.
But 'twas the plot of unkind deſtiny
To lift me to, then ſnatch me from my joy.
Methought I ſaw in crowds bleſt ſpirits meet,
And with loud welcomes her arrival greet.
Earth was unworthy ſuch a prize as this,
Only a while heav'n let us ſhare the bliſs.
Thanks ye kind fates! who did ſo long diſpence
(Since you ſo wiſh'd it) with her abſence thence.
Scarce had ſhe learnt to liſp religion's name,
But taught her cradle like the pulpit to reclaim.
Thy praiſe ſhall live, when graves ſhall buried lie,
And yield its tripple empire to eternity.
Thy mighty virtues ſhall embalm thy name,
And make it laſting as the breath of fame.
O that I could diſtill my vital juice in tears!
Or waſte away my ſoul in ſobbing airs!
For ſuch a loſs what ſtoic could forbear
To fetch a ſigh, or drop a ſilent tear?
Methinks, I ſee her in the bleſt abode
With hymn ecſtatic ſinging praiſe to God.
Sorrow and pain ſhall now be far away,
Claſpt in the embraces of thy native clay,
Till the laſt trump ſhall bid thee riſe,
Then cloath'd with glory thou'lt aſcend the ſkies.
Beauty we find a vain and doubtful good,
A flower that dies when firſt it 'gins to bud.

H.

Upon Miſs WINNY J——NSON.

O *Hogarth, thee* th' admiring town
Britain's Apelles juſtly own;
For thy great ſtrokes with *nature* ſtrive,
And bid the glowing canvas live;
So artfully they cheat the eye,
We ſpeak and wait for a reply.
O *Hogarth*, pictur'd by thy care,
While I have ſeen the beaut'ous fair,
While I have view'd each mimick charm,
I've felt my ſwelling boſom warm,
Kindle with pleaſing am'rous fires,
And glowing, melt with ſoft deſires.
Deluſion ſweet! thy matchleſs art
Is *nature's* ſelf; it wounds the heart.
Once in his *fancy's* higheſt flow,
Apelles, his great art to ſhow,
Reſolv'd his fineſt ſtrokes to try,
And nature's choiceſt works out-vie;
From ev'ry fair a charm he ſtole,
And nicely blending up the whole,
He bid the heav'nly image prove
The *queen* of *beauty* and of *love*.
Hogarth, like his great maſter too,
Deſigning *nature* to *outdo*,
His higheſt proof of art to give,
And bid *another Venus* live,
To draw his piece he took his way,
Where *belles* o'er elemental tea,
In am'rous prattle waſte the day:
Among the reſt was *Winny* plac'd,
With all the charms united grac'd:
Hogarth with wonder view'd the maid;
Thrice he in vain to ſpeak eſſay'd,
Its office thrice his tongue forſook:
——At length in fault'ring words he ſpoke.
'Tis ſhe——Venus *has left the ſkies,*
And there ſhe ſits in ſweet diſguiſe;
How vain, how vain is our deſign,
When we'd attempt at what's divine?
Each ſmiling, told him the deceit,
That *J*——*nſon* was the pretty cheat.
Still then, cries he, my project's vain,
I'll ne'er of nature's *works complain,*
In J——nſon *they'll triumphant reign.*

W. R.

The MISER.

VILE wretch! who ſacrifices all to wealth,
His honour, conſcience, and his future health.
His heart is always with his glitt'ring ore,
And heaven-born charity can charm no more:
The tender thoughts which humane boſoms fill,
In him are chang'd to cruel, baſe and ill.

Con-

Conjugal and paternal love give way
To love of gold, which bears the only ſway.
The thoughts of getting more diſtract his breaſt,
And care of keeping it allows no reſt;
Diſtruſt and fear poſſeſs by turns his mind,
Expert in fraud, to ev'ry virtue blind:
To get more pelf no ways to him are foul,
He cares not if for gold he damns his ſoul.
His hapleſs children curſe the fatal day,
When nature gave to him a father's ſway.
Diſtreſſing all he knows, himſelf diſtreſt,
An evil conſcience wrecks his guilty breaſt;
Afraid to touch his baſely gotten ſtore,
Spends nothing, but is always ſcraping more.
In midſt of all his plenty always wants;
Famine his roof with meagre aſpect haunts.
So avaritious *Midas*, fables ſay,
Amidſt his royal dainties pin'd away.
Strange! that the bowels of the generous earth
Should bring ſuch a deſtructive metal forth.
What miſchiefs has it done in every land!
Made virtue ſuffer, and made vice command.
But ſtranger ſtill! man's ſoul with reaſon grac'd,
By ſordid love of wealth ſhould be debas'd.

E.

On the Death of a young Lady.

SINCE *Cælia*'s gone, what pleaſure is there left?
Our hearts of every comfort are bereſt.
All breaſts are full of ſighs, all eyes of tears,
The plain a ſavage wilderneſs appears.
Our late lov'd ſhepherdeſs is fled away,
And turn'd to darkſome night the chearful day.
The fields look bare now *Cælia*'s gone on high;
The flowers in all their blooming colours die;
The woods in horrid ſilence are all round,
No leaf will ſtir, no ſoothing gale is found.
The warbling throng to happier climes are fled,
Nor deign one note ſince charming *Cælia*'s dead.
All nature ſeems, in ſable hue array'd,
To mourn the loſs of the fair virtuous maid.

E.

On Miſs Fanny Phillips. *Spoken extempore.*

BEauteous charmer, lovely fair,
Tranſporting all thou doſt come near.
In thee we ſee all charms combine,
In thee all love's perfections ſhine.
Sure nature robb'd the *Graces* three
Of all thir beauteous charms, for thee.
For ever pleaſing, ever dear,
Thrice fairer than the faireſt fair:
Thy matchleſs beauty, lovely frame,
An *Addiſon* or *Pope* might claim;
Were *Dryden* now alive, he'd chuſe
Thee, a fit ſubject for his muſe.
Ecſtatic fair! tranſcendent charms!
Ye gods! convey her to my arms.

SPAIN.

WHERE foaming ſurges of *Cantabria* riſe,
And *Pyrenæan* mountains pierce the ſkies,
With theſe ſurrounded bleſs'd luxurious *Spain*
Extends her fruitful, healthful wide domain.
Happily ſituate thy fields produce
Objects not only for the taſte but uſe.
Down in each ſilent, verdant valley rove
Of over-burthen'd ſheep a num'rous drove,
That drop their woolly honours on the road,
And ſeem to labour with the fleecy load.
When yon'high mountain's loſtin hills of ſnow,
Cloath'd with their wool, we feel no cold below.
'Tis not this wool demands *Corinna*'s lays,
Another wool's the ſubject of her praiſe,
A wool that brings falſe youth when youth decays.
With this (tho' age has made her ſkull a plain
Barren, and unadorn'd; tho' many a train
Of wrinkles, like *Mæanders*, run around
Her viſage; and the following eye confound;)
She fills the furrows of her leathern face,
And ſmiles reſiſtleſs with a borrow'd grace.
By this, ſh' attracts the looby country 'ſquire,
Who on a ſudden feels the ardent fire;
He faſtens on the mortar'd wall his eyes,
And ſilent for a plaiſter'd *Thiſbe* dies.
Here too, the parents of *Gallæcian* wines
That ſeem to court the hand, full ſwelling vines [twines.
Embrace their huſband elms in am'rous
Theſe, with thy other gifts I cou'd rehearſe
That well demand a place in epic verſe;
But oh, *Hiſpania*, how could I applaud,
Were but thy people, as their country good!
But juſt as *Iſrael*, led by the command
Of *Amram*'s ſon, thro' deſerts, to a land
Flowing with milk and honey, ſoon forgot
The high uplifted hand that brought them out;
So theſe are ſenſleſs of the hand of heav'n,
Which all theſe bleſſings ſo profuſe has giv'n.
Thoſe various ſcenes of ſhameful lawleſs love,
Open, bare-fac'd, and which the laws approve;
The pride of that grave ſupercilious pace,
Which gives to light'ning, ſtorms, nor thunder place;
That curſed ſeat where Satan holds his reign,
The *holy* inquiſition term'd in *Spain*;
All theſe I draw a veil of darkneſs o'er:
But that deep, ſettled thirſt of *Britiſh* gore,
That blot indelible, that laſting ſtain
Which *Britiſh* annals uneras'd retain,
In *Britiſh* hearts for ever will remain.
Methinks I ſee the proud *Armado* ride
In ſwelling triumph o'er the lab'ring tide,
Gay, deckt with ſtreamers floating in the air,
Full of ſucceſs, and of an eaſy war,
Stretch'd out from ſky to ſky, it ploughs the main
Exulting —— Never to return again.
Invincible *Armado*! —— ſtrangely out
Was old infallible —— that made no doubt
Of conqueſt — to that pow'r ſupreme all hail,
Who made for once his *holy preſcience* fail.
For now th' Eternal bar'd his mighty arm,
Determin'd to diſpel th' approaching ſtorm:
And ſcarce a few revolving hours had paſt,
When all that cumb'rous glory was laid waſte.

The

The kindl'd vengeance by his guidance led,
Steer'd ſtrait, and all around deſtruction ſpread.
To all the fleet the fierce contagion came,
Till all appear'd one undiſtinguiſh'd flame.
P——p be wiſe in time; and ceaſe to dare,
And rouſe the maſters of the main to war;
Avenging juſtice frequent pauſes makes,
But always with a ten-fold fury wakes.

A Paraphraſe on the CXXXIXth Pſalm.

O! Dread *Jehovah*, thy all-piercing eyes
Explore the motions of this mortal frame,
This tenement of duſt; thy ſtretching ſight
Surveys the harmonious principles, that move
In beauteous rank and order, to inform
This caſk and animated maſs of clay.
Nor are the proſpects of thy wond'rous ſight
To this terreſtrial part of man confin'd;
But ſhoot into his ſoul, and there diſcern
The firſt materials of unfiniſh'd thought,
Yet dim and indigeſted, till the mind,
Big with the tender images, expands,
And ſwelling labours with th' ideal birth.
Where-e'er I move, thy cares purſue my feet,
Attendant; when I drink the dews of ſleep,
Stretch'd on my downy bed, and there enjoy
A ſweet forgetfulneſs of all my toils,
Unſeen thy ſovereign preſence guards my ſleep,
Wafts all the terrors of my dreams away,
Sooths all my ſoul, and ſoftens my repoſe.
Before conception can employ the tongue,
And mould the ductile images to ſound,
Before imagination ſtands diſplay'd,
Thine eye the future eloquence can read,
Yet unarray'd with ſpeech. Thou, mighty Lord,
Haſt moulded man from his congenial duſt,
And ſpoke him into being; while the clay,
Beneath thy forming hand, leap'd forth inſpir'd,
And ſtarted into life; thro' ev'ry part,
At thy command the wheels of motion play'd.
But ſuch exalted knowledge leaves below
And drops poor man from its ſuperior ſphere;
In vain with reaſon's ballaſt wou'd he try
To ſtem the unfathomable depth; his bark
O'erſets, and founders in the vaſt abyſs.
Then whither ſhall the rapid fancy run,
Tho' in its full career, to ſpeed my flight
From thy unbounded preſence, which alone
Fills all the regions and extended ſpace,
Beyond the bounds of nature! whither, Lord,
Shall my unrein'd imagination rove,
To leave behind thy ſpirit, and out-fly
Its influence, which with brooding wings out-
ſpread, [found?
Hatch'd unfledg'd nature from the dark pro-
If mounted on my tow'ring thoughts I climb
Into the heaven of heavens, I there behold
The blaze of thy unclouded majeſty,
In the pure empyrean, thee I view
High thron'd above all height; thy radiant
ſhrine, [ceive
Throng'd with the proſtrate ſeraphs, who re-
Beatitude paſt utterance. If I plunge
Down to the gloomy manſions of the damn'd,
I find thee there, and read thee in the ſcenes
Of complicated wrath; I ſee thee clad
In all the majeſty of darkneſs there.
If on the ruddy morning's purple wings
Up born, with indefatigable courſe,
I ſeek the glowing borders of the eaſt,
Where the bright ſun emergent from the deep
With his firſt glories gilds the ſparkling ſeas,
And trembles o'er the waves; even there, thy
hand
Shall thro' the watry deſart guide my courſe,
And o'er the broken ſurges pave my way;
While on the dreadful whirls I hang ſecure,
And mock the warring ocean. If with hopes
As fond as falſe the darkneſs I expect
To hide and wrap me in its mantling ſhade,
Vain was the thought: for thy unbounded
ken
Darts thro' the thick'ning gloom, and prys
thro' all
The palpable obſcure: before thy eyes
The vanquiſh'd night throws off her duſky
ſhroud,
And kindles into day; the ſhade and light
To man ſtill various, but the ſame to thee.
On thee is all the ſtructure of my frame
Dependent: lock'd within the ſilent womb,
Sleeping I lay, and ripening into birth;
Yet, Lord! thy outſtretch'd arm preſerv'd me
there,
Before I mov'd to entity and trod
The verge of being; to thy hallow'd name
I'll pay due honours; for thy mighty hand
Built this corporeal fabrick, when it laid
The ground-work of exiſtence; hence I read
The wonders of thy art, this frame I view
With terror and delight, and wrap't in both
I ſtartle at myſelf: my bones unform'd
As yet, nor hard'ning from the viſcous parts,
But blended with th' unanimated maſs,
Thy eye diſtinctly view'd; and while I lay
Within the earth imperfect, nor perceiv'd
The firſt faint dawn of life, with eaſe ſurvey'd
The vital glimmerings of the active ſeed,
Juſt kindling to exiſtence, and beheld
My ſubſtance ſcarce material; in thy book
Was the fair model of the ſtructure drawn,
Where every part in juſt connection join'd
Compos'd and perfected the harmonious piece,
E'er the dim ſpeck of being learn'd to ſtretch
Its ductile form, or entity had known
To range and wanton in an ample ſpace.
How dear and rooted in my inmoſt ſoul
Are all thy counſels, and the various ways
Of thy eternal providence! the ſum
So boundleſs and immenſe, it leaves behind
The low account of numbers, and out flies
All that imagination e'er conceiv'd! [ſhores,
Leſs numerous all the ſands that croud the
The barrier of the ocean! When I riſe
From my ſoft bed, and ſofter joys of ſleep,

I riſe to thee. Yet lo! the impious ſlight
Thy mighty wonders: ſhall the ſons of vice
Elude the vengeance of thy wrathful hand,
And mock thy ling'ring thunder, which with-holds
Its forked terrors from their guilty heads?
Thou great tremendous God! Avaunt and fly,
All ye who thirſt for blood; for ſwoln with pride [name,
Each haughty wretch blaſphemes thy ſacred
And bellows his reproaches, to affront
Thy glorious Majeſty: thy foes I hate
Worſe than my own. O Lord! explore my ſoul,
See if a flaw or ſtain of ſin infects
My guilty thoughts; then lead me in the way,
That guides my feet to thy own heaven and thee.

Dr. Barrow's Latin Poem *prefix'd to* Milton's Paradiſe Loſt, *tranſlated by the Author of* the 7th Ode of the 1ſt Book of *Horace* imitated. (See p. 549.)

WHO reads great *Milton*'s lofty *epic* verſe,
Of thoughts refin'd an unexhauſted ſource,
Views the crude embryon world from atoms riſe,
Man's fall, and God's pacific grace deſcries.
A *Milton*'s genius each receſs diſplays, [maze;
Scans nature's breaſt, explores each wand'ring
Earth, ſea, and heaven he ſings ſublimely clear,
And hell's deep tract replete with ſolemn fear;
Earth's ſons, old ocean's ſcaly offspring bright,
Seraphic orders, and eternal night;
What circumſcrib'd in ſtabliſh'd limits ſtood,
A chaos boundleſs, and a boundleſs God.
Or more, if ought can more than boundleſs be,
Meſſiah's love, the reconcil'd degree.
Who cou'd but doubt a work wou'd thus ſucceed?
Which *Albion*'s ſons with joy ecſtatic read,
What matchleſs chiefs, each helm a daz'ling ſtar!
How juſt he ſings the odious din of war!
Celeſtial ardor, heav'n in conflict dire!
And martial exploits worthy heavenly ire!
How *Lucifer* in arms æthereal ſtaunts!
As *Michael*'s peer with haughty ſtride he vaunts; [ſpears
With how great force they claſh the horrid
Ev'n heav'n's ſtar-pavement hoſtile ſquadrons fears, [tear,
Whilſt vengeful troops the ſtubborn mountains
And hills like darts divide the yielding air:
Olympus views each army's doubted might
With anxious dread of more embroiled fight,
'Till the *Meſſiah*'s glorious enſigns ſhone
And arms coruſcant ſpoke the obſequious ſon;
When ruddy flames ſurround his rapid car
And fervid wheels with forked light'ning glare,
When ſmoaky wreaths in duſky circles fly,
And thunder ſhakes the empyræan ſky.
Amaze and terror ſeize the rebel hoſt [boaſt,
Down drop the arms that long proclaim'd their
A gloomy deep devoid of glimmering light,
And ghaſtly ſhades retard their haſty flight.
Antient and modern bards the palm reſign,
Whom *Rome* rever'd or *Greece* eſteem'd divine;
For who reads this will with impartial tongue
Say, *Homer* only frogs, and gnats ſam'd *Mars* ſung.

E. C.

Epitaph on a very idle Fellow; from *Cambden*.

HERE *lyeth one that was* born *and* cry'd,
Liv'd *ſeveral* years, *and then* --- *he* dy'd.

On a Statue of *Julius Cæſar*, repreſented leaning on a Globe, a Sword in one Hand, and a Book in the other, with the Motto, *Ex utroq; Cæſar.*

SUCH Cæſar *was*, -- *with his majeſtick brow,*
Serene 'midſt arms he met th' approaching foe:
So when alive, as on the globe reclin'd,
He ſat ſuperior, and ſurvey'd mankind:
As here, ſo once the victor's head was crown'd,
And laurel *wreaths his ſacred temples bound:*
As here, ſo once o'er arts *and* arms *he reign'd,*
One hand the book, *and one the* ſword *ſuſtain'd,*
To ſhew his wiſdom *rul'd that world his* valour *gain'd.*

A Rev. D—r's Lamentation for the Loſs of his Hearing.

DEAF, giddy, helpleſs, *left alone,*
To all my friends a burden grown;
No more I hear my church's bell,
Than if it rung for my own knell:
At thunder now no more I ſtart,
Than at the rumbling of a cart;
And what's incredible, alack!
No more I hear a woman's clack.

On the *Princeſs Royal* at *Harwich*, and the *Prince of Orange* at *Helvoetſluys*.

ON *diſtant ſands, diſjoin'd by envious ſeas,*
Two generous lovers wait the proſperous breeze.
Love once was wreck'd, and a Leander loſt;
Yet muſt the Helleſpont *again be croſs'd.*
That Love then may o'er winds and tides prevail,
Leander *ſhall keep watch, and* Hero *ſail.*

To the KING.

WHAT *age, O* GEORGE, *thy equal e'er could yield*
In the calm council *or the loſtile* field?
Brutus *himſelf in* thee *a* king *would love,*
And wiſe Fabritius *to thy court remove:*
E'en Cato *ſtern, whoſe free-born God-like ſoul,*
Nor pow'r, *nor* fate, *nor* Cæſar *cou'd controul,*
Wou'd now to thee *a* ſubject's *duty give,*
Free *in your* Britain, *as* old Rome *to live.*

CUPID miſtaken.

WHere Chloe *in the ſhady grove was laid,*
Thither by chance the wanton Cupid *ſtray'd.*
Awhile he view'd the nymph, then cries in paſſion,
Mamma, Mamma, *you'll miſs your aſſignation;*
For Mars *is waiting* — Chloe *rais'd her head,*
My pretty boy, ſure you've miſtook, ſhe ſaid.
How like, cries he, may one be to another!
For, as I live, I thought you was my mother.

The

The GENTLEMAN's *Monthly Intelligencer.*

NOVEMBER, 1734.

ADVICE from *Lewes* in *Suſſex*, that on the 25th paſt, about 50 Minutes after Three in the Morning, they had two ſtrong Shocks of an Earthquake there; the firſt laſted near a Minute, and on a general Calculation from all Informations, within 20 Miles along the Sea-Coaſt, it was felt at the ſame Time and in the ſame Manner. This is the ſame which was perceived at *Portſmouth*, and thro' moſt Parts of the County of *Southampton*. (See p. 551.)

Advice from *Coleſhill* in *Warwickſhire*, that the Shock of the Earthquake which was felt at *Portſmouth* the 25th paſt, was felt there about Four the ſame Morning, and that it held near a Minute.

Letters from *Derby* mention'd an Earthquake felt there on the 28th paſt by many of the Inhabitants, and alſo in ſeveral of the neighbouring Places.

On the 30th paſt, *Tomo Chachi*, Micho or King of *Yamacraw*, and his Queen, *Senauki*, *Toonakowi*, and the other *Indian* Chiefs, ſet out in one of the King's Coaches for *Graveſend*, where they arrived the ſame Day, and the next Day went on board the *Prince of Wales*, bound for *Georgia*. They expreſs'd great Satisfaction at the Treatment they had met with in *England*, and at the Power and Greatneſs of the King and Nation. They were mighty deſirous of returning to their own Country, and at the ſame Time ſhewed a great deal of Tenderneſs at parting with Mr. *Oglethorpe*, who took Leave of them on board the Ship. The Micho, among other Things, ſaid, *That he would ſhew his Gratitude to the King of* England *for all the Favours he had received here, by loving and aſſiſting the* Engliſh *People in* Georgia. The Ship ſet ſail a little after Midnight with a fair Wind. The *Saltzburghers* were on board the ſame Ship, as alſo ſome *Engliſh* Gentlemen, with foreign Servants, who intend to ſettle in *Georgia*. The Truſtees encourage the People of *Georgia* to take Foreigners for Servants, ſince thereby the King's Subjects are increas'd, and no labouring Hands are taken from *England*.

FRIDAY, Nov. 1.

This Morning about ſeven o'Clock, her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs of *Orange* ſet out from St. *James*'s for *Colcheſter*, and from thence proceeded the next Day to *Harwich*, to embark for *Holland*. She embark'd the *Wedneſday* following, and ſailed out of the Harbour; but was hardly got clear of the Land, when the Wind came about to the *Eaſt*, and a Calm ſucceeding, her Royal Highneſs order'd the Yachts to put back, and return'd to *Harwich*, where ſhe ſtaid ſeveral Days; in which Time the Prince of *Orange* ſent one of the Lords of his Bed-Chamber thither, to attend her Royal Highneſs in her Voyage. Her Royal Highneſs gain'd the Affections of the Inhabitants of *Harwich* to a very great Degree. She caus'd the Mayor, Aldermen, and other Members of the Corporation to be entertain'd at the *Three Cups Inn*, where a Dinner conſiſting of fifty Diſhes was provided for them. Her Royal Highneſs diverting herſelf in a Morning wich walking into the neighbouring Fields, all the Stiles were taken away, and the Paths levell'd in the beſt Manner for her Accommodation.

THURSDAY, 7.

His Majeſty in Council was pleaſed to order, that the Parliament which ſtood prorogued to the 14th Inſtant, ſhould be further prorogued to the 14th of *January*, then to meet at *Weſtminſter* for the Diſpatch of Buſineſs; and his Majeſty was pleaſed to order a Proclamation to be iſſued accordingly.

MONDAY, 11.

The redeem'd Captives from *Mequinez*, to the Number of 135 Perſons, nine of whom were Commanders, were preſented to his Majeſty within the Garden-Wall belonging to St. *James*'s-*Houſe*; his Majeſty receiv'd them with great Marks of Tenderneſs and Compaſſion, aſking the Chief of them ſeveral Queſ-

tions, and was graciouſly pleaſed to order a Donation of 100l. out of the Privy Purſe, to be diſtributed among them: Several Lords and Ladies of the Court gave likewiſe ten and five Guineas a-piece. They were afterwards conducted to the Garden of the Admiralty-Office, to be view'd by the Lords Commiſſioners. One of the Captives preſented Sir *Charles Wager* with a Letter from Admiral *Perez*, who was formerly here in a publick Character from the Emperor of *Fez* and *Morocco*: Sir *Charles Wager* gave a Bank Bill of 50l. to be diſtributed among them; they afterwards went to *Ironmongers-Hall*, where a handſome Dinner was prepar'd. Moſt of them being able Seamen, are determin'd to ſerve on board the Fleet.

TUESDAY, 12.

On a Motion made by Sir *Gerard Conyers*, and ſeconded by Sir *Robert Baylis*, the Court of Aldermen of this City made an Order, that a Reward of 50l. ſhould be offer'd for the apprehending and bringing to Juſtice any Perſon or Perſons, not exceeding ten in Number, who hiſs'd, pelted, or any Way inſulted Sir *William Billers*, Knt. late Lord Mayor, as he paſs'd from *Black-Fryars* to *Fiſhmongers-Hall* on Lord Mayor's-Day: The Money to be paid by the Chamberlain of *London* on the Conviction of each of the Perſons, provided ſuch Perſon or Perſons be apprehended within three Months.

In Oppoſition to the Article about the empty Houſes, *&c.* inſerted in our laſt, (p. 552.) we were told, that by a late particular and exact Account taken, it appears there are but 7842 empty Houſes in the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, the Borough of *Southwark*, the Bills of Mortality, and the County of *Middleſex*, and not 1000 empty Houſes, excluſive of *Middleſex*, within ten Miles of *London*: And we are alſo well aſſured, (ſays the Author of this Paragraph) that the Number of Houſes, built on new Foundations within 14 Years paſt, is near twice the preſent Number of empty Houſes.

The Mention of an Accident that happened near *Coway-Stakes* occaſion'd the following Paragraph, *viz.* Having taken Notice of the famous *Coway-Stakes* (where *Cæſar* croſs'd the River *Thames* with his Army) we take this Opportunity to rectify a Miſtake in *Cambden*, and other Antiquarians, who aſſert, *That* Cæſar *forded the River at* Coway-Stakes, *near* Chertſey, *in* Surrey: Horſley *in his* Britannia Romana, *is of Opinion, the Ford was near* Kingſton, *in* Surrey.--Whereas *Coway-Stakes* are juſt above *Walton* in Surrey, which is about five Miles on this ſide *Chertſey*, and ten Miles beyond *Kingſton*, in Water; and the Meadow facing the Stakes is now call'd *Coway*; they are to be ſeen in a very dry Summer, when the Water is low; one of them was pull'd out of the *Thames* about two Years ago, but with great Difficulty; they are of Oak, and tho' they have lain ſo long in the Water, are as hard as *Braſile*, and black as Jet: At *Shepperton* they have ſeveral Knife-Handles made of them.

THURSDAY, 21.

Was preſented to their Majeſties, and the Royal Family at St. *James*'s, *Jane Webb*, the tall Woman, born at *Caſtle Dunnington* in *Leiceſterſhire*, and lately arriv'd in Town from *Northampton*. She is but 22 Years of Age, and upwards of ſeven Foot high.

The Ways from the *Eſſex* great Road to *Tilbury*, where her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs of *Orange* purpoſed to croſs to *Graveſend*, being found impaſſable, the Rout which was at firſt ſettled for her was alter'd; and her Royal Highneſs return'd to *London*, and without making any Stay, croſs'd the Bridge in her Way to *Dover*, in order to embark for *Calais*. The ſame Day ſhe paſs'd thro' *Dartford*, where ſhe was receiv'd with great Acclamations of Joy.

SUNDAY, 24.

This Morning about Eight o'Clock, a Meſſenger arriv'd expreſs from *Dover*, with Letters from the Princeſs of *Orange* to their Majeſties, which brought an Account that her Royal Highneſs got there the Day before in perfect Health, and deſign'd to embark for *Calais* with the firſt fair Wind.

The King of *France* wrote with his own Hand, a moſt obliging Letter to his Majeſty King *George*, thanking his Majeſty for the Honour done him, in ordering the Princeſs Royal of *Great Britain* to take her Paſſage thro' Part of *France*, to go to the Prince of *Orange*, her Conſort, in *Holland*; aſſuring his Majeſty of a ſafe Conduct for her Royal Highneſs, and of all the Honours due to ſo excellent a Princeſs.

MONDAY, 25.

Came on before the Court of Delegates at *Serjeants Inn Hall* in *Chancery-lane*, for final Determination, the Cauſe of *Hyde* and *Maſon* againſt *Limbury*, relating to two Wills of *Samuel Maſon* of *Queen's-ſquare*, *Weſtminſter*, Eſq; deceaſed; when after ſeveral learned Arguments of Counſel on both Sides, the Court thought fit (after a long Conſideration) to confirm the Sentence given for the firſt Will in the Prerogative Court of *Canterbury*, in Favour of Mr. *Limbury*.

The following Scheme having been drawn up and peruſed by ſome Members of the Houſe of Commons, has met with their Approbation, and 'tis ſaid, will be laid before the Parliament the next Seſſion, in order for its paſſing into an Act, viz. *That the ſeveral Pariſh Officers in this Kingdom ſhall be obliged to take into Cuſtody all ſturdy Beggars, Gypſies, Vagrants, or other Perſons without Employment, which may be found ſtrolling about their reſpective Liberties, and carry them before one of his Majeſty's Juſtices of the Peace, who ſhall commit them to Priſon till the next Quarter-Seſſ-*

Seſſions, where if any of their Friends, or the Officers of the Pariſh they belong to, appear and promiſe to take care of them for the future, they ſhall be releas'd; but if they can give no Account of themſelves, they ſhall be ſent over to the new Settlements in America, *&c.*

WEDNESDAY, 27.

Was held a General Court of the Governors of *Chriſt's-Hoſpital*, when it was agreed, amongſt other Things, to nominate forty new Governors: It was alſo unanimouſly agreed to accept of a Legacy of Mr. *Samuel Davenport*, lately deceaſed, for a Dinner for the Children of the ſaid *Hoſpital* yearly, for ever, of Pork or Veal, on the 8th Day of *March*, or the 23d of *April*, the one being the Acceſſion, and the other the Coronation of her late Majeſty Queen *Anne*: And likewiſe to accept of a Legacy left by Mrs. *Sarah Lorrain*, Widow, deceaſed, for a Dinner of Veal on the 1ſt of *Auguſt* yearly, for ever, for the ſaid Children, the ſaid Day being the Anniverſary of the Acceſſion of his late Majeſty.

THURSDAY, 28.

This being the laſt Day of Term, one *Cotes* was brought to the *King's-Bench-Bar*, in order to receive Sentence for a high Miſdemeanor, in putting off a falſe or counterfeit Guinea, knowing it to be ſuch, and at the ſame Time having ſeveral more of that bad Metal found upon him: The Court explain'd to him the Heinouſneſs of his Crime, which, in their Opinion, amounted even to high Treaſon; but, in Regard to his great Family, long Impriſonment already, and Poverty, they adjudg'd that he ſhould ſtand twice in the Pillory, *viz.* at *Newcaſtle upon Tyne* and at *Kingſton upon Hull*, on publick Market-Days, ſuffer one Year's Impriſonment in the *King's-Bench*, and find Security for his good Behaviour for three Years.

FRIDAY, 29.

A Gentleman waited on their Majeſties at St. *James's*, and acquainted the Court, that on *Thurſday* about Four in the Afternoon, he ſaw her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs of *Orange* land at *Calais*.

MARRIAGES *and* BIRTHS.

MR. *Ladbrook*, a great Diſtiller near *Doctor's-Commons*, married to Miſs *Browne*, Daughter of Mr. *Browne*, a Chymiſt in *Fiſh-ſtreet*, a Fortune of near 6000l.

Mr. *Aſhurſt*, a Sugar-Baker in *Diſtaff-Lane*, to Miſs *Thompſon*, eldeſt Daughter of the late *William Thompſon*, Eſq;

Mr. *Rich* of *Farringdon*, *Berks*, to Miſs *Pye*, third Daughter of *Henry Pye*, Eſq; of the ſame Place.

George Bentley, of *Whorwell* in *Hampſhire*, Eſq; to Mrs. *Barker*, only Daughter and Coheir of the late *Richard Barker*, of *Enford* in *Wiltſhire*, Eſq; a 25000l. Fortune.

Thomas Savage, Eſq; of *Middle Scotland-Yard*, to Miſs *Weſtby*, a 12,000l. Fortune.

The Lady of the Right Hon. the Lord *Baltimore*, ſafely deliver'd of a Daughter.

The Lady of the Hon. *Peter Bathurſt*, Eſq; Brother of the Right Hon. the Lord *Bathurſt*, alſo ſafely delivered of a Daughter.

Henry Popple, Eſq; Under-Treaſurer of the Queen's Houſhold, married to Miſs *Anne Moore*, eldeſt Daughter of the late Sir *Joſeph Edmunds Moore*, of *Berkhamſtead* in *Hertfordſhire*, Bart. and Siſter to the preſent Sir *Joſeph Moore*, Bart. a 6000l. Fortune.

Birkhead Pratt, Eſq; an eminent *Port* Merchant, to Miſs *Jane Bearſley*, Daughter to *Peter Bearſley*, Eſq; a very eminent Wine-Merchant.

The Right Hon. the Lord *Gallway* to Miſs *Jenny Weſtenra*.

Capt. *Du Terme*, Son of Col. *Du Terme*, to the Hon. Miſs *Evans*, Daughter to the Right Hon. the Lord *Carbery* of the Kingdom of *Ireland*.

Capt. *Chapman*, of *Northfleet* in *Kent*, to Mrs. *Jane Horſmanden*, Siſter to *William Horſmanden Turner*, Eſq; Member of Parliament for *Maidſtone*.

DEATHS.

AT *Edinburgh*, the Right Hon. the Baroneſs *Somerville*, Lady of *James* Lord *Somerville*, of *Drum* in *Edinburgſhire*, and of *Spy-Park*, *Wiltſhire*.

Mr. *Preſgrave*, an eminent *Ruſſia* Merchant, reputed worth 40,000l.

Mrs. *Fuller*, Wife to *John Fuller* of *Red-Lyon-Square*, Eſq; late Sheriff of *London*.

Henry Raines, L. L. D. Chancellor of the Dioceſe of *Litchfield* and *Coventry*.

Henry Bowater, Eſq; Treaſurer of St. *Bartholomew's-Hoſpital*.

Mary Counteſs of *Uxbridge*, Wife of *Henry* Earl of *Uxbridge*.

Brigadier-General *Jones*, Colonel of a Reg. of Foot in the Leeward Iſlands.

Mr. *Samuel Davenport*, Warfinger, reputed worth upwards of 10,000l. Who left the Legacy to *Chriſt's-Hoſpital*, as above.

Hon. *John Hobart*, Eſq; Brigadier-General, and Captain and Governor of *Pendennis-Caſtle* in *Cornwall*.

Hon. Miſs *Forbes*, Siſter to the late Lord *Forbes*, of the Kingdom of *Scotland*.

Mrs. *Hedworth*, a Maiden Lady, Siſter to *John Hedworth*, Eſq; Member of Parliament for the County of *Durham*.

On the 14th, N. S. died at *Paris*, the Lady *Louiſe Renée de Penencoüet*, Dutcheſs of *Portſmouth*, Counteſs of *Farnham*, and Baroneſs of *Peterſfield*, in the County of *Southampton*;

thampton; and Dutcheſs of *Aubigny* in *France*, aged 86. By the Death of her Grace, the Dukedom of *Aubigny* in *France*, devolves upon the preſent Duke of *Richmond*, her Grandſon; and a very large Eſtate comes to his Grace.

Waller Bacon, Eſq; Member of the preſent Parliament for *Norwich*, which City he had repreſented ſix Times.

George Crookbank, Eſq; in the Commiſſion of Peace for the County of *Middleſex*.

John Norton, Eſq; alſo in the Commiſſion of Peace for the ſame County.

Capt. *Briſcoe*, who had a Company in Col. *Harriſon*'s Regiment of Foot.

At *Stamford* in *Northamptonſhire*, *Noah Neale*, Eſq; Steward for many Years to the Earl of *Exeter*; he was Father of Mrs. *Boſworth*, Wife of *John Boſworth*, Eſq; Chamberlain of *London*.

Lord *Edward Herbert*, ſecond Son to the Marquiſs of *Powis*.

At *Madrid*, the Right Hon. *William North*, Lord *North* and *Grey*, Lieutenant-General in his *Catholick* Majeſty's Service.

William Jeſſop, Eſq; at his Seat of *Broom-Hall* in the County of *York*. He was one of the *Welch* Judges, and one of the Commiſſioners and Receiver-General of the Alienation-Office. He was Member of Parliament for *Aldborough* in *Yorkſhire*, and had been choſe there in all the Parliaments from the firſt Year of King *George* I.

Edward Thompſon, Eſq; Father to *Edward Thompſon*, Eſq; one of the Repreſentatives for the City of *York*.

Capt. *O'Neal*, in *Newgate*, who in *September* Seſſions laſt, was tried and convicted for inliſting Men into Foreign Service.

Thomas Lutwyche, Eſq; one of his Majeſty's Council learned in the Law, and Member of Parliament for the Borough of *Agmondeſham* in the County of *Bucks*.

Mr. *Solomon Smith*, Steward to their Graces the late and preſent Dukes of *Portland*, and Riding-Maſter to one of the Troops of Guards.

Mrs. *Anne Crowley*, Daughter of the late Mr. Alderman *Crowley*.

The Lady of Dr. *Fullerton*, Phyſician to *Chriſt*'s Hoſpital.

The Rev. Mr. *Warner*, Rector of *Haſcomb* near *Guildford* in *Surrey*.

John London, Eſq; formerly Member of Parliament for *Wilton* in *Wiltſhire*, a noted *Blackwell-Hall* Factor, and one of the Clothiers of the Army.

Mrs. *Alice Sandys*, Relict of the late *Windſor Sandys*, Eſq; formerly Sheriff for the County of *Glouceſter*.

Mrs. *Bere*, Relict of *Thomas Bere*, Eſq; Member of Parliament for *Tiverton* in *Devonſhire*.

At *Marybone*, *George Bentley*, Eſq; poſſeſs'd of an Eſtate of 600l. *per Annum*.

In the Liberty of the *Fleet*, aged 81, Sir *Matthew Feniſſon*, Knt. formerly Member of Parliament for *Newark upon Trent*.

At *Hammerſmith*, aged 84, Mrs. *Eleanor Eſtwick*, Relict of the late *Humphry Eſtwick*, Eſq;

The Right Hon. the Lord *James Hamilton*, Earl and Baron of *Abercorn*, and Baron of *Paiſly* (*Scotch* Honours) and Viſcount and Baron of *Strabane* in *Ireland*. He is ſucceeded in Honour and Eſtate by his eldeſt Son the Lord *Paiſly*, now Earl of *Abercorn*.

Eccleſiaſtical PREFERMENTS.

MR. *Chevenix*, Chaplain to her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs of *Orange*, preſented by the Earl of *Cheſterfield* to the Rectory of *Gedling*, *Nottinghamſhire*.

Mr. *Francis Webber*, to the Rectory of St. *Clement*'s, *Oxon*.

Dr. *Kenrick*, inducted into the Living of St. *Margaret*'s, *Weſtminſter*, in the Room of Dr. *Hargrave*, who reſigned.

Right Rev. Dr. *Charles Cecil*, Biſhop of *Briſtol*, tranſlated to the See of *Bangor*,

Mr. *Smallbroke*, made Chancellor of the Dioceſe of *Litchfield* and *Coventry*.

Mr. *Downay*, made Prebendary of *Canterbury*.

Mr. *Morgan*, preſented to the Rectory of the United Pariſhes of St. *Mary Beadman* and St. *Andrew*'s, *Canterbury*.

Mr. *Richards*, to the Rectory of *Norton*, in the Dioceſe of *Canterbury*.

Dr. *Etheſſe* of *Norwich*, to the Living of *Therfield*, *Hertfordſhire*, void by the Promotion of the Lord Biſhop of *Bangor* to the See of *Saliſbury*.

Mr. *Vade*, to the Living of *Eaſtham*, *Eſſex*.

Mr. *John Aſh*, to the Rectory of *Croxby*, *Lincolnſhire*.

His Majeſty was pleaſed to iſſue his Congé d'Elire to the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral Church of *Carliſle*, to elect *George Fleming*, Doctor of Laws, to be Biſhop of that See, void by the Death of the Right Rev. Father in God Dr. *John Waugh*, late Biſhop thereof.

Mr. *John Clarke* preſented to the Prebend of *Lime* and *Halſtock*, in the Cathedral Church of *Saliſbury*.

Mr. *Thomas Dene*, to the Rectory of *Clown*, in the County of *Derby*, and Dioceſe of *Litchfield* and *Coventry*.

Dr. *John Salter*, Prebendary of *Norwich*, collated by the Lord Biſhop of that Dioceſe, to the Archdeaconry of *Norfolk*, vacant by the

the Reſignation of Dr. *Baron*, the Dean of the ſaid Church.

Mr. *Stubbe*, Vicar of *Eyton-Bray* in *Bedfordſhire*, and Chaplain to his Grace the Duke of *Bridgwater*, preſented by the Maſter and Fellows of *Trinity-College*, *Cambridge*, to the Vicarage of *Merſworth* in *Buckinghamſhire*.

Dr. *John Middleton* choſen by a great Majority of the Common Council of *London*, Rector of St. *Peter's Cornhill*, in the room of the Biſhop of *Carliſle*, deceaſed.

PROMOTIONS *Civil* and *Military*.

LORD *Durſley* made an Enſign of a Company in the ſecond Regiment of Guards, in the room of Enſign *Macro*, promoted.

—— *Spilman*, Eſq; one of the Directors of the *Bank*, and Mr. *Stevens*, Surgeon to his Royal Highneſs the Prince of *Wales*, were elected Fellows of the Royal Society.

Mr. *Vincent Bourne*, one of the Aſſiſtants of *Weſtminſter* School, appointed to ſucceed *Thomas Ward*, Eſq; deceaſed, as Houſe-keeper to the Houſe of Commons, as alſo to be Deputy Serjeant at Arms to the ſaid Houſe.

The Counteſs of *Tankerville* appointed to ſucceed the Counteſs of *Suffolk*, in her Place of Miſtreſs of the Robes to her Majeſty.

His Royal Highneſs the Prince of *Wales* has appointed *Noel Broxolme*, M. D. to be his Phyſician in Ordinary, in the room of Dr. *Clifton*, with a Salary annex'd.

His Majeſty has been pleaſed to grant unto *Thomas* Lord *Malton*, the Dignities of a Baron, Viſcount, and Earl of the Kingdom of *Great Britain*, by the Name, Stile and Title of Baron *Wath* in the County of *York*, and of *Harrowden* in the County of *Northampton*, Viſcount *Higham* of *Higham Ferrers* in the ſaid County of *Northampton*, and Earl of *Malton* in the ſaid County of *York*.

Robert Weſtley, Eſq; unanimouſly elected Treaſurer of St. *Bartholomew's-Hoſpital*, in the room of *Henry Bowater*, Eſq; deceas'd.

His Royal Highneſs the Prince of *Wales* declared Col. *John Schutz*, Privy-Purſe and Groom of the Bed-Chamber to his Royal Highneſs, Lord Warden of the Stannaries (the Mines and Works where Tin is digged and purified in *Cornwall*) in the room of *Hugh* Viſcount *Falmouth*, deceas'd.

Lieut. *Robert Maſon* of Col. *Hargrave's* Regiment of Foot, quarter'd at *Briſtol*, made Captain of a Company in Col. *Harriſon's* Regiment, quarter'd in *York* City, in the room of Capt. *Joſeph Briſcoe*, deceas'd.

Perſons declared BANKRUPTS.

Francis Hatt, Citizen of *London*, Carpenter, and late of *Peckham*, in the County of *Surrey*, Broker and Chapman.

John Curtis, of *Aldermanbury-Poſtern*, *London*, Diſtiller.

James Johnſon, of *Roſemary-Lane*, in the Pariſh of St. *Mary Mutſellon*, otherwiſe *Whitechapel*, in the County of *Middleſex*, Carpenter.

Thomas Tombes, late of *Oxford-Road*, in the Pariſh of St. *Mary le Bone*, in the County of *Middleſex*, Diſtiller.

Charles Shan, of *Cheapſide*, *London*, Chapman and Glaſs-ſeller.

James Hemming, of *Eveſham*, in the County of *Worceſter*, Chandler.

William Wigan, late of *King-ſtreet*, *London*, Coffee-man, Broker and Chapman.

John Wilkinſon, of the City of *Cheſter*, Apothecary.

John Croſfield, of *Holm-Hill*, in the Pariſh of *Burton*, in the County of *Weſtmoreland*, Chapman and Malſter.

John Jarden, of *Southwark*, in the County of *Surrey*, Chapman.

Henry Nugent, of *Carnaby-Market*, in the Pariſh of St. *James*, *Weſtminſter*, Dealer in Dorcheſter-Beer, Warehouſeman and Chapman.

Aaron Durell, late of the Town and County of *Poole*, Ironmonger.

Joſeph Maſon, of *Blackman-ſtreet*, *Southwark*, in the County of *Surrey*, Diſtiller.

John Arnall, of the City of *Norwich*, Worſtead-Weaver.

John Whall, late of *Trowſe-Milgate*, in the County of the City of *Norwich*, Beer-Brewer.

Ellen Kidgell and *Elizabeth Willey*, of *Stocks-Market*, *London*, Milliners and Partners.

William Miller, late of *Smithfield*, *London*, Vintner.

Stephen Yate, late of the Pariſh of St. *Giles's in the Fields*, in the County of *Middleſex*, Dealer in Cattle and Chapman.

John Clegg, late of *Spittlefields*, in the County of *Middleſex*, Chapman.

John Watſon, of *Bradford*, in the County of *York*, Grocer.

Richard Green, late of the City of *Lincoln*, Woolen-Draper.

Humphry Jeſton, of the *Heath*, near *Stourbridge*, in the County of *Worceſter*, Glaſs-maker and Chapman.

John James, late of *Abingdon*, in the County of *Berks*, Butcher and Chapman.

Towards the End of the Month.

STOCKS.

S. Sea 80 ¼	*Afric.* 20
—*Bonds l.* 3 6	*Royal Aſſ.* 97
—*Annu.* 104 ⅛	*Lon. ditto* 12
Bank 136 ½	*Y. Build.* 4
—*Circ. l.* 3 15	3 *per C. An.* 93
Mil. Bank 107	*Eng. Copper* 2*l.*
India 143 a ¼	*Welſh dit.*
—*Bonds* 3*l.* 11	*Equivalent* 105

The Courſe of EXCHANGE.

Amſt.	35 10	*Bilboa*	40 ⅛
D. Sight	35 8	*Leghorn*	50 ½
Rotter.	35 11 a 10	*Genoa*	53
Hamb.	35 7	*Venice*	50 ¼
P. Sight	32 ⅝	*Lisb.*	5 5 ⅜ a 6
Bourd.	31 ⅜	*Oport.*	5 5 ¼
Cadiz	40 ½ a ⅝	*Antw.*	36
Madrid	40 ½	*Dublin*	11 ¼

Prices of Goods at *Bear-Key*.

Wheat	26 25	*Oates*	9 14
Rye	16 18	*Tares*	18 23
Barley	16 20	*Peaſe*	20 22
H. Beans	16 20	*H. Peaſe*	16 19
P. Malt	18 23	*B. Malt*	16 22

Abſtract of the *London* WEEKLY BILL, from *Oct.* 22. to *Nov.* 26.

Chriſtned	Males 827	Females 779	1606
Buried	Males 1178	Females 1192	2370

Died under 2 Years old			885
Between	2	and 5	244
	5	10	109
	10	20	103
	20	30	172
	30	40	224
	40	50	199
	50	60	168
	60	70	125
	70	80	73
	80	90	61
	90 and upwards		7
			2379

Prices of Goods, &c. in *London*. Hay 36*s.* *to* 42*s.* a Load.

Coals per Chaldron 27 *to* 28
New Hops p. Hun. 5*l.* 10*s. a* 6*l.*
Old Hops 3*l.* 10*s. a* 4*l.*
Rape Seed 10*l. a* 11*l.*
Lead the Fodder 19 *Hun.* 1 *half on board,* 14*l. a* 14*l.* 10*s.*
Tin in Blocks 3*l.* 16
Ditto in Bars 3*l.* 18*s.*
Copper Eng. beſt 5*l.* 5*s.*
Ditto ordinary 4*l.* 16*s. a* 5*l.*
Ditto Barbary 85*l. a* 90*l.*
Iron of Bilboa 15*l.* 5*s. per Ton.*
Ditto of Sweden 16*l.* 10*s.*
Tallow 28*s. a* 30
Country Tallow 27*s.* 6*d.*
Cochineal 19*s.* 6*d.*

Grocery Wares by the C.
Raiſins of the S. new 32*s.*
Ditto Malaga Frailes 17*s.*
Ditto Smirna new 22*s.*
Ditto Alicant 18*s.*
Ditto Lipra new 19*s.*
Ditto Belvedera 29*s.*
Currants new 35*s.*
Prunes French none
Figs 20*s.*
Sugar Powder beſt 54 *a* 59*s.*
Ditto ſecond Sort 46*s. a* 50
Loaf Sugar double ref. 12*d.*
Ditto ſingle refine 8*d.*

Grocery Wares by the lb.
Cinamon 7*s.* 8*d.*
Cloves 9*s.* 1*d.*
Mace 15*s.*
Nutmegs 8*s.* 7*d.*
Sugar Candy white 14*d. a* 18*d.*
Ditto brown 6*d.*
Pepper for home conſump. 16*d.*
Ditto for Exportation 12*d. half.*
Tea Bohea fine 10*s. a* 12*s.*
Ditto ordinary 8 *a* 9*s.*
Ditto Congo 10 *a* 12*s.*
Ditto Pekoe 14 *a* 16*s.*
Ditto Green fine 9 *a* 12*s.*
Ditto Imperial 9 *a* 12*s.*
Ditto Hyſon 20 *a* 25*s.*

Drugs by the lb.
Balſam Peru 14*s.*
Cardamoms 3*s.* 3*d.*
Camphire refin'd 9*s.* 6*d.*
Crabs Eyes 1*s.* 8*d.*
Jallop 2*s.* 8*d*
Manna 2*s.* 6*d. a* 4*s.*
Maſtick white 4*s.* 0*d.*
Opium 9*s.*
Quickſilver 4*s.* 3*d*
Rhubarb 18 *a* 25*s.*
Sarſaparilla 3*s.*
Saffron Engliſh 22*s.* 6*d*
Wormſeeds none
Balſam Copaiva 3*s.* 0*d.*
Balſam of Gilead 20*s.*
Hypocacuanæ 4*s.* 6*d. a* 5*s*
Ambergreece per oz. 8*s.*

Wine, Brandy, and Rum.
Oporto red per Pipe 25 *a* 26*l.*
Ditto white none
Liſbon red 35*l. a* 40
Ditto white 26 *a* 28*l.*
Sherry 26*l.*
Canary new 25 *a* 28*l.*
Ditto old 32 *a* 34*l.*
Florence 3*l.*
French red 30*l. a* 40*l.*
Ditto white 20*l.*
Mountain Malaga old 24*l.*
Ditto new 20 *l. a* 21*l.*
Brandy Fr. per Gal. 7*s.* 4*d*
Rum of Jam. 6 7*s.*
Dit. Lew. Iſlands 6*s.* 4*d.* 6*s.* no

FRO

FROM *Vienna*: That an Expreſs was arriv'd there from *Conſtantinople*, with Advice, that a Divan had been held there, and that as ſoon as it broke up, the Grand Vizier having ſent for the *Imperial*, *Britiſh*, *Ruſſian* and *Dutch* Ambaſſadors, aſſur'd them in the Name of his Maſter, that the Porte was reſolv'd to maintain religiouſly the Peace with all *Chriſtian* Powers, and that they might aſſure their reſpective Maſters thereof.

From *Worms*: The News we told you laſt Poſt, concerning the Diſpoſitions made by the *Imperialiſts* to quit this City, and the Preparations of the *French* to come and take Poſſeſſion of it, are entirely confirmed.

From *Berlin*: That the Nuptials of the Princeſs, fourth Daughter of the King of *Pruſſia*, with the Margrave of *Brandenbourg-Schwedt*, Nephew to the Prince of *Anhalt*, his Majeſty's Favourite and Prime Miniſter, were ſolemnized at the Royal Palace at *Poſdam*, with great Magnificence. This Princeſs was born in 1720, and has a younger Siſter about ten Years of Age: Her three eldeſt Siſters are married to the Prince of *Bareith*, to the Margrave of *Anſpach*, Nephew to Queen *Caroline*, and to the Hereditary Prince of *Brunſwick-Beveren*.

From *Bruſſels*: The following Scheme of an Accommodation is handed about here. 1. King *Staniſlaus* ſhall remain King of *Poland*, and Great Duke of *Lithuania*, in Conſideration whereof *France* reſtores to the Empire all the Conqueſts ſhe has taken from the ſame ſince the Commencement of the preſent War. 2. King *Auguſtus* ſhall ſucceed King *Staniſlaus*, and bear the Title of King during his Reign. 3. *Don Carlos* ſhall marry the Emperor's youngeſt Daughter, who ſhall have both the *Sicilies* for her Portion. 4. The Duke of *Lorrain* ſhall marry the Emperor's eldeſt Daughter, and be declared King of *Hungary*. 5. Endeavours ſhall be uſed to give Satisfaction to all the Princes of the Empire, with Regard to their Pretenſions, and to redreſs all religious Grievances.

From *Naples*: That the brave Count *Traun*, Governor of *Capua*, perceiving that the *Spaniſh* Troops which form the Blockade of that Place were ſeparated by the River *Vulturno*, and having Intimation that the Bridge of Communication had been carried away on the 3d Inſtant, at Night, by the Rains, he made a Sally the next Morning with 4000 Men; and having placed 6 Pieces of Cannon, charg'd with ſmall Shot, upon Carriages that reſembled Baggage-Waggons, the *Spaniards*, ſurpriz'd at the Novelty of the Deſign, ſuffer'd them to advance to their very Front, when on a ſudden the Count order'd the Cannon to be fir'd, and the Troops, who had been partly conceal'd behind the Waggons, falling at the ſame Time upon the Enemy, the Havock they made was inexpreſſible: Of 1000 *Spaniards* 600 were laid dead on the Spot; the reſt threw themſelves into the River and ſwam over, excepting about 50 or 60 who were drowned in the Attempt.

From *Frankfort*. Letters from *Mantua* bring Advice, that the Army of the Allies retired the 18th from the Banks of the *Oglio*, abandoning *Modena*, *Guaſtalla*, *Carpi*, &c. and were marched towards *Cremona*: That thereupon the *Imperial* Army paſſed the *Oglio*, and extended their Quarters, in order to give the Enemy Battle.

The Difficulties which the Allies ſuffer'd for Want of Forage, is not eaſily credible: Their Horſes had almoſt forgot the Taſte of Hay, and there being no Graſs for them, the very Roots of the Herbage were eaten up; they were obliged to feed on the Leaves of Trees, whilſt any could be got, and afterwards upon the Bark of the Willows; and at laſt the poor Soldiers were forc'd to give them the Straw from their Tents, as the ſole Means left to ſubſiſt them.

At the ſame Time that Count *Konigsegg* paſs'd the *Oglio*, General *Wallis* paſs'd the *Po*, in order to inviron the ally'd Army. Count *Konigsegg* came up once with their Rear-Guard, but it gave Way, and little Miſchief was done. The Battlements of *Cremona* are furniſh'd with 160 Pieces of Cannon. *Modena*, *Carpi*, *Reggio*, and *Guaſtalla* having ſmall Garriſons in them, are reckon'd already in the Hands of the *Imperialiſts*; and 'tis ſaid, that the Situation of the Allies is ſuch, that the *Germans* can prevent the Arrival of their Succours, and even ſtarve them out, if they do not engage them.

Letters from *Italy* mention, that the *Imperial* Army was advanc'd into the *Cremoneſe*, very near to that of the Allies; and that the King of *Sardinia*, having diſtributed to his Troops a Quantity of Powder and Ball, after the Rate of 8 Charges a Man, his Majeſty ſpoke to them in a very affectionate Manner, and concluded, *My Friends, we have once more Need of your Courage, the Moment is at hand, that muſt decide our Glory or Deſtruction.* Thoſe Letters add, that the *Imperial* Army conſiſted of full 40,000 Men, and that the Generals were fully determin'd to make a deciſive Puſh. The Cry of the *German* Soldiers ran throughout the whole Army, *Die or Conquer*.

From the *Hague*: That the Negotiations for Peace are at a Stand there, till the Anſwers arrive from the ally'd Courts, with Reſpect to his *Imperial* Majeſty's late Declaration of accepting the Mediation of the Maritime Powers. 'Tis added, that with what Impatience ſoever theſe are expected, News from *Lombardy* is much more ſo; the Effect of a deciſive Battle at *Cremona* being judg'd the likelieſt Means to forward an Accommodation.

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THE LONDON MAGAZINE.

DECEMBER, 1734.

PROCEEDINGS and DEBATES in the *laſt Seſſion* of PARLIAMENT; continued from *Page* 566.

Remainder of the DEBATE *on the Motion for repealing the* Septennial Act.



——l *B*———*en*. Sir, I cannot give my Aſſent to the Queſtion now in your hand. The Repeal of the *Septennial Law* is a Motion I cannot in my Conſcience agree to; for tho' one of the Motives for enacting that Law does not at preſent exiſt in ſuch an apparent Manner, as it did at the Time it was enacted, yet it cannot be ſaid, that even that Motive has now entirely ceaſed; I wiſh with all my Heart it could be juſtly ſaid, that there is not now a *Jacobite* or diſaffected Perſon in the Nation; but I am afraid no ſuch Thing can be juſtly ſaid for many Years to come; and therefore even that Motive, which the Hon. Gentlemen, who have ſpoke upon the other Side of the Queſtion, have ſaid to be the only Motive for enacting that Law, has not yet entirely ceaſed: But, Sir, this was not the only Motive for enacting that Law; if Gentlemen had given Attention to the Preamble of that Law, they would have found many other Reaſons mentioned for enacting it, which are now as ſtrong for continuing it.

It has been ſaid, Sir, that this Law has been attended with ſeveral Inconveniencies, which I cannot ſay I was ever ſenſible of; and I think they have not yet been made ſufficiently appear by any of the Gentlemen who have ſpoke in this Debate; but, granting there were any ſuch, is this a Time to repeal a Law which has been productive of ſo much Good, and which ſo much ſtrengthens his Majeſty's Government, only becauſe it has been found to be attended with a few trifling Inconveniencies? I cannot think that the Gentlemen who talk at this rate are ſo ignorant of human Affairs, as they now pretend to be; they muſt certainly know, that all human Inſtitutions are attended with Inconveniencies, and all that the wiſeſt of Men can do, is to chuſe thoſe Regulations which are attended with the feweſt and leaſt dangerous Inconveniencies, and tend moſt to the Security and the Happineſs of their native Country: When Gentlemen conſider in this Light the *Septennial Law* which now exiſts, and the *Triennial Law* which was for good Reaſons repealed, they will, I believe, at all Times, but eſpecially at the preſent, give the Preference to the former.

Let us, Sir, but conſider the preſent Situation of the Affairs of *Europe*; *Italy* ſwallowed up by *France* and her Allies; numerous Armies on the *Rhine* threatning to penetrate into the very Bowels of the Empire; our old Allies, the *Dutch*, reduced to the low Ebb of begging a Neutrality from *France*, for their Barrier in *Flanders*: In ſuch a State of foreign Affairs, is it to be imagined, that *Great Britain* can remain quiet, or indulge herſelf in a State of Eaſe and Security? No, ſurely, Sir, we muſt concert proper Meaſures to prevent the Balance of Power in *Europe* from being quite overturned: We muſt look in Time to the Preſervation of that Balance

which has already coſt this Nation ſo much Blood and Treaſure; and, at ſuch a Conjuncture, ought we to repeal that Law which ſtrengthens his Majeſty's Hands, gives Steadineſs to his Councils, and adds Weight to his Negotiations with foreign Powers? Or ſhall we ſubſtitute in its Place a Law, which would throw the Nation every 2 or 3 Years into ſuch Diſtractions and Confuſions as Elections are always attended with?

Would not this, Sir, be giving the Enemies of his Majeſty's Government at home, in Conjunction with his Enemies abroad, ſo many Opportunities of diſtreſſing his Majeſty's Government, of throwing all Things into Confuſion, and perhaps of deſtroying that Eſtabliſhment, and that Family to which we owe the Preſervation of all that is dear to us? God forbid, Sir, that this Houſe ſhould be ſo much wanting in the Duty they owe to his Majeſty, and to their Country, as to do any Thing that might tend to the diſtreſſing of his Government, or to the diſturbing the Peace of their Country. I hope the Houſe will excuſe me for taking up ſo much of their Time: I could ſay a great deal more againſt the Motion now before us, but the Subject has been ſo much exhauſted, and every Argument in Favour of it ſo fully anſwered by my worthy Friend under the Gallery, who ſpoke early in this Debate, that I think I need not now add any Thing farther, but ſhall moſt heartily give my Vote againſt it.

W—n W——ms W——n, Eſq; I am ſurpriſed, Sir, to hear it inſinuated by the Hon. Gentleman who ſpoke laſt, as if the Motion now before us was made with a View to diſtreſs his Majeſty's Government, or to diſturb the Peace of the Nation. Such an Inſinuation is really not treating the Gentlemen, who have ſpoke in Favour of this Motion, with that Candour which one Gentleman has Reaſon to expect from another in this Houſe; nor indeed can I look upon it as any Compliment made to his Majeſty or his Government. It is not to be doubted but that his Majeſty, in all the Meaſures he purſues, looks a little further than this Houſe: It is not to be queſtion'd but that his Majeſty looks for the Approbation of the Generality of his People, as well as the Majority of his Parliament; and while his Meaſures are approved of by the Generality of his People, frequent Elections cannot ſurely bring any Diſtreſs upon his Government, but will greatly ſtrengthen it, by ſhewing frequently to his Majeſty, and to the whole World, the true Senſe of the Generality of the People. As to the Peace of the Nation, we know, by Experience, that it was as well preſerved by *Triennial Parliaments*, as ever it was by *Septennial*, ſo that the agreeing to this Motion cannot diſturb the Peace, but the rejecting of it may very probably have ſuch an Effect; for the Generality of the People ſo earneſtly deſire to have *Triennial Parliaments* reſtored to them, that the refuſing to comply with their Deſire cannot but encreaſe the Number of the Diſaffected, which may at laſt throw all Things into Confuſion, and may perhaps deſtroy that Eſtabliſhment, to which we owe every Thing that is dear to us.

I ſhall readily grant, Sir, that ever ſince we have had *Septennial Parliaments*, our Elections have been generally attended with Diſtractions and Confuſions; but I cannot allow that this would be the Caſe if our Elections were *Annual*, or even *Triennial*: They would then be carried on with much leſs Heat and Animoſity; for every Man knows that the Diſturbances about Elections have been much greater ſince the *Septennial Bill* took Place than ever they were before; and I would gladly aſk Gentlemen, if before that Time it was ever known that the Solicitations and Contentions about Elections began 2 Years before the Chuſing of a new Parliament, which is known to be the Caſe at preſent over the whole Kingdom, and which always muſt neceſſarily be the Caſe, it being natural for Men to contend with more Vigour and Heat for a Poſt either of Honour or Profit, that is to be enjoyed for 7 Years, than for one that is to be enjoyed but for one, or for three.

Then, Sir, as to Bribery and Corruption at Elections, I am ſure it has very much increaſed ſince the *Septennial Law* took Place. It is a natural Conſequence of lengthening the Time of a Parliament's Continuance; a Conſequence ſo natural that I am ſurprized to find it ſo much miſtaken as it ſeems to be, by ſome Gentlemen who have ſpoke on the other Side of the Queſtion. It is certain, Sir, that Bribery will never be made uſe of at any Election, but by a Man who has not a ſufficient natural Intereſt in the Place where he declares himſelf a Candidate; and by ſuch we may expect it will always be made uſe of, as far as it can be done with Safety, if the Candidate has but the leaſt Hopes of ſucceeding by ſuch diſhonourable Means; where there happens a Competition, every Elector has a natural Byaſs to vote for one Man rather than another, and every Elector will vote according to his natural Byaſs, if he is not bought off: Whoever endeavours to buy him off, muſt certainly come up to his Price, and this Price will be higher or lower, according to the Elector's Honour and Circumſtances, and the natural Byaſs he has for the other Candidate: A great many Men may be perhaps bought off with 100 or 1000 Guineas, who, if half that Sum were offered, would ſpurn it away with an honeſt Diſdain. I hope, Sir, there are a great many Electors in this King-

dom, whoſe Honour, upon ſuch Occaſions, is above the Power of any ſuch corrupt Temptations, but that there are likewiſe a great many who may be bought, is a Fact which, I believe, no Gentleman in this Houſe will diſpute; and in this View let us examine the Difference between *Triennial* and *Septennial Parliaments*.

Give me Leave then to ſuppoſe two Gentlemen ſet up in Oppoſition to each other, for repreſenting one of our little Boroughs in Parliament; one of them a Country Gentleman, of a great natural Intereſt in the Place, the other a Citizen of *London*, or a Place-Man, not near equal to him in Intereſt, but depending entirely upon the Money he is able to lay out: Suppoſe the Citizen, or Place-Man, comes to a Calculation, and finds that it will coſt him at leaſt 3000*l.* to buy the Country Gentleman out of his Intereſt in that Borough; if the Parliament were to continue but for 3 Years, he would, very probably, reſolve not to be at ſuch an Expence, and ſo would refrain of being guilty of the Crime of corrupting his Countrymen; but when the Parliament is to continue for 7 Years, he may as probably reſolve to be at that Charge: Thus by Corruption he may get a Seat in this Houſe, and it is to be feared, that he who comes in here by Corruption, will not walk out with clean Hands.

Gentlemen are very much miſtaken if they imagine, that the Price of an Elector depends upon the Duration of a Parliament, or that a Man who ſells his Vote for a 100 Guineas at an Election of a *Septennial Parliament*, would ſell his Vote for the Half of that Sum, if the Parliament to be choſen were to continue only for three Years. No, Sir, there are very few of this Sort of Electors, who think of Futurity; the preſent Offer is the Temptation, and the only Temptation that can be of any Weight with them: Beſides, they cannot depend upon having the like Offer made them at the next Election; and 50 Guineas ready Money, with an uncertain Hope of having 50 more three Years hence, is not ſurely ſo great a Price as 100 Guineas ready down: The natural Intereſt of the Country Gentlemen, and the Honour of the Electors, are what the Dealers in Corruption have to contend with, and againſt theſe a ſmall Price cannot be ſo prevalent as one a little higher; ſome may, perhaps, be corrupted by a ſmall Price, but certainly the higher it is, the greater will the Numbers be that are tempted to yield to it; and as a Man may give a higher Price at the Election for a *Septennial Parliament*, than he can do at one for an *Annual* or *Triennial*, therefore the greater the Numbers will be of thoſe who yield to his Temptation, the more he may depend upon Corruption; and the more it is to be depended on, the more general and frequent will it certainly be. From hence it appears evident, that the Increaſe of Bribery and Corruption is as natural a Conſequence of *Septennial Parliaments*, as any one Thing can be conceived to be the Conſequence of another.

There is no Way, Sir, of effectually preventing Corruption but by putting it out of the Power of any Man to corrupt: There is no corrupting any Man but by coming up to his Price; therefore the only Way of putting it out of the Power of any Man to corrupt, is to put it out of the Power of any Man to come up to the Price of any Number of Electors; and this can only be done by making our Elections frequent: The more frequent the better. It is certain, a Gentleman who enjoys a good Penſion for ſeven Years, is more able to give a high Price than if he had enjoyed that Penſion but for one Year, or even for three; and he will more willingly give a high Price, when he is thereby to purchaſe the Continuance of that Penſion for 7 Years, than when he is to purchaſe it only for one or for 3 Years. This, Sir, is ſo evident, that I am aſtoniſhed to hear it controverted within theſe Walls.

If our Parliaments were *Annual*, it would be impoſſible for Place-Men or Penſioners to ſave as much yearly as would be ſufficient to bribe Country Gentlemen out of their Intereſt, and the Electors out of their Honeſty; which I am afraid is a Practice now too frequent in many Parts of this Kingdom: How can it otherwiſe be imagined that the People would chuſe Perſons they never ſaw, Perſons they perhaps never heard of, in Oppoſition to Gentlemen who live in the Neighbourhood, Gentlemen who give them daily Employment, by buying in their Shops and Markets all the Manufactures and Proviſions they have Uſe for in their Families, and Gentlemen whoſe Anceſtors have, perhaps, often repreſented that very Place in Parliament with great Honour and univerſal Approbation? I remember, Sir, I was told by a Gentleman who is now dead, and therefore I may name him, I mean Mr. *Spencer Cooper*, afterwards one of the Judges of the Common Pleas, he told me himſelf that he had never been in the Borough he repreſented in Parliament, nor had ever ſeen or ſpoke with any of his Electors; and I believe I could, without much Difficulty, name ſome who are now in the ſame Situation. Can ſuch, Sir, be called the Repreſentatives of the People, or can it be ſuppoſed that they are choſen by Means of that natural Intereſt by which every Man ought to hold his Seat in this Houſe?

The Parliament, Sir, is the great Council of the Nation, and the Buſineſs of this Houſe in particular is to repreſent to his Majeſty the Grievances of the People, to inform him if any of his Miniſters or Officers make an ill Uſe of the Power he delegates to them, and to impeach and proſecute ſuch evil Miniſters.

Now I would be glad to know who are the moſt proper Repreſentatives for theſe Purpoſes, Gentlemen who have large Properties in the Country, who are independent of the Miniſters and Officers of the Crown, and who by living in the Country are perfectly acquainted with the Circumſtances of the People; or Gentlemen who for their chief Support depend upon the Miniſters and Officers of the Crown, who know nothing of thoſe they repreſent, and are not only ignorant of their true Intereſts, but are really indifferent about their Welfare. I hope it will not be controverted, but that the firſt Sort of Gentlemen are the moſt proper Repreſentatives of the People; and if ſo, *Annual* or *Triennial Parliaments* are better than *Septennial*, becauſe there is a greater Probability of their being chiefly compoſed of ſuch Gentlemen.

As Bribery and Corruption, therefore, is a natural Conſequence of long Parliaments, as it muſt always increaſe in Proportion as the Term for the Parliament's Continuance is prolonged, I am perſuaded that all thoſe who are againſt Bribery and Corruption will join with me in voting for the Reſtitution of *Triennial Parliaments*. It is not the Expence of an Election that Country Gentlemen are to be afraid of; the moſt extravagant Entertainments that a Stranger in the Country could give, would have but little Weight, if to theſe he did not add downright Bribery; and even thoſe Bribes muſt be ſo high as to overbalance the natural Intereſt of the Country Gentleman, as well as the Honeſty of the greateſt Part of the Electors: As theſe Bribes cannot be made ſo high for a *Triennial Parliament*, as they may be for a *Septennial*, they cannot be ſo prevalent among the Electors; and therefore a Gentleman, who depends upon nothing but his natural Intereſt, will always have a better Lay for repreſenting his Country in a *Triennial Parliament*, than he can have for repreſenting it in one which is to continue for 7 Years; for which Reaſon I cannot but think that every Gentleman who has a Mind that his Poſterity ſhall depend for their Seats in Parliament, upon the natural Intereſt they may have in their reſpective Countries, and not upon the Frowns or the Favours of the Miniſter for the Time being, muſt neceſſarily be for our returning to our former Conſtitution in this Reſpect. This, Sir, is, in my Opinion, abſolutely neceſſary, and it muſt be ſoon done, otherwiſe Country Gentlemen, tired out with contending againſt thoſe who purchaſe their Elections, perhaps with the very Money which Country Gentlemen are obliged to pay out of their Eſtates in publick Duties and Taxes, will at laſt have nothing to do but to ſit down and bemoan the Fate of the Country; but their Complaints will then be to very little Purpoſe, for the Doors of that Place, where the Groans of the People ought to be heard, will then be ſhut againſt them; we may depend on it that thoſe, who obtain their Seats in this Houſe by Miniſterial Influence, will, while here, be directed in all their Proceedings by the ſame Sort of Influence, and by none other.

To conclude, Sir, I am very certain there is nothing would be more agreeable to the People in general than the Repeal of the *Septennial Law*, and therefore I, as one of the Repreſentatives of the People choſen without Bribery or Corruption, and as one who has nothing to conſider but the Intereſt of thoſe I repreſent, ſhall moſt readily give my Vote in Favour of the Motion.

Mr. A——ey G——l. I have given all poſſible Attention to what has been ſaid by Gentlemen on both Sides of this Queſtion; and I muſt confeſs, Sir, I cannot yet ſee any Manner of Reaſon for agreeing to the Motion. Gentlemen have been pleaſed to put us in mind of our antient Conſtitution; but it has been ſo often varied and altered, that it would be found very difficult to fix upon a Time when it was ſuch as we ought or would deſire to return to: And if any Time is to be fixed on, we are not ſurely to take the Time when our Conſtitution was weak and in its Infancy, we are certainly to chuſe that Time when it was come to its full Strength and Vigour, which, in my Opinion, is the preſent; but as Gentlemen have mentioned the Claim of Rights, let us examine how it ſtood at that Time, for I am perſuaded it will be agreed to by every Gentleman in this Houſe, that after that Claim was ſettled and confirmed, our Conſtitution was more vigorous than it ever was before that Time; and yet even in our Claim of Rights there is no Mention made of frequent new Parliaments: It is indeed ſaid, that for Redreſs of Grievances, and for amending, ſtrengthening and preſerving the Laws, Parliaments ought to be held frequently; but it is not ſo much as inſinuated that every one of theſe Parliaments ought to be a new Parliament; and as to the Frequency of Parliaments, I am ſure there never was leſs Reaſon for Complaint than ſince the *Septennial Bill* paſſed; for ever ſince that Time the Seſſions have been regularly held, and all of them have been allowed to ſit as long as it was neceſſary or proper they ſhould.

But, Sir, even by the Claim of Rights our Conſtitution was not ſo well regulated or eſtabliſhed as it is at preſent: It was ſtill left in the Power of the King to continue a Parliament as long as he pleaſed, and this certainly might have become a Grievance upon the People. This Overſight the whole Nation were ſenſible of, and this they were willing to obviate; but in all ſuch Caſes People generally run from one Extreme to another; the Paſſions of Men are ſomething like a Pendulum, if they are raiſed too high on one Side, they always

always riſe too high on the other; it requires Time before they come to ſettle in the Equiliſrium of Reaſon. This was the very Caſe with Reſpect to the *Triennial Bill*, which was paſſed in the Reign of K. *William*: The Paſſions of the People were raiſed high againſt the unlimited Prerogative of the Crown, in continuing a Parliament as long as the King had a Mind; this the Enemies of the Government took hold of, in order to introduce a Law by which the Prerogative was in this Reſpect limited too much; for it is well known that the *Triennial Act* was neither introduced nor promoted by the Patrons of Liberty, or the real Friends to that King's Government; it was by thoſe who meant to diſtreſs the Meaſures of that good Prince, to whom their native Country, nay even they themſelves, ſtood ſo much indebted: They at laſt prevailed, they got that Law paſſed, which after a long Experience was found to be of dangerous Conſequence to the Peace of the Nation, and to the Quiet of the Subject; and therefore the *Septennial Bill* was agreed to, which is a moſt reaſonable Mean between the one Extreme of leaving the Prerogative of the Crown in this Reſpect unlimited, and the other Extreme of limiting this Prerogative too much, by laying the Crown under a Neceſſity of calling a new Parliament once in three Years, whether it be conſiſtent with the Peace and Security of the Nation or not: From whence, Sir, I think I have good Reaſon to be of Opinion, that our Conſtitution is now in its utmoſt Perfection. I was indeed glad to hear Encomiums beſtowed by an Hon. Gentleman upon the late K. *William*, becauſe ſuch ſeldom come from the Corner of the Houſe where he ſits; but if that glorious King had been limited to *Septennial Parliaments* only, and not to *Triennial*, the future Happineſs of this Nation would have been better ſecured, and more firmly eſtabliſhed by him; he would not have been obliged to have put an End to the War ſo ſoon as he did, or to have agreed to thoſe Treaties which were afterwards ſo loudly complained of; the Continuance of the War but for a very few Years, might have reduced the Power of *France* ſo low as to have rendered them utterly unable to have made a Conqueſt of *Spain*, and thereby the heavy War which enſued, and which coſt this Nation ſo much Blood and Treaſure, would have been effectually prevented.

Gentlemen have been pleaſed, Sir, to mention frequently to us the Prerogative of the Crown, and to talk of its being grown up to a great Height; but can any Gentleman ſay, that his preſent Majeſty, or the late King his Father, ever made the leaſt Attempt to the Prejudice of the People's Rights, or ever endeavoured to extend any Branch of the Prerogative beyond the Bounds preſcribed to it by Law; and I hope no Gentleman will ſay, that the Prerogative, as now limited and eſtabliſhed, can be dangerous; for while our happy Conſtitution is preſerved, the monarchical Part of it muſt be endowed with ſome Powers and Prerogatives; it muſt have at leaſt thoſe which are neceſſary to ſupport itſelf againſt Faction, and to preſerve that Influence it ought by Law to have in the Government of this Kingdom. And as for the Influence which, as has been ſuppoſed, the Crown may acquire over long Parliaments, it has already had a very proper Anſwer from both the Gentlemen who ſpoke firſt againſt this Motion; for it is very certain, that the long Parliament in K. *Charles* IId's Reign, which has been called the *Penſionary Parliament*, became towards the End ſo very little ſubject to the Influence of the Crown, that they did all they could to ſecure the Liberties of the People againſt the Schemes which were then forming by the Court, and became ſo ſtrenuous in their Endeavours this Way, that the King was at laſt obliged to diſſolve them: This ſhews, that the Length of a Parliament rather diminiſhes than increaſes the Influence of the Crown; and the Hiſtory of every Parliament ſince that Time confirms this Obſervation.

We have been told, that we always ought to have a Dependence on thoſe we repreſent, and that in long Parliaments this Dependence may probably be thrown off; which could never be the Caſe if Parliaments were *Annual*. That we have all a Dependence on the People for our Election, is what, Sir, I ſhall readily grant; but after we are choſen, and have taken our Seats in this Houſe, we have no longer any Dependence on our Electors, at leaſt in ſo far as regards our Behaviour here: Their whole Power is then devolved upon us, and we are in every Queſtion that comes before this Houſe, to regard only the publick Good in general, and to determine according to our own Judgments: If we do not, if we are to depend upon our Repreſentatives, and to follow blindly the Inſtructions they ſend us, we cannot be ſaid to act freely, nor can ſuch Parliaments be called free Parliaments: Such a Dependence would be a moſt dangerous Dependence: It would, in my Opinion, be more dangerous, and of worſe Conſequence than a Dependence upon the Crown; for in a Dependence on the Crown, I can ſee no Danger as long as the Intereſt of the Crown is made the ſame with that of the People, which every Man muſt allow to be the Caſe at preſent; whereas the People of any County, City, or Borough are very liable to be miſled, and may often be induced to give Inſtructions directly contrary to the Intereſt of their Country.

Bribery and Corruption, Sir, are two hideous Words, and are often ſet in the moſt terrible Light. I have, 'tis true, as terrible an Idea of ſuch Practices as any Gentleman in this Houſe; but I cannot think we are in any pre-

preſent Danger from ſuch: Our Conſtitution is ſo happily formed, that it is almoſt impoſſible to overthrow it by ſuch Practices; for before ſuch a Thing can be done, the Generality of the People muſt be corrupted; nay they muſt be ſo far corrupted as to be ready to ſell themſelves for a ſmall Price; for if they inſiſt on a high one there cannot be a Purchaſer: This is a Caſe which I hope never will happen, but if ever it ſhould, I cannot ſee how our Conſtitution could be more ſafe with a *Triennial* than with a *Septennial Parliament*; for I am perſuaded that if a Man will ſell his Vote either in Parliament, or at Elections, for 1000 or 100 Guineas, he will ſell it for half that Sum, when he finds he can get no more: Whatever is once brought to Market, is generally ſold for the Market Price; and we find that the more frequently a Thing is ſold, the lower it falls in its Price, the more contemptible it becomes. People uſually ſuppoſe that Corruption is only of one Sort; but this, Sir, is a Miſtake, it appears in many Shapes; a Man may be bribed without giving him Money; and even Members of this Houſe may be bribed without getting any Place or Preferment from the Government: If any Gentleman, to pleaſe his Borough, and to ſecure his next Election, ſhould act contrary to his own Judgment, it is as downright Bribery as if he had got a Penſion, a Place or Preferment from the Court; and I look upon this as one of the very worſt Sorts of Corruption.

Gentlemen have told us, that *Septennial Parliaments* are attended with many Inconveniences, but they have not been ſo good as to ſhew us any of them, or at leaſt in ſo far as I have yet heard; we have had the Experience of ſuch Parliaments for above theſe 18 Years, and yet I do not find that they have pretended to ſhew any one Inconvenience which has ariſen from them in all that Time; from whence I muſt preſume, that it is not in their Power; and I believe it cannot be ſhewn that ſo many good Laws have paſſed in any ſuch Number of Years, as have been paſſed ſince *Septennial Parliaments* took place: I am ſure it cannot be ſhewn, that any one Law has been paſſed by any of our *Septennial Parliaments*, that incroached upon the Rights of the People, or that was attended with an Inconvenience, or was looked on by the Generality of the People as a Grievance. If ever there were any ſuch, I muſt deſire that the Gentlemen of the other Side of the Queſtion would point them out to us.

But, Sir, I could ſhew many Inconveniences that would certainly enſue from *Triennial* or *Annual Parliaments*: The whole Nation would be kept in a continual Ferment: The Feuds and Diviſions which by every Election are raiſed among Neighbours in the Country would be continually kept up: The Country Gentlemen would be entirely ruined by the Expence of frequent Elections, and an annual Attendance upon this Houſe with Multitudes of Witneſſes, about thoſe that might be conteſted; and a vaſt Encouragement would be given to Drunkenneſs and Idleneſs among all Ranks of Men: We know, when working People have been habituated but for a few Days to Drunkenneſs and Idleneſs, how hard it is to bring them back to their Labour and Induſtry; from whence we muſt conclude, that ſuch frequent Elections would be a great Prejudice to our Huſbandry, to our Manufactures, and to all Sorts of Improvements; for the Drinking and Feaſting about one Election would hardly be over when that for the next would begin: All theſe and many worſe would be the certain Conſequences of *Triennial* or *Annual Elections*; whereas when Elections return but once in 7 Years, the Feuds and Diviſions among Neighbours, and the Ferment the Nation is put into, have Time to ſubſide, the labouring People have Time to cool and return to their Labour; and the Country Gentlemen may eaſily bear the Expence of Elections, becauſe they have ſix Years to recruit, and to lay in a Stock for that Purpoſe.

An Hon. Gentleman ſpoke of *Septennial Parliaments* as neceſſary to ſupport falling Miniſters: How a *Septennial* can be more proper for this Purpoſe than a *Triennial* I cannot really comprehend; but whatever may be in this, I am ſure it is not the Caſe at preſent; for I have been of late in as many Counties and Corporations as any Gentleman, I believe, in this Houſe; and notwithſtanding all the Arts that have been practiſed, and all the Induſtry that has been uſed to give the People a bad Impreſſion of the preſent Adminiſtration, I found the People in every Place I paſſed thro', generally well inclined towards it; and the preſent Parliament, tho' a *Septennial* one, ſtands ſo firmly in the Eſteem and Affections of the People, that I dare ſay we ſhall ſee the greateſt Part of the Gentlemen now in this Houſe re-choſen.

Upon the Whole, Sir, as no Gentleman can, I think, ſhew me any Inconvenience attending *Septennial Parliaments* but what is imaginary; as a great many dangerous Inconveniences always have attended, and always muſt attend *Triennial Parliaments*; and as I am convinced that the Nation in general is very far from deſiring a Repeal of the *Septennial Law*, I am entirely againſt the Queſtion.

W——r P——m——r, Eſq; I own, Sir, I am not a little aſtoniſhed at the Doctrine laid down by the Hon. and learned Gentleman who ſpoke laſt: That after we are choſen we are to give no Attention to our Conſtituents, that we are then to throw aſide all Dependence upon them, is a Doctrine I never before heard in this Houſe; and I am the more ſurpriſed to hear it come from the learned Gentleman, becauſe ſome of our principal Law Books tell us, that in antient Times

his Houſe has often refuſed to agree to Propoſitions made by the Court; for this Reaſon only, that they could not agree to any ſuch new Propoſition, till they went home and conſulted with their Conſtituents. For my own Part, Sir, I ſhall always give the greateſt Attention to the Sentiments of thoſe I repreſent; I ſhall always have a great Regard for their Intereſts, and ſhall never think there is any Danger in having a Dependence upon them.

The learned Gentleman aſked us, If the Prerogative of the Crown had been extended beyond its due Bounds by his late or his preſent Majeſty? Sir, I do not ſay it has: It is a Queſtion cannot properly be anſwered, nor have I heard any ſuch Thing ſo much as inſinuated in this Debate: But I wiſh we would take an Example from the Crown in one Thing: We may obſerve that the Crown never gives a Place or Employment for Life, or for a long Term of Years, except ſuch as cannot be otherwiſe diſpoſed of; and the Reaſon is plain: Were theſe Places given for Life, the Grantee would then be out of the Power of the Crown, and conſequently would not have ſuch a Dependence on the Crown, as thoſe Perſons muſt have who enjoy their Places during Pleaſure only: In this the Crown acts wiſely; and I wiſh we would follow the Example: When I ſay we, I ſpeak of the Gentlemen preſent not as Members of this Houſe, but as a Part of the People of *Great Britain*: It would certainly be the Height of Wiſdom in the People, to keep thoſe they truſt and employ in their Service as much in their Power as poſſible: If thoſe the People choſe to repreſent them in this Houſe, were to continue in that Station only during the Pleaſure of the People, the Repreſentatives would, I believe, have a proper Regard for the Intereſts of the People, and would never think of throwing off all Dependence upon them. As this would, in my Opinion, be a wiſe Step in the People, therefore I muſt be for agreeing to every Thing that may tend this Way; for this Reaſon I cannot but be for the preſent Motion; nay, if *Annual Parliaments* had been moved for, I would have been for the Queſtion.

Another Gentleman over the Way mentioned to us the preſent Situation of *Europe*; and aſked us, If we were to ſit ſtill, and take no Part? This, Sir, is a Queſtion that might be anſwered, if they would let us into the Secret ſo far as to know what is the preſent Situation of *Europe* with reſpect to ourſelves; but this they do not ſeem inclined to do: However, without ſuch an Inſight, I think I may ſay, that we ought to mind our own Buſineſs, and take proper Care of the Intereſts of *Great Britain*; but that we are not to enter headlong into every *German* Quarrel that happens beyond Seas. This may be a very proper Queſtion, and probably will come to be a Queſtion in the firſt Seſſion of the next Parliament: In which Caſe I hope thoſe who have it in their Power, will lay every Thing before this Houſe, that may be neceſſary for giving a proper Anſwer to ſuch an important Queſtion; but how the Members of next Parliament, by being choſen for ſeven Years, ſhould have in the very firſt Seſſion more Knowledge, more Wiſdom, or more Integrity, in the determining of this Queſtion, than if they had been choſen only for three, is what, I muſt confeſs, I cannot comprehend.

The learned Gentleman was ſo good as to tell us, that we had all, or moſt of us, by our Behaviour in this Parliament, eſtabliſhed our Characters ſo firmly among the People, that moſt of us will be choſen again; if ſo, it is to be hoped we will behave as well in the next, and then as many of us as are alive may expect to be choſen a third Time; and if we behave ill, I hope no Gentleman will ſay we ought to continue even for one Year, much leſs for ſeven, in the Station we are in, whether our Repreſentatives will or no. This, Sir, is as proper an Anſwer as can be made to the principal Argument urged againſt frequent Elections; which was, that they would diſtreſs his Majeſty's Government, and render the Meaſures of his Adminiſtration unſteady; for if the ſame Members be upon a new Election generally returned as long as they behave well, ſurely even an *Annual Election* could never diſtreſs his Majeſty's Government, nor render his Miniſters unſteady in the Meaſures they purſue, at leaſt as long as the Members behave well in Parliament; and I hope no King will, I am ſure his Majeſty never will, and I hope no Miniſter ever can depend upon the ill Behaviour of the Members of Parliament for the Support of his Government, or for the Support of the Meaſures he purſues: I ſay, I hope this Caſe never will happen; but leſt it ſhould, the beſt Way to guard againſt it is to have frequent Elections; and therefore I am for the Queſtion.

Sir *W——m L——r*. There is one Reaſon, Sir, which chiefly prevails with me to be againſt your Queſtion: It has been ſaid, that the principal Motive for introducing *Septennial Parliaments* now no longer exiſts; but this I can by no Means agree with, becauſe I am ſure the Number of *Papiſts* has greatly increas'd even ſince the *Septennial Law* took place: And as a true Regard for our own Religion has in the ſame Time very much decreaſed, I am afraid the *Popiſh* Intereſt will daily gain more and more upon us; and the Tranſition from *Popery* to *Jacobitiſm* we know to be ſhort and certain.

Beſides, Sir, there has lately been publiſhed in our Weekly Papers an Eſſay upon Parties; (See p. 15, 25, 32. and Vol. II. p. 517, 556, 564, 570, 610, 625, 630.) who is the Au-

Author of it I do not know, but I have read it, and I think it is the most Jesuitical Performance I ever saw: It could, in my Opinion, be wrote with no other View but to raise Discontents and Jealousies, and to increase the Disaffection to his Majesty's Government; and therefore I cannot be for repealing a Law which greatly strengthens that Government against all such Attempts.

C——les C——cy, Esq; I do not stand up, Sir, to enter into your Debate, but only to take Notice of what was said by the Gentleman who spoke last. I do not know whether the Number of *Papists* be increased since the Time he mentions or not; but I would gladly know from him, which Side in the Elections the *Papists* favour most in that Part of the Country where he lives? For I can affirm, that in all the Parts of *England* which I know, they generally make use of all their Interest in Favour of those Candidates who are recommended by the Ministers: What may be their Reason for such an odd Sort of Conduct I cannot pretend to determine; for surely they do not imagine that the only Game they have to play against his Majesty's Government is to support his Ministers.

G——ge H——te, Esq; I was very much inclined, Sir, to give my Vote for the Question when it was first moved; but now I am more firmly of that Opinion, after what I have heard from the two Hon. Gentlemen who spoke last; for if *Popery* has gained so great Ground in this Nation, since the passing of the *Septennial Law*; and if the *Papists* be in general such Friends to our Ministers, I do not know but in next Parliament many *Papists* may have Seats in this House; and as some of our Ministers have been of late very changeable in their Politicks, I do not know but they may take it in in their Heads to change their Religion too; therefore, for Fear of our having a *Popish* Parliament, and some *Popish* Ministers, I am for repealing the *Septennial Law*, in order to prevent their having Time to do a great deal of Mischief.

Sir *J——n H——de C——n*. Sir, as to all the Parts of *England* I know, I can affirm the Truth of what my worthy Friend by me has said. The *Papists* are in general making use of all their Interest in Favour of those Candidates who are recommended by the Ministers; and an Hon. Gentleman on the Floor, who I believe has no small Share in the present Administration, knows that one of that Religion, who is a Gentleman of one of the best and most antient Families in the County of *Norfolk*, and a Gentleman of one of the best Estates in it, is now riding about the Country, soliciting Votes for his Friends who are Candidates for the County, or for any City or Borough within the County; so that if there has been of late an Increase of *Popery*, it cannot be said that the Interest of the Ministers is thereby weakened; but as to his Majesty's Government, I dare say it cannot be much strengthened by the Addition of such Friends.

An Hon. and learned Gentleman over the Way was pleased to ask us, Sir, If his late or present Majesty had ever made any Attempt to the Prejudice of the Rights of the People, or had endeavoured to extend any Branch of the Prerogative beyond its legal Bounds? To this Question, Sir, I shall not answer one Word, because I know the Gentleman's Office; but I shall answer another Question ask'd by the same Gentleman: He ask'd us, if I remember right, Whether any Law was ever passed by a *Septennial Parliament* that incroached upon the Liberties of the People, or that was attended with an Inconvenience, or was look'd on by the Generality of the People as a Grievance? As to the first Part of this Question, I must really, Sir, look upon the *Septennial Law* itself as some Sort of Incroachment upon the Rights of the People; and that Law, I think, was passed by a Parliament which made itself *Septennial*: But farther, Sir, were not the Laws of Treason, as to Trials, altered by a *Septennial Parliament*, or at least one which made itself so? That Law which had remained unaltered in all the Contests, and the long Wars that happened between the Houses of *York* and *Lancaster*, was altered on a trifling Insurrection in some of the Northern Parts of this Kingdom: Formerly every Man was to be tried by a Jury of his honest Neighbours, within the County where the Crimes alledged against him were said to have been commited; but the *Septennial Parliament* ordered him to be carried away and tried in any County where the Crown, or rather the Minister, could find a Jury proper for their Purpose; and where the Prisoner might not perhaps be able to bring any Witnesses in his own Justification, it might at least have been impossible for him to bring any without a great Expence. And yet farther, Sir, was not the Riot Act passed by a *Septennial Parliament*; and is this no Incroachment upon the Rights of the People? Is it no Grievance that a little dirty Justice of the Peace, the meanest and vilest Tool a Minister can make use of, a Tool who, perhaps, subsists by his being in the Commission, and who may be turned out of that Subsistence whenever the Minister pleases; is this, I say, no Grievance that such a Tool should have it in his Power, by reading a Proclamation, to put perhaps 20 or 30 of the best Subjects in *England* to immediate Death, without any Trial or Form of Law? This Law, Sir, and several others I could name, have been passed by *Septennial Parliaments*; to which, because they stand yet unrepealed, I shall not give the Names I think they deserve.

But

But, Sir, to ask whether any Laws have been passed by *Septennial Parliaments*, which have been attended with Inconveniencies, or have been complained of as a Grievance, is a Question I am surprized to hear come from a Gentleman learned in the Laws. Was not the fatal *South Sea* Scheme, in the Year 1720, established by an Act of a *Septennial Parliament*, and can any Man ask whether that Law was attended with any Inconvenience? It was, Sir, the most scandalous Act that ever was passed by any Parliament; if *Triennial Parliaments* had then been in Being, I am persuaded it would never have passed, or if it had, I am very sure, the chief Promoters of it would have suffered a very different Fate from what they did; and did not the same Parliament pass some Clauses in an Act for hindring the Spreading of the Plague, that were look'd upon by the Generality of the People as so great a Grievance, and were so loudly complained of by all Ranks of People in the Nation, that it was thought proper to repeal them in the very next Session of Parliament?

To the glorious Catalogue I have mentioned of Laws passed by *Septennial Parliaments*, we might have added the late Excise Bill, if it had passed into a Law, but thank God, the *Septennial Parliament* was near expiring before that famous Bill was introduced. To this glorious Catalogue I could add, Sir, not a few others; but I will stop here, till I have heard the Laws I have mentioned justified by those who seem to be so much in love with *Septennial Parliaments*; and if they can justify all that has been done by such Parliaments, I now promise most solemnly to be of their Opinion; but till then I hope they will excuse me, in being for the Repeal of a Law, which in my Opinion has never done any Good, which has produced a great deal of Mischief, and which, I am much afraid, will quite overturn our Constitution, if it continues for any Time unrepealed.

Sir *J——n B--rn--d.* I am a good deal surprised, Sir, to find that none of those Gentlemen who usually have a great Share in our Debates, seem inclined to take any Share in this: I hope they will allow it to be a Question of some Consequence to their Country, and if it should be carried in the Affirmative, some of them may perhaps find it a Question of some Consequence to themselves. I will venture to say, that I have not heard a Question better supported on one Side, and less said against it on the other, by the Gentlemen who have already spoken, since I sat in Parliament; and I now stand up, not that I think any Thing needful to be added to what has been said in Support of it, but that I cannot think of letting a Question go, in the Success of which I think the Happiness of my Country so deeply concerned, without my joining with other Gentlemen in shewing all the Regard for it that lies in my Power.

An Hon. and learned Gentleman has indeed advanced a Doctrine which I think altogether new; That we are to have no further Dependence on our Electors after we have taken our Seats in this House; nay, that a Dependence on them would be more dangerous than a Dependence on the Crown: This, Sir, is really, in my Opinion, something very new; tho' that Gentleman may perhaps like the one better than the other, yet I shall always look upon a Dependence on the People of *England*, or even upon those I represent, to be less dangerous and more honourable, than a Dependence on the Crown; and I value myself more on the Honour I have had of sitting here for two Parliaments, as one of the Representatives of the People of *England*, and by the free and uncorrupted Choice of those I represent, than I should do on the greatest Honours the Crown can bestow. Indeed if I had obtained my Seat here by Bribery, or the illegal and corrupt Influence of any great Minister, I should look on it in a very different Light; I should look on it as one of the most disgraceful Stations I could be in.

It has been affirmed by several Gentlemen, who have spoken on the other Side of the Question, that the longer Parliaments continued the less Influence the Crown had upon them; and for a Proof of this they have instanced the long Parliament in K. *Charles* IId's Reign. The same Gentlemen have likewise asserted, that *Triennial Parliaments* would distress his Majesty's Government: How these two Assertions are compatible I leave to the Gentlemen themselves to explain; for to me it appears impossible that both can be true; because if the Crown has always the less Influence in a Parliament the longer it continues, surely the shortning the Time of its Duration cannot distress any King's Government. But as to the long Parliament in King *Charles*'s Time, tho' they did not towards the End shew the same servile Compliance they had done for many Years before, yet it is plain that the Crown thought that Parliament fitter for the Purposes of the Court at that Time, than they could expect any new Parliament chosen by the People to be; otherwise, as the King had it in his Power, he would certainly have dissolved them much sooner: And if that long Parliament really deserved the Name usually given to it, we must conclude, that their Non-compliance at last was not owing to their Virtue, or a Want of Inclination to receive, but to a Want of Power in the Crown to give. The People were not then accustomed to bear such heavy Burdens, as they do at present; the Revenues of the Crown were not so large, nor the Posts and Places at the Disposal of the

Crown so numerous; there was not such a numerous standing Army to support the Parliament, in case they had gone on in the same servile Method: And as the Complaints of the People grew loud and clamorous; as there was little to be got, and a great deal to be apprehended, by the Continuance of a servile Compliance, it is very probable that these were the true Reasons of that Parliament's becoming at last so restive: And if the Nation was now in the same State it was at that Time, I should not be half so much afraid of *Septennial Parliaments* as I think I have now good Reason to be.

The Animosities, Disputes and Divisions about Elections, have been set in the most dreadful Light, and have been represented as so great an Inconvenience, that we ought to run the Risque of having our Constitution overturned, rather than submit to it. But, Sir, can it be imagined that there would be the same Contention for a Seat in Parliament which was to continue but for one Year, or even for three, that there is for one which is to continue for seven: The Example of the City of *London* plainly shews us the contrary: As the Common Council Men, and a great many other Officers in the City are chosen annually, I have had Occasion to be often present at these annual Elections, and never could find that they were attended with any great Heats and Animosities, or with any Inconvenience; for after the Election is over, the contending Parties go home, and live in the same Friendship they did before; and I am convinced the Case would be the very same if annual Elections for Members of this House were restored: The same Man might perhaps be continued and rechosen every Year for many Years together, probably without any Dispute or Opposition, but his being liable every Year to be turned out, would be a continual Check upon his Behaviour, and would make him study the Interests of the People, instead of pursuing only some private and selfish Views of his own.

Even as Elections stand at present, there would be no such Contentions, nor any such Heats and Animosities as we hear of, if they were left entirely to Gentlemen who have a natural Interest in the Place: In such Case, if a Candidate found himself defeated by fair Means only, and merely by the superior Interest of his Antagonist, it would not raise his Indignation, it would occasion no Heats or Animosities, he would wait with Patience for a new Opportunity, and in the mean Time would endeavour to recommend himself to his Country by Acts of Hospitality and Benevolence. It is Ministers of State intermeddling in Elections, it is Election Brokers, and such Dealers in Corruption, that occasion all the Heats and Animosities we have; for when a Gentleman of a great natural Interest sees his Electors obliged by Power, or bribed by Money, to vote against him, perhaps in Favour of an utter Stranger, it cannot but raise his Indignation; it may indeed justly raise his utmost Fury and Revenge.

It is certain, Sir, that if the People were entirely left to themselves, they would, without much Contention, always chuse those Gentlemen who, by having large Properties of their own, might be reasonably supposed to be such as would take the best Care of the Properties of their fellow Subjects: But if the People should ever begin to see their Representatives making their Seats in Parliament Places of Profit, and bartering their Votes and their Behaviour in Parliament for Posts, Places and Pensions, the People will soon follow the Example of their Representatives, and will insist upon sharing with them in the Profits. Thus, by Degrees, the Minds of the People will be debauched, they will be brought to think, that the selling their Votes at Elections is no Crime, the Representatives who buy their Seats must sell their Votes, and at last all Regard for the publick Good, will be generally laid aside by all Sorts of Men. The only effectual Method, Sir, of preventing this fatal Effect, is to restore annual Elections; for then it would be impossible even for the Treasury itself (if ever the publick Money should come to be so misapplied) to issue yearly, Sums of Money sufficient to get the better of the natural Interest, which Country Gentlemen always have in the Places where they and their Families have perhaps for many Generations resided; the Consequence of which will be, that none but Country Gentlemen, and those who have a natural Interest in the Place, will ever appear as Candidates; and thus neither the Morals of the People will be debauched, nor their Properties plundered, nor their Liberties destroyed by those Election Brokers, and Ministerial Agents, or their Candidates, who never can be employed or set up but for such base Purposes.

As for our Credit abroad, which, it is pretended, *Septennial Parliaments* very much contribute to, I think it is evident that it has been sinking ever since the *Septennial Law* took place; which confirms what was justly observed by an Hon. Gentleman, that the Credit of the Nation among Foreigners does not depend upon the Length or Shortness of our Parliaments, but upon that Correspondence and Confidence which ought always to be kept up between the King and his People. I will not say that this Decay of our Credit abroad has been altogether owing to the *Septennial Law*; but I dare say, if our Parliaments had not been *Septennial*, they would probably before now have enquired into the Conduct of those who have been the Causes of this Decay; and whatever Reasons the Decay of our Credit among Foreigners may have been owing to, it is now come to so low an Ebb, that we

we really ſeem to have almoſt none to loſe. This, I am ſorry to ſay it, ſeems to be our Caſe at preſent; and as I think nothing can ſo effectually reſtore our Credit abroad, as the reſtoring our Conſtitution at home, I ſhall therefore give my Vote for the Queſtion.

Sir *W——m Y——ge*. I can aſſure you, Sir, I did not ſit ſtill becauſe I thought much had been ſaid in this Debate upon one Side of the Queſtion, and nothing upon the other, but becauſe after what has been offered by my worthy Friend under the Gallery, who ſpoke early in the Debate, and the Hon. and Learned Gentleman who ſpoke ſome Time ago againſt the Queſtion, I thought it might be look'd on as Vanity in me to pretend to add any Thing to what had been ſaid: Indeed I am ſtill of the ſame Opinion, and ſhould have continued in my Reſolution of not giving you any Trouble this Day, had not the Hon. Gentleman over the Way thrown out what I take to be a very uncandid Reflection upon my Hon. and learned Friend.

My learned Friend happen'd to make an Obſervation, which I ſtill think a very juſt one; he ſaid, that after we are returned and have taken our Seats in this Houſe, we ought not any longer to have a Dependence upon thoſe we repreſent. This the Hon. Gentleman laid hold of, he not only called it a new and very extraordinary Doctrine; but he drop'd an Expreſſion ſuch as I think ought not to be made uſe of in this Houſe: As to the Obſervation made by my learned Friend, he certainly meant, and I believe almoſt every Gentleman underſtood him, that after we have taken our Seats in this Houſe we ought, every one of us, to look upon ourſelves as one of the Repreſentatives of the whole Body of the Commons of *England*, and ought not to have any particular Byaſs for the County, City, or Borough we repreſent. This, Sir, is ſo far from being a Doctrine very extraordinary, or altogether new, that I wiſh every Gentleman in this Houſe would make it a ſtanding Rule for his Conduct; for I cannot help obſerving, that there are ſome Gentlemen in the Houſe who on many Occaſions confine their Thoughts too much to the particular County, City, or Borough they repreſent; but ſurely they muſt be ſenſible, that many Things may happen in Parliament which may be for the Intereſt of the Nation in general, tho' they may not perhaps quadrate ſo exactly with the particular Intereſts of *London*, *Briſtol*, *Liverpool*, or other like City; and in ſuch a Caſe the Gentlemen muſt ſurely grant, that as Members of this Houſe, they ought to drop not only their Dependence upon, but even their Concern for the particular City they repreſent, in order to concur with the reſt of the Members of this Houſe in what they judge to be for the general Intereſt of the Nation.

This, Sir, I thought myſelf obliged to ſay in Vindication of my learned Friend; but as to the Queſtion itſelf I ſhall give you but very little Trouble; for tho' I muſt do the Gentlemen who introduced this Motion, the Juſtice to own, that they did it with as much Candour, and in as pretty a Manner as I ever heard any Queſtion introduced in this Houſe, yet all the Arguments they made uſe of were ſo fully anſwered, and the Objections againſt their Motion ſtated in ſo clear a Light, by the two worthy Gentlemen who ſpoke firſt againſt their Motion, that I cannot agree to it; and indeed, as I believe we owe the Happineſs of having the preſent Royal Family upon the Throne, and the Liberty of debating any Queſtion in this Houſe, chiefly to the *Septennial Law*, I ſhall never agree to the Repeal of that Law, without ſeeing much ſtronger Reaſons for it than I have hitherto heard offered.

One of the great Inconveniencies ſaid to attend *Septennial Parliaments* is, that they heighten and increaſe thoſe Heats and Animoſities which are uſually raiſed among the People about the Time of Elections; but this I cannot agree to, becauſe it is well known that thoſe Heats and Animoſities roſe to as great a Height, nay to a much greater, during the Continuance of *Triennial Parliaments* than they ever did ſince that Time; from whence we may obſerve, that the Violence of thoſe Heats and Animoſities does not depend upon the quick or ſlow Return of Elections, but upon the Temper of the People at the Time. In every Nation there ariſes ſometimes a general Ferment among the People, ſometimes without any viſible Cauſe, and often from Cauſes in themſelves unjuſt: In this Nation, if an Election for a new Parliament ſhould come on when the Nation is in any ſuch Ferment, the Heats and Animoſities at that Time would certainly become extremely violent, nay ſo violent as to endanger the Peace of the Kingdom; and if we had *Annual* or even *Triennial Parliaments*, no ſuch Ferment could ever happen but what would probably be attended with an Election, by which the Nation might be involved in ſuch frequent Diſorders and Confuſions, as might at laſt make us a Prey for ſome foreign Enemy, which, in my Opinion, is a Danger much more to be apprehended, than any Danger our Conſtitution can be in from having our Parliaments *Septennial*.

Another Inconvenience is, that *Septennial Parliaments* increaſe and give Encouragement to Bribery and Corruption. That there is Bribery and Corruption, that there always has been Bribery and Corruption, is a Fact I ſhall not diſpute: But, Sir, that the Increaſe or Decreaſe of that Vice depends upon the frequent or the rare Return of Elections, I

what I cannot agree to; for I am convinced it will always depend upon the Virtue of the People in general, and the Humour they happen to be in at the Time. I wish Bribery and Corruption of all Kinds could be prevented; but the Evil I am afraid is inevitable; for notwithstanding the many express Laws against it, and the severe Law made but little while ago for preventing it, yet we find that Methods have been contrived for evading all those Laws, either by giving great Entertainments and great Plenty of Victuals, or by some more secret and corrupt Practices; so that the only Way to prevent the Growth of this Evil, is to preserve the Virtue of the People; and I believe the best Way to preserve the Virtue of the People, is to give them as few Opportunities as possible for being vicious; from whence I must conclude, that for obviating this Inconvenience, *Septennial Parliaments* are better than *Triennial*.

If so many and so great Inconveniences have been felt all over the Nation from *Septennial Parliaments*, if so great Complaints have been made, it is very strange, Sir, that no Attempt has been made, ever since the passing of that Law, for the Repeal of it: But the Time now chosen for making that Attempt, shews plainly with what View it is made: It is now the last Session of a Parliament, a new Election must soon come on, and as this Motion has an Appearance of Popularity among the meaner Sort of Electors, it may be of Service to some Gentlemen at the next Elections: And as to the Contentions about these Elections beginning so early, I do not know by whom they were begun, but I believe they have been set on Foot on purpose to furnish Gentlemen with Arguments in this Day's Debate; and an Hon. Gentleman has accordingly taken hold of it, and has made use of those Contentions so early begun, as an Argument against *Septennial Parliaments*.

Another Hon. Gentleman has given us a glorious Catalogue, as he was pleased to call it, of Laws passed by *Septennial Parliaments*; but I think he ought in a particular Manner to have guarded against putting the Riot Act into that Catalogue, for he knows it was founded on the same Motive with the *Septennial*: It was absolutely necessary for the Safety of the Government, and had it not been for some Executions in *Fleetstreet*, in Consequence of that Act, I am persuaded it would not have been possible to have preserved the Peace of the Kingdom at that Time; and I must say, that it is somewhat very strange to hear Gentlemen arguing against Contentions and Riots at Elections, and at the same Time complaining of that Law which was made for preventing of Riots upon any Occasion. As to the Law for regulating Trials in Cases of Treason, there never was a more reasonable Law passed in Parliament: Is it not at all Times absolutely inconsistent with the Safety of the Government, nay is it not in itself ridiculous, that Rebels and Traitors should be tried by a Jury of their own Friends and Relations, embarked in the same wicked Designs, and as much disaffected to the Government as the Prisoners at the Bar? Can it be expected that such a Jury will ever find the Prisoners guilty; and therefore when whole Counties had rebelled, what could have been more reasonable than the sending the Rebels of those Counties to be tried in other Counties, where an honest and disinterested Jury might be found, and as that Law was confined to the Rebels then in Custody, or such as should be taken within a short Time after, I am surprized to hear it found Fault with.

We have been told that the Nation in general desires the Repeal of the *Septennial Law*, and that Instructions have been sent up to several Members for that Purpose. As to the Desires of the Nation in general, it is a Fact not easy to be determin'd; I do not know but the Mob, I mean such as have no Business with Elections, may generally desire the Repeal of this Law, because they would then have an Opportunity of getting drunk, committing Riots, and living idly, much oftener than they have at present; but as to all those who have any Right to vote at Elections, I am convinced the Generality of them desire no such Thing. And as for those Instructions that may have been sent up to Members, no Man is ignorant how they are usually obtain'd: I saw a Copy of one of them lately in one of our Evening News-Papers, and by the Stile of it I may leave any Gentleman to judge, what Sort of Persons they were who sent it, or rather obtained its being sent. As the Memory of K. *William* will always, they know, be reverenced in *England*, by all those who are attached to the true Interest of their Country, these Instructions take particular Notice, that the *Triennial Law* was passed in the Reign of our great Deliverer, K. *William*, of glorious and immortal Memory: But does not every Man, who has read the History of his Reign, know, that that Law was promoted by those who were perhaps Friends to the Revolution, but Enemies to the then Administration, co-operating with those who were Enemies to both.

In short, Sir, the *Septennial Law*, as well as the Riot Act, passed for the Safety and Establishment of the present Government; and, as I think in my Conscience, the Repeal of either of them would endanger the Government, I am therefore heartily against your Question.

Sir *W*——*m W*——*m*. Sir, the Hon. Gentleman who spoke last, in vindicating

as he called it, his learned Friend, threw out a very unfair Reflection upon the Conduct of a worthy Gentleman under the Gallery, whoſe Behaviour in Parliament I have been a Witneſs of, and I can ſay without Flattery, it has been as even and as honourable as the Behaviour of any Gentleman in this Houſe; and if the Hon. Gentleman thinks otherwiſe, I dare ſay he is ſingle in his Opinion: He is, I believe, the only Man, either in the Houſe or out of it, who thinks ſo; I wiſh the Behaviour of every other Gentleman, I will not ſay in this, but in former Parliaments, had been as unexceptionable; for if it had, I am very ſure we ſhould have had no Occaſion for this Day's Debate.

The Obſervation made by the learned Gentleman, which the Hon. Gentleman took up ſo much Time to explain, was without Exception; it was juſt, it was plain, and therefore wanted neither an Explanation nor a Vindication; but, Sir, what the worthy Gentleman under the Gallery, and others as well as he, took Notice of, was an Expreſſion that fell from the learned Gentleman, I dare ſay, without Deſign: He ſaid that we were to have no Dependence upon our Conſtituents; he went further, he ſaid it was a dangerous Dependence; nay he went further ſtill, and ſaid, it was more dangerous than a Dependence on the Crown: This my worthy Friend took Notice of, and with his uſual Modeſty, called it a new Doctrine. It is, Sir, not only a new Doctrine, but it is the moſt monſtrous, the moſt ſlaviſh Doctrine was ever heard, and ſuch as I hope no Man will ever dare to ſupport within theſe Walls; I am perſuaded, Sir, the learned Gentleman did not mean what the Words he happened to make uſe of may ſeem to import; for tho' the People of a County, City, or Borough may be miſled, and may be induced to give Inſtructions contrary to the true Intereſt of their Country, yet I hope he will allow, that in Times paſt the Crown has been oftener miſled, and conſequently we muſt conclude, that it is more apt to be miſled in Time to come, than we can ſuppoſe the People to be.

As to the Conteſts about the next Election, Sir, that they were begun a long while ago, is a certain Fact, but who the Beginners were may not be ſo certain, or at leaſt not ſo generally known; and the Hon. Gentleman who ſpoke laſt ſeemed to be ignorant, or indeed rather to miſtake who were the Beginners of them; but if he pleaſes to look about him, he may ſee one not far diſtant from him, who, by his Agents, was the firſt and the principal Beginner of them in moſt Parts of the Kingdom. To ſee them begin ſo ſoon, is no new Thing, Sir; it is a ſtale miniſterial Artifice; it has been practiſed ever ſince *Septennial Parliaments* took place, and will be as long as they continue: Miniſters of State know well how unequal the Contention is between a Country Gentleman, who has nothing but his own Eſtate (greatly exhauſted by the many Taxes he pays) to depend on, and miniſterial Election-Mongers, ſupplied by Gentlemen in Office, who have for 7 Years been heaping up Money for that Purpoſe, or perhaps ſupplied even by the publick Treaſure of the Nation; and the ſooner this Contention begins, the greater Diſadvantage the Country Gentlemen labour under, the more Time thoſe Tools of Corruption have to practiſe upon the Electors, and to diſcover where that Money may be placed to the beſt Advantage, which is iſſued for corrupting the People, and overturning the Conſtitution: From hence it is obvious who have been, and who will always be the firſt Beginners of ſuch Contentions.

The learned Gentleman (as well as ſome others, particularly an Hon. Gentleman under the Gallery, who ſpoke early in the Debate, and who indeed ſaid as much, and in as handſome a Manner as can, in my Opinion, be ſaid againſt the Queſtion) has told us, that our Conſtitution has been often varied; and that there was no Time when it was ſuch as we ought, or would deſire, to return to. Sir, it is not to be doubted but our Conſtitution has often varied, and perhaps there is no Time when it was without a Fault; but I will affirm, there is no Time in which we may not find ſome good Things in our Conſtitution: There are now, there have been in every Century ſome good Laws exiſting: Let us preſerve thoſe that are good; if any of them have been aboliſhed, let them be reſtored; and if any of the Laws now in being are found to be attended with Inconveniencies, let them be repealed: This is what is now deſired, this is what the People have Reaſon to expect from Parliament; there is nothing now deſired but what the People have a Right to; they have now, they always had a Right to frequent new Parliaments; and this Right was eſtabliſhed and confirmed even by the Claim of Rights, notwithſtanding what the learned Gentleman has ſaid to the contrary. At the Time of the Revolution, nay at the preſent Time, at all Times, the Word Parliament, in the common Way of Speaking, comprehends all the Seſſions held from one Election to another: That this is the common Meaning of the Word I appeal to every Gentleman in this Houſe; and for this Reaſon thoſe Patriots, who drew up our Claim of Rights, could not imagine that it was neceſſary to put in the Word *New*: They could not ſo much as dream that the two Words, *Frequent Parliaments*, would afterwards be interpreted to mean, *Frequent Seſſions of Parliament*; but the Lawyers, who are accuſtomed to confound the Senſe of the

the plaineſt Words, immediately found out, that a Seſſion of Parliament was a Parliament, and that therefore the Words *Frequent Parliaments*, meant only *Frequent Seſſions*: This Quirk the Lawyers found out immediately after the Revolution; this Quirk the Courtiers at that Time caught hold of; and this ſet the People anew upon the Vindication of their Rights, which they obtained by the *Triennial Bill*: By that Bill the Right of the People to frequent new Parliaments, was eſtabliſhed in ſuch clear Terms as not to be miſunderſtood; and God forgive them who conſented to the giving it up.

I am extremely ſurprized, Sir, to hear it ſaid, that the *Triennial Bill* was introduced by the Enemies to the Revolution. I will not ſay that it was introduced by the Courtiers at that Time: We ſeldom ſee ſuch Bills introduced by ſuch Gentlemen; but does not every one know, that it was my Lord *Somers* who was the chief Promoter of that Bill, and that moſt of thoſe who ſupported him in it were Gentlemen who had been deeply concerned in bringing about the Revolution? 'Tis true, the Courtiers oppoſed it, and even K. *William* himſelf, by the Advice of ſome wicked Miniſters, refuſed to paſs it the firſt Time it was offered; but when it came back again to him he was better adviſed; and if he had not paſſed it, he had not done what he ought to do, he had not done all he came to do, nor that which when he came he promiſed to do, which was to reſtore the People to the full Enjoyment of all their Rights and Privileges.

To pretend, Sir, that the *Triennial Bill* was introduced with a View of diſtreſſing K. *William*'s Government, is really caſting a Reflection upon his Government; for to tell us, that the People's claiming thoſe Rights, which he came to eſtabliſh, was a diſtreſſing of his Government, is to tell us, that his Government was contrary to the Rights of the People, which is, in my Opinion, a very high Reflection, and ſuch a one as the Gentlemen, who tell us ſo, would not patiently hear caſt upon that Reign by others. The other Pretence, that *Triennial Parliaments* were the Cauſe of his putting an End to the War, or of that Treaty which was ſo much complained of, is, I am ſure, as groundleſs; for the ſecond War was begun and carried on with great Succeſs, under the Influence of *Triennial Parliaments*, till the Balance of Power was fully reſtored, and ſo firmly eſtabliſhed, that *France* has never ſince endeavoured to make the leaſt Incroachment upon any of her Neighbours: What ſome late Meaſures may encourage her to do hereafter, I ſhall not pretend to determine; but this Nation has ever ſince that Time enjoyed what I think I may call a profound Tranquillity, which, if the *Triennial Law* had remained in Force, we would, I believe, have made a much better Uſe of, than we now ſeem to have done.

The learned Gentleman has told us, that the *Septennial Law* is a proper Medium between the unlimited Power of the Crown, and the limiting that Power too much; but, Sir, before he had fixed on this as a Medium, he ſhould firſt have diſcovered to us the two Extremes. I will readily allow, that an unlimited Power in the Crown, with reſpect to the continuing of Parliaments, is one Extreme; but the other I cannot really find out; for I am very far from thinking, that the Power of the Crown was too much limited by the *Triennial Law*, or that the Happineſs of the Nation was any way injured by it, or can ever be injured by frequent Elections. As to the Power of the Crown, it is certain, that as long as the Adminiſtration of publick Affairs is agreeable to the Generality of the People, were they to chuſe a new Parliament every Year, they would chuſe ſuch Repreſentatives as would moſt heartily concur in every Thing with ſuch an Adminiſtration; ſo that even an *Annual Parliament* could not be any Limitation of the juſt Power of the Crown; and as to the Happineſs of the Nation, it is certain, that Gentlemen will always contend with more Heat and Animoſity about being Members of a long Parliament, than about being Members of a ſhort one; and therefore the Elections for a *Septennial Parliament* muſt always diſturb the Peace, and injure the Happineſs of the Nation, more than the Elections for an *Annual* or *Triennial Parliament*: Of this the Elections in the City of *London*, mentioned by my worthy Friend, are an evident Demonſtration.

As to the Elections coming on when the Nation is in a Ferment, it is ſo far from being an Objection to frequent Elections, that it is, in my Opinion, a ſtrong Argument in Favour of them; becauſe it is one of the chief Supports of the Freedom of the Nation. It is plain, that the People ſeldom or never were in a Ferment but when Incroachments were made upon their Rights and Privileges; and when any ſuch are made, it is very proper, nay it is even neceſſary that the People ſhould be allowed to proceed to a new Election, in order that they may chuſe ſuch Repreſentatives as will do them Juſtice, by puniſhing thoſe who have been making Incroachments upon them; otherwiſe one of theſe two Effects muſt very probably enſue: Either the Ferment will break out into an open Inſurrection, or the Incroachment that has been made may happen to be forgot before a new Election comes on, and then the Invaders of the People's Rights will have a much better Lay for getting ſuch a new Parliament choſen, as will not only free them from all Puniſhment, but will confirm the Incroach-

ments

ments that have been made, and encourage the making of new. Thus the Rights of the People may be nibbled and curtailed by Piecemeal, and ambitious Criminals may at laſt get themſelves ſo firmly ſeated, that it will be out of the Power of the People to ſtop their Career, or to avoid the Chains they are preparing.

Now, Sir, to return to the Power of the Crown, which the learned Gentleman has told us was too much limited by the *Triennial Law*; I think I have made it plain, that the juſt Power of the Crown cannot poſſibly be limited by frequent Elections, and conſequently could not be too much limited by the *Triennial Law*; but by long Parliaments the Crown may be enabled to aſſume, and to make uſe of an unjuſt Power. By our Conſtitution the only legal Method we have of vindicating our Rights and Privileges againſt the Encroachments of ambitious Miniſters is by Parliament; the only Way we have of rectifying a weak or wicked Adminiſtration is by Parliament; the only effectual Way we have of bringing high and powerful Criminals to condign Puniſhment is by Parliament; but if ever it ſhould come to be in the Power of the Adminiſtration to have a Majority of this Houſe depending upon the Crown, or to get a Majority of ſuch Men returned as the Repreſentatives of the People, the Parliament will then ſtand us in no ſtead. It can anſwer none of theſe great Purpoſes; the whole Nation may be convinced of the Weakneſs or Wickedneſs of thoſe in the Adminiſtration, and yet it may be out of the Nation's Power, in a legal Way, to get the Fools turned out, or the Knaves hanged.

This Misfortune, Sir, can be brought upon us by nothing but by Bribery and Corruption; and therefore there is nothing we ought to guard more watchfully againſt. And an Hon. Gentleman who ſpoke ſome Time ago, on the ſame Side with me, has ſo clearly demonſtrated, that the Elections for a *Septennial Parliament* are more liable to be influenced by Corruption than thoſe for a *Triennial*, that I am ſurpriſed his Argument ſhould be miſtaken, or not comprehended: But it ſeems the moſt certain Maxims, the plaineſt Truths, are now to be controverted or denied. It has been laid down as a Maxim, and I think it is a moſt infallible Maxim, that a Man will contend with more Heat and Vigour for a Poſt, either of Honour or Profit, which he is to hold for a long Term, than he will do for one he is to hold for a ſhort Term: This has been controverted. It has been laid down as a Maxim, and I think equally infallible, that 100 Guineas is a more powerful Bribe than 50: This has been denied. Yet nevertheleſs I muſt beg Leave to puſh this Argument a little further.

Let us ſuppoſe, Sir, a Gentleman at the Head of the Adminiſtration, whoſe only Safety depends upon corrupting the Members of this Houſe: This may now be only a Suppoſition, but it is certainly ſuch a one as may happen; and if ever it ſhould, let us ſee whether ſuch a Miniſter might not promiſe himſelf more Succeſs in a *Septennial* than he could in a *Triennial Parliament*. It is an old Maxim, that every Man has his Price, if you can but come up to it: This, I hope, does not hold true of every Man, but I am afraid it too generally holds true; and that of a great many it may hold true is what, I believe, was never doubted of; tho' I don't know but it may now likewiſe be denied. However let us ſuppoſe this diſtreſſed Miniſter applying to one of thoſe Men who has a Price, and is a Member of this Houſe: In order to engage this Member to vote as he ſhall direct him, he offers him a Penſion of 1000*l.* a Year; if it be but a *Triennial Parliament*, will not the Member immediately conſider within himſelf: If I accept of this Penſion, and vote according to Direction, I ſhall loſe my Character in the Country, I ſhall loſe my Seat in Parliament the next Election, and my Penſion will then of Courſe be at an End; ſo that by turning Rogue I ſhall get but 3000*l.* this is not worth my while; and ſo the Miniſter muſt either offer him perhaps the double of that Sum, or otherwiſe he will probably determine againſt being corrupted; but if the Parliament were *Septennial*, the ſame Man might perhaps ſay within himſelf, I am now in for 7 Years, by accepting of this Penſion I ſhall have at leaſt 7000*l.* this will ſet me above Contempt; and if I am turned out at the next Election, I do not value it, I'll take the Money in the mean Time. Is it not very natural to ſuppoſe all this? And does not this evidently ſhew, that a wicked Miniſter cannot corrupt a *Triennial Parliament* with the ſame Money with which he may corrupt a *Septennial*.

Again, Suppoſe this Miniſter applies to a Gentleman who has purchaſed, and thereby made himſelf Member for a Borough, at the Rate of, perhaps, 1500*l.* beſides travelling Charges and other little Expences: Suppoſe the Miniſter offers him a Penſion of 500*l.* a Year to engage his Vote, will not he naturally conſider, if it be a *Triennial Parliament*, that if he cannot get a higher Penſion he will loſe Money by being a Member? and ſurely if he be a right Burgeſs, he will reſolve not to ſell at all, rather than ſell his Commodity for leſs than it coſt him; and if he finds he cannot ſell at all, he will probably give over ſtanding a Candidate again upon ſuch a Footing; by which not only he, but many others, will be induced to give over dealing in corrupting the Electors at the next Election: But in Caſe it be a *Septennial Parliament*, will he not then probably accept of the 500*l.* Penſion, if he be one of thoſe Men that has a Price? Be-

cauſe he concludes that for 1500*l.* he may always ſecure his Election; and every Parliament will put near 2000*l.* in his Pocket, beſides reimburſing him all his Charges. After viewing the preſent Queſtion in this Light, is it poſſible, Sir, not to conclude, that *Septennial Parliaments*, as well as the Elections for ſuch, muſt always be much more liable to be influenced by Corruption, than *Triennial*, or the Elections for *Triennial*?

For my own Part, Sir, I have been often choſen, I have ſat in Parliament above theſe 20 Years, and I can ſay with Truth, that neither at my Election, nor after my Return, no Man ever dared to attempt to let me know what is meant by Bribery and Corruption; but I am ſorry to hear the Impoſſibility of preventing it mentioned, and mentioned too, Sir, within theſe Walls. The Hon. Gentleman who ſpoke laſt, told us the Evil of Corruption was inevitable: If I were ſo unhappy as to think ſo, I ſhould look upon my Country to be in the moſt melancholy Situation. Perhaps it may be the Way of thinking among thoſe he keeps Company with; but I thank God I have a better Opinion of my Countrymen; and ſince it appears to be a Way of thinking among ſome Gentlemen, it is high Time to contrive ſome Method of putting it out of their Power to corrupt the Virtue of the People, for we may depend on this as a certain Maxim, that thoſe who think they cannot gain the Affections of the People, will endeavour to purchaſe their Proſtitution; and the beſt Way to prevent the Succeſs of their Endeavours, is to raiſe the Price ſo high as to put it out of the Power of any Man, or of any Set of Men to come up to it. If a Parliament is to be purchaſed, if Elections are to be purchaſed, it is manifeſt the corrupting of *Triennial* muſt, upon the Whole, coſt a great deal more than the corrupting of *Septennial Elections* or *Parliaments*. Therefore, in order to put it out of the Power of any Man, or of any Adminiſtration, to purchaſe the Proſtitution of a Parliament, or of the People, let us return to *Triennial Parliaments*; and if that will not do, let us return to *Annual Elections*, which, I am very certain, would render the Practice of Corruption impoſſible. This, Sir, is now the more neceſſary, becauſe of the many new Poſts and Places of Profit which the Crown has at its Diſpoſal, and the great Civil Liſt ſettled upon his preſent Majeſty, and which will probably be continued to his Succeſſors: This, I ſay, urges the Neceſſity for frequent new Parliaments, becauſe the Crown has it now more in their Power than formerly, to ſeduce the People or their Repreſentatives, in Caſe any future Adminiſtration ſhould find it neceſſary for their own Safety to do ſo.

That the Increaſe or Decreaſe of Corruption at Elections, or in Parliament, muſt always depend upon the Increaſe or Decreaſe of Virtue among the People, I ſhall readily grant; but it as certain, that the Virtue of almoſt every particular Man depends upon the Temptations thrown in his Way; and according to the Quantity of Virtue he has, the Quantity of the Temptation muſt be raiſed, ſo as at laſt to make it an Over-balance for his Virtue. Suppoſe then, Sir, that the Generality of the Electors in *England* have Virtue enough to withſtand a Temptation of 5 Guineas each, but not Virtue enough to withſtand a Temptation of Ten Guineas one with another; is it not then much more probable, that the Gentlemen who deal in Corruption may be able to raiſe as much Money once every 7 Years, as will be ſufficient to give Ten Guineas each, one with another, to the Generality of the Electors, than that they will be able to raiſe ſuch a Sum once in every 3 Years? And is it not from thence certain, that the Virtue of the People in general is in greater Danger of being deſtroyed by *Septennial* than by *Triennial Parliaments*? To ſuppoſe, Sir, that every Man's Vote at an Election is like a Commodity which muſt be ſold at the Market Price, is really to ſuppoſe that no Man has any Virtue at all; for I will aver, that when once a Man reſolves to ſell his Vote at any Rate, he has then no Virtue left, which I hope is not the Caſe of many of our Electors, and therefore the only Thing we are to apprehend is, leſt ſo high a Price ſhould be offered as may tempt Thouſands to ſell, who had never before any Thoughts of carrying ſuch a Commodity to Market. This, Sir, is the fatal Event we are to dread, and it is much more to be dreaded from *Septennial* than *Triennial Parliaments*. If we have therefore any Deſire to preſerve the Virtue of our People; any Deſire to preſerve our Conſtitution; any Deſire to preſerve our Liberties, our Properties, and every Thing that can be dear to a free People, we ought to reſtore the *Triennial Law*; and if that be found to be inſufficient, we ought to aboliſh Prorogations, and return to *Annual Elections*.

The learned Gentleman ſpoke of the Prerogative of the Crown, and aſked us, if it had lately been extended beyond thoſe Bounds preſcribed to it by Law. Sir, I will not ſay that there has been lately any Attempts to extend it beyond thoſe Bounds; but I will ſay, that thoſe Bounds have been of late ſo vaſtly enlarged, that there ſeems to be no great Occaſion for any ſuch Attempt. What are the many penal Laws made within theſe 40 Years, but ſo many Extenſions of the Prerogative of the Crown, and as many Diminutions of the Liberty of the Subject? And whatever the Neceſſity was that brought us into the enacting of ſuch Laws, it was a fatal Neceſſity; it has greatly added to the

Power

Power of the Crown; and particular Care ought to be taken not to throw any more Weight into that Scale. Perhaps the enacting of ſeveral of thoſe penal Laws might have been avoided: I am perſuaded the enacting of the Law relating to Trials for Treaſon, not only might, but ought to have been avoided; for tho' it was but a temporary Law, it was a dangerous Precedent; and the Rebellion was far from being ſo general in any County as not to leave a ſufficient Number of faithful Subjects for trying thoſe who had committed Acts of Treaſon within the County.

In former Times the Crown had a large Eſtate of its own; an Eſtate ſufficient for ſupporting the Dignity of the Crown; and as we had no Standing Armies, nor any great Fleets to provide for, the Crown did not want frequent Supplies; ſo that they were not under any Neceſſity of calling frequent Parliaments; and as Parliaments were always troubleſome, often dangerous to Miniſters, therefore they avoided the calling of any ſuch as much as poſſible: But tho' the Crown did not then want frequent Supplies, the People frequently wanted a Redreſs of Grievances, which could not be obtained but by Parliament; therefore the only Complaint then was, that the Crown either did not call any Parliament at all, or did not allow them to ſit long enough: This was the only Complaint, and to remedy this, it was thought ſufficient to provide for having frequent Parliaments, every one of which, 'twas preſumed, was always to be a new Parliament; for 'tis well known, that the Method of Prorogation was of old very rarely made uſe of, and was firſt introduced by thoſe who were attempting to make Incroachments upon the Rights of the People.

But now, Sir, the Caſe is altered; the Crown, either by ill Management, or by Prodigality and Profuſeneſs to its Favourites, has ſpent or granted away all that Eſtate; and the publick Expence is ſo much enlarged, that the Crown muſt have annual Supplies, and is therefore under a Neceſſity of having the Parliament meet every Year; but as new Elections are always dangerous as well as troubleſome to Miniſters of State, they are for having them as ſeldom as poſſible; ſo that the Complaint is not now for want of frequent Meetings or Seſſions of Parliament, but againſt having the ſame Parliament continued too long. This is the Grievance now complained of; this is what the People deſire, this is what they have a Right to have redreſſed. The Members of Parliament may for one Year be look'd on as the real and true Repreſentatives of the People; but when a Miniſter has 7 Years to practiſe upon them, and to feel their Pulſes, they may be induced to forget whoſe Repreſentatives they are; they may throw off all Dependence upon their Electors, and may become Dependents upon the Crown, or rather upon the Miniſter for the Time being, which the learned Gentleman has moſt ingenuouſly confeſſed to us, he thinks leſs dangerous than a Dependence upon his Electors.

We have been told, Sir, in this Houſe, that no Faith is to be given to Prophecies, therefore I ſhall not pretend to propheſy; but I may ſuppoſe a Caſe, which, tho' it has not yet happened, may poſſibly happen. Let us then ſuppoſe, Sir, a Man abandoned to all Notions of Virtue or Honour, of no great Family, and of a but a mean Fortune, raiſed to be chief Miniſter of State, by the Concurrence of many whimſical Events; afraid or unwilling to truſt any but Creatures of his own making, and moſt of them equally abandoned to all Notions of Virtue or Honour; ignorant of the true Intereſt of his Country, and conſulting nothing but that of enriching and aggrandizing himſelf and his Favourites; in foreign Affairs truſting none but ſuch whoſe Education makes it impoſſible for them to have ſuch Knowledge or ſuch Qualifications as can either be of Service to their Country, or give any Weight or Credit to their Negotiations: Let us ſuppoſe the true Intereſt of the Nation by ſuch Means neglected or miſunderſtood, her Honour and Credit loſt, her Trade inſulted, her Merchants plundered and her Sailors murdered; and all theſe Things overlooked, only for Fear his Adminiſtration ſhould be endangered: Suppoſe him next poſſeſſed of great Wealth, the Plunder of the Nation, with a Parliament of his own chuſing, moſt of their Seats purchaſed, and their Votes bought at the Expence of the publick Treaſure: In ſuch a Parliament, let us ſuppoſe Attempts made to enquire into his Conduct, or to relieve the Nation from the Diſtreſs he has brought upon it; and when Lights proper for attaining thoſe Ends are called for, not perhaps for the Information of the particular Gentlemen who call for them, but becauſe nothing can be done in a Parliamentary Way, till theſe Things be in a proper Way laid before Parliament; ſuppoſe theſe Lights refuſed, theſe reaſonable Requeſts rejected by a corrupt Majority of his Creatures, whom he retains in daily Pay, or engages in his particular Intereſt, by granting them theſe Poſts and Places which ought never to be given to any but for the Good of the Publick: Upon this ſcandalous Victory, let us ſuppoſe this chief Miniſter pluming himſelf in Defiances, becauſe he finds he has got a Parliament, like a packed Jury, ready to acquit him at all Adventures: Let us farther ſuppoſe him arrived to that Degree of Inſolence and Arrogance, as to domineer over all the Men of antient Families, all the Men of Senſe, Figure or Fortune in the Nation; and as he has no Virtue of his own, ridiculing it in

others, and endeavouring to deſtroy or corrupt it in all.

I am ſtill not propheſying, Sir, I am only ſuppoſing; and the Caſe I am going to ſuppoſe I hope never will happen; but with ſuch a Miniſter and ſuch a Parliament, let us ſuppoſe a Prince upon the Throne, either for want of true Information, or for ſome other Reaſon, ignorant and unacquainted with the Inclinations and the Intereſt of his People, weak, and hurried away by unbounded Ambition and inſatiable Avarice: This Caſe, Sir, has never yet happened in this Nation; I hope, I ſay, 'twill never exiſt; but as it is poſſible it may, could there any greater Curſe happen to a Nation, than ſuch a Prince on the Throne, adviſed and ſolely adviſed by ſuch a Miniſter, and that Miniſter ſupported by ſuch a Parliament. The Nature of Mankind cannot be altered by human Laws, the Exiſtence of ſuch a Prince, or ſuch a Miniſter we cannot prevent by Act of Parliament, but the Exiſtence of ſuch a Parliament I think we may; and as ſuch a Parliament is much more likely to exiſt, and may do more Miſchief while the *Septennial Law* remains in Force, than if it were repealed, therefore I am moſt heartily for the Repeal of it.

H——y P—lh—m, Eſq; The Hon. Gentleman who ſpoke laſt, as he always guards what he ſays, and ſpeaks with ſo much Decency, that no Notice can be taken of it in a Parliamentary Way, ſo in the laſt Suppoſitions he was pleaſed to make, he obſerved ſo much Caution, that no Obſervations can be made on any Thing he ſaid, as being contrary to the Orders of this Houſe; yet whatever Suppoſitions he may pleaſe to make with Reſpect to Miniſters, I think he ought not to proceed any higher, and therefore I wiſh he had ſpared the laſt: However, Sir, as theſe Suppoſitions, and indeed every other Suppoſition I have heard, are all imaginary, I ſhall take no farther Notice of them: They were certainly foreign to the Queſtion in Debate, and had, I think, been better let alone.

As to the Contentions about Elections, I ſhall not pretend, Sir, to determine by whom they were begun, but I think I can eaſily account for their having been begun at the Time they were, and that in a Method very different from that laid down by the Hon. Gentleman who ſpoke laſt: It is well known what a Spirit, if not of Diſaffection, I am ſure I may ſay of Diſtraction, was artfully raiſed during laſt Seſſion of Parliament, in moſt Parts of this Nation, by the Miſrepreſentation of an Affair before it was well underſtood, and which when it came to be explained could no way bear the Meaning they put upon it: This was thought a proper Opportunity, by thoſe who raiſed that Spirit, to work upon the Paſſions of the People, in order to gain their Favour, and to engage their Votes, neither of which they knew they had any Chance for in any other Way; and this, Sir, I really believe, was the Reaſon why the Contentions about Elections began ſo early in moſt Parts of the Kingdom; ſo that if the Gentleman meant my Hon. Friend by me, he was very much miſtaken; but if he look another Way, and that within his View, he may find out the firſt chief Beginner of all theſe Diſturbances.

As to the Queſtion itſelf, Sir, as I did not intend to have troubled you in this Debate, and as the Queſtion has been already ſo fully, and ſo handſomly oppoſed by the Hon. Gentleman under the Gallery, and by ſeveral others, I ſhall only ſay in general, that as I am not ſenſible of any Inconvenience that attends *Septennial Parliaments*, but what would in a much greater Degree attend *Triennial*, and as we know from Experience, that too frequent Elections keep the Nation in a continual Ferment, and always muſt expoſe us to the many Evils that enſue from Faction and Sedition, therefore I ſhall give my Vote againſt the Queſtion.

W——m P——ney, Eſq; I intended from the Beginning, Sir, to have ſpoken in this Debate; but as I now ſpeak ſo late in it, I can have but little new to offer, the Gentlemen who have ſpoke before me, having almoſt entirely exhauſted the Argument; and I am ſure, if thoſe who have heard the Debate are to be determined, as I hope they will, by what has been offered for and againſt the Queſtion, it will hardly bear a Diviſion. However, as I voted for this Bill on a former Occaſion, and as the principal, and indeed the only Motive, which made me do ſo, now no longer ſubſiſts, I think myſelf obliged thus publickly to declare, that I am now as zealous to have it repealed, as I then was to have it enacted. When a Country, or the Government of a Country, is in any imminent Danger, it often happens, that People think Regulations neceſſary, which, when the Danger is over, appear to be attended with as pernicious Conſequences, as that very Danger which they were made to prevent, and in ſuch a Caſe, ſurely every honeſt Man muſt be as fond of having them aboliſhed, as ever he was of having them eſtabliſhed.

The Hon. Gentleman who ſpoke laſt, tho' he let drop ſome Expreſſions with Relation to that Contention already begun about our enſuing Elections, which I might take ſome Notice of, yet as he generally ſpeaks with very great Candour, I think it would be too ſevere not to pardon any Slip he may have made in that Reſpect: But as to the Spirit raiſed in the Nation laſt Seſſion of Parliament, which he ſays was raiſed by Miſrepreſentation, and was pleaſed to call a Spirit, if not of Diſaffection, at leaſt of Diſtraction, I do not know, but it may have been repreſented ſuch

ſuch in another Place; and whether that was a Miſrepreſentation, I ſhall leave to the World to judge; but of all Miſrepreſentations, I will ſay, the moſt criminal is that of miſrepreſenting to the King the true Sentiments and real Inclinations of his People; for, however much ſome Gentlemen may find their Intereſt in it, I am ſure it is not their Duty to do ſo; but I hope his preſent Majeſty will always be able to diſtinguiſh, and it is the Duty of Parliament to inform him how to diſtinguiſh between Diſaffection to his Government, and Diſaffection to his Miniſter. If the Hon. Gentleman thinks, that the Affair which occaſioned the Riſe of that Spirit, was at firſt miſrepreſented, or that it gained any Advantage by being fully explained, he is, in the Opinion of, I believe, much the greateſt Part of the Nation, vaſtly miſtaken; for, the more ſeriouſly that Affair has been conſidered, the more fully it has been explained, the more horrible it has appeared; ſo that the Spirit, which was raiſed in Oppoſition to it, was ſo far from being unjuſtly, or groundleſly raiſed, that I believe it would have been for the Advantage of the Nation, that a new Election had come on, when that Spirit was in its greateſt Vigour; and I hope it will not altogether ſubſide, till the People have fully ſecured their Liberties againſt all ſuch Attempts for the future.

To imagine, Sir, that frequent Elections ſhould ever become the Cauſe of Faction and Sedition, is, in my Opinion, ſomething very extraordinary; for it is certain, that Seditions have always proceeded from a general Diſcontent among the People, and a long Diſappointment of meeting, in a legal Way, with that Redreſs which they had Reaſon to expect; and till this Diſcontent becomes violent as well as general, no Faction will ever break out into Sedition: Then indeed Faction begins to change its Name, and thoſe Men, who at firſt perhaps with Juſtice were charged with being factious, become then the Patrons and the Protectors of the Rights of the People, and of the Liberties of their Country; for nothing can be called Faction, but when a Set of Men combine and unite together againſt a wiſe and a juſt Government, which no Government can be, that diſobliges and irritates the Generality of the People. The certain and the only Way therefore of preventing Sedition, and diſappointing Faction, is to give the People frequent Opportunities of repreſenting their Grievances, and obtaining Redreſs in that legal Way which is preſcribed by the Conſtitution of their Country. Such a Way ought certainly to be eſtabliſhed, and is eſtabliſhed in every wiſe Conſtitution; otherwiſe the People will ſeek that by Sedition, which they find they cannot obtain by Law; and the Method eſtabliſhed by our Conſtitution, is by a Parliament choſen by the free and uncorrupted Voice of the People; therefore in order to avoid Sedition, every Thing ought to be carefully avoided, which may tend to the interrupting the free Choice of the People; and the oftener this Choice is made, the better our Country is guarded againſt Sedition; becauſe in a long Parliament the People may in the Beginning of it be diſobliged; they may deſpair of obtaining Redreſs from that Parliament, and before the End their Diſcontents may become ſo violent, as to break out in Seditions and Inſurrections.

Faction and Sedition, Sir, are two Words that have always been made uſe of by the Advocates for arbitrary Power, in order to induce the People to give up thoſe Privileges upon which their Liberties depended, or to divert them from reaſſuming, or vindicating thoſe which had been before fooliſhly given up, or unjuſtly uſurped and taken from them; but it is to be hoped, thoſe two hideous Words will never in this Country have the deſired Effect. It has been already fully ſhewn, that the Elections for a long Parliament muſt always be attended with more violent Heats and Animoſities, than the Elections for a ſhort, conſequently the Country muſt always be more expoſed to Factions and Seditions by the former, than by the latter: I do not know, but the Election for a Parliament may come at laſt to be like the Election of a King of *Poland*; it may be always attended with a civil War, perhaps with an unwelcome Viſit from ſome of our Neighbours: Therefore if the Fears of Faction and Sedition be any Argument againſt frequent Elections, as good an Argument may from thence be drawn againſt electing any new Parliament at all; ſo that I do not know but I may ſee a Propoſition made for continuing our Seats in this Houſe for Life; and after that, it may be thought proper to make a Law for tranſmitting them to our Heirs, nay even to our Executors or Adminiſtrators.

An Hon. Gentleman ſeemed much ſurpriſed that the Riot Act ſhould have been mentioned upon this Occaſion, or that any Gentleman ſhould have the leaſt Thought of having it repealed. Sir, I declare, upon my Honour, that of all the Actions I ever did in my Life, there is not one I more heartily and ſincerely repent of, than my voting for the paſſing of that Law. I believe I am as little ſuſpected of Diſaffection to his Majeſty or his Family as any Man in the Kingdom; it was my too great Zeal for his illuſtrious Family tranſported me to give that Vote, for which I am now heartily grieved: But even then I never imagined it was to remain a Law for ever; no, Sir! this Government is founded upon Reſiſtance; it was the Principle of

Reſiſtance that brought about the Revolution, which cannot be juſtified upon any other Principle. Is then paſſive Obedience and Non-reſiſtance to be eſtabliſhed by a perpetual Law, by a Law the moſt ſevere and the moſt arbitrary of any in *England*, and that under a Government which owes its very Being to Reſiſtance? The Hon. Gentleman who firſt mention'd it ſaid very right, It is a Scandal it ſhould remain in our Statute Books; and I will ſay, they are no Friends to his Majeſty or to his Government who deſire it ſhould; for it deſtroys that Principle upon which is founded one of his beſt Titles to the Crown: While this remains a Law we cannot well be called a free People; a little Juſtice of the Peace, aſſiſted perhaps by a Serjeant and a Parcel of Hirelings, may almoſt at any Time have the Lives of 20 Gentlemen of the beſt Families in *England* in his Power.

As to Bribery and Corruption, Sir, it has been ſo fully and ſo clearly demonſtrated that *Septennial Parliaments* are more liable than *Triennial* to be influenced by ſuch baſe Methods, that I ſhall conclude with obſerving what every Gentleman I believe is ſenſible of: It is come to a moſt intolerable Height; in many, nay in moſt Parts of our Conſtitution, we are ſunk to the loweſt and vileſt Dregs of Corruption; and if ſome extraordinary Event do not prevent it, our Conſtitution will ſoon be irrecoverably loſt.

Mr. C——r of the *E*——*r*. I do aſſure you, Sir, I did not intend to have troubled you in this Debate, but ſuch Incidents now generally happen towards the End of our Debates, nothing at all relating to the Subject, and Gentlemen make ſuch Suppoſitions, meaning ſome Perſon, or perhaps, as they ſay, no Perſon now in Being, and talk ſo much of wicked Miniſters, domineering Miniſters, Miniſters pluming themſelves in Defiances, which Terms, and ſuch like, have been of late ſo much made uſe of in this Houſe, that if they really mean no body either in the Houſe or out of it, yet it muſt be ſuppoſed they at leaſt mean to call upon ſome Gentleman in this Houſe to make them a Reply; and therefore I hope I may be allowed to draw a Picture in my Turn; and I may likewiſe ſay, that I do not mean to give a Deſcription of any particular Perſon now in Being. When Gentlemen talk of Miniſters abandoned to all Senſe of Virtue or Honour, other Gentlemen may, I am ſure, with equal Juſtice, and, I think, more juſtly, ſpeak of Anti-Miniſters and Mock-Patriots, who never had either Virtue or Honour, but in the whole Courſe of their Oppoſition are actuated only by Motives of Envy, and of Reſentment againſt thoſe who may have diſappointed them in their Views, or may not perhaps have complied with all their Deſires.

But now, Sir, let me too ſuppoſe, and the Houſe being cleared, I am ſure no Perſon that hears me can come within the Deſcription of the Perſon I am to ſuppoſe: Let us ſuppoſe in this, or in ſome other unfortunate Country, an Anti-miniſter, who thinks himſelf a Perſon of ſo great and extenſive Parts, and of ſo many eminent Qualifications, that he looks upon himſelf as the only Perſon in the Kingdom capable to conduct the publick Affairs of the Nation, and therefore chriſtening every other Gentleman, who has the Honour to be employed in the Adminiſtration, by the Name of Blunderer: Suppoſe this fine Gentleman lucky enough to have gained over to his Party ſome Perſons really of fine Parts, of antient Families, and of great Fortunes, and others of deſperate Views, ariſing from diſappointed and malicious Hearts; all theſe Gentlemen, with reſpect to their political Behaviour, mov'd by him, and by him ſolely; all they ſay, either in private or publick, being only a Repetition of the Words he has put into their Mouths, and a ſpitting out of that Venom which he has infuſed into them; and yet we may ſuppoſe this Leader not really liked by any, even of thoſe who ſo blindly follow him, and hated by all the reſt of Mankind: We'll ſuppoſe this Anti-miniſter to be in a Country where he really ought not to be, and where he could not have been but by an Effect of too much Goodneſs and Mercy, yet endeavouring with all his Might and with all his Art, to deſtroy the Fountain from whence that Mercy flowed: In that Country ſuppoſe him continually contracting Friendſhips and Familiarities with the Ambaſſadors of thoſe Princes who at the Time happen to be moſt at Enmity with his own; and if at any Time it ſhould happen to be for the Intereſt of any of thoſe foreign Miniſters to have a Secret divulged to them, which might be highly prejudicial to his native Country, as well as to all its Friends; ſuppoſe this foreign Miniſter applying to him, and he anſwering, I'll get it you, tell me but what you want, I'll endeavour to procure it for you: Upon this he puts a Speech or two in the Mouths of ſome of his Creatures, or ſome of his new Converts; what he wants is moved for in Parliament, and when ſo very reaſonable a Requeſt as this is refuſed, ſuppoſe him and his Creatures and Tools, by his Advice, ſpreading the Alarm over the whole Nation, and crying out, Gentlemen, our Country is at preſent involved in many dangerous Difficulties, all which we would have extricated you from, but a wicked Miniſter and a corrupt Majority refuſed us the proper Materials; and upon this ſcandalous Victory, this Miniſter became ſo inſolent as to plume himſelf in Defiances: Let us farther ſuppoſe this Anti-miniſter to have travelled, and at every Court where he was, thinking himſelf the greateſt Miniſter, and making it his

his Trade to betray the Secrets of every Court where he had before been; void of all Faith or Honour, and betraying every Master he ever served. Sir, I could carry my Suppositions a great deal farther, and I may say I mean no Person now in Being; but if we can suppose such a one, can there be imagined a greater Disgrace to Human Nature than such a Wretch as this?

Now, Sir, to be serious, and to talk really to the Subject in Hand: Tho' the Question has been already so fully and so handsomely opposed by my worthy Friend under the Gallery, by the learned Gentleman near me, and by several others, that there is no great Occasion to say any Thing farther against it; yet as some new Matter has been started by some of the Gentlemen who have since that Time spoke upon the other Side of the Question, I hope the House will indulge me the Liberty of giving some of those Reasons which induce me to be against the Motion. In general I must take Notice, that the Nature of our Constitution seems to be very much mistaken by the Gentlemen who have spoken in favour of this Motion. It is certain, that ours is a mixt Government, and the Perfection of our Constitution consists in this, that the Monarchical, Aristocratical and Democratical Forms of Government are mixt and interwoven in ours, so as to give us all the Advantages of each, without subjecting us to the Dangers and Inconveniences of either. The Democratical Form of Government, which is the only one I have now Occasion to take Notice of, is liable to these Inconveniences, That they are generally too tedious in their coming to any Resolution, and seldom brisk and expeditious enough in carrying their Resolutions into Execution: That they are always wavering in their Resolutions, and never steady in any of the Measures they resolve to pursue; and that they are often involved in Factions, Seditions and Insurrections, which exposes them to be made the Tools, if not the Prey of their Neighbours: Therefore in all the Regulations we make, with respect to our Constitution, we are to guard against running too much into that Form of Government which is properly called Democratical: This was, in my Opinion, the Effect of the *Triennial Law*, and will again be the Effect, if ever it should be restored.

That *Triennial* Elections would make our Government too tedious in all their Resolves is evident, because in such Case, no prudent Administration would ever resolve upon any Measure of Consequence, till they had felt not only the Pulse of the Parliament, but the Pulse of the People; and the Ministers of State would always labour under this Disadvantage that as Secrets of State must not be immediately divulged, their Enemies (and Enemies they will always have) would have a Handle for exposing their Measures, and rendering them disagreeable to the People, and thereby carrying perhaps a new Election against them, before they could have an Opportunity of justifying their Measures, by divulging those Facts and Circumstances from whence the Justice and the Wisdom of their Measures would clearly appear.

Then, Sir, it is by Experience well known, that what is called the Populace of every Country, are apt to be too much elated with Success, and too much dejected with every Misfortune; this makes them wavering in their Opinions about Affairs of State, and never long of the same Mind; and as this House is chosen by the free and unbyassed Voice of the People in general, if this Choice were so often renewed, we might expect, that this House would be as wavering, and as unsteady as the People usually are; and it being impossible to carry on the publick Affairs of the Nation without the Concurrence of this House, the Ministers would always be obliged to comply, and consequently would be obliged to change their Measures as often as the People changed their Minds.

With *Septennial Parliaments*, Sir, we are not exposed to either of these Misfortunes, because, if the Ministers, after having felt the Pulse of the Parliament, which they can always soon do, resolve upon any Measures, they have generally Time enough before the new Election comes on, to give the People a proper Information, in order to shew them the Justice and the Wisdom of the Measures they have pursued; and if the People should at any Time be too much elated, or too much dejected, or should without a Cause change their Minds, those at the Helm of Affairs have Time to set them right, before a new Election comes on.

As to Faction and Sedition, Sir, I will grant that in monarchical and aristocratical Governments, it generally arises from Violence and Oppression; but in democratical Governments, it always arises from the People's having too great a Share in the Government; for in all Countries, and in all Governments, there always will be many factious and unquiet Spirits, who can never be at Rest either in Power or out of Power: When in Power they are never easy, unless every Man submits entirely to their Direction, and when out of Power, they are always working and intriguing against those that are in, without any Regard to Justice, or to the Interest of their Country: In popular Governments such Men have too much Game, they have too many Opportunities for working upon and corrupting the Minds of the People, in order to give them a bad Impression of, and to raise Discontents against those that have the Management of the publick Affairs for the Time; and these Discontents often break out into Seditions and Insur-

Inſurrections. This, Sir, would in my Opinion be our Misfortune, if our Parliaments were either *Annual* or *Triennial*: By ſuch frequent Elections, there would be ſo much Power thrown into the Hands of the People, as would deſtroy that equal Mixture, which is the Beauty of our Conſtitution: In ſhort, our Government would really become a democratical Government, and might from thence very probably diverge into a tyrannical. Therefore, in order to preſerve our Conſtitution, in order to prevent our falling under Tyranny and arbitrary Power, we ought to preſerve that Law, which I really think has brought our Conſtitution to a more equal Mixture, and conſequently to a greater Perfection than it was ever in before that Law took Place.

As to Bribery and Corruption, Sir, if it were poſſible to influence, by ſuch baſe Means, the Majority of the Electors of *Great Britain*, to chuſe ſuch Men as would probably give up their Liberties, if it were poſſible to influence, by ſuch Means, a Majority of the Members of this Houſe to conſent to the Eſtabliſhment of arbitrary Power, I ſhould readily allow, that the Calculations made by the Gentlemen of the other Side were juſt, and their Inference true; but I am perſuaded, neither of theſe is poſſible. As the Members of this Houſe generally are, and muſt always be, Gentlemen of Fortune and Figure in their Country, Is it poſſible to ſuppoſe, that any of them could by a Penſion or a Poſt be influenced to conſent to the Overthrow of our Conſtitution, by which the Enjoyment, not only of what he got, but of what he before had, would be rendered altogether precarious? I will allow, Sir, that with Reſpect to Bribery, the Price muſt be higher or lower, generally in Proportion to the Virtue of the Man who is to be bribed, but it muſt likewiſe be granted, that the Humour he happens to be in at the Time, the Spirit he happens to be endowed with, adds a great deal to his Virtue: When no Incroachments are made on the Rights of the People, when the People do not think themſelves in any Danger, there may be many of the Electors, who, by a Bribe of ten Guineas, might be induced to vote for one Candidate rather than another; but if the Court were making any Incroachments upon the Rights of the People, a proper Spirit would, without Doubt, ariſe in the Nation, and in ſuch a Caſe I am perſuaded, that none, or very few, even of ſuch Electors, could be induced to vote for a Court Candidate, no not for ten Times the Sum.

There may, Sir, be ſome Bribery and Corruption in the Nation, I am afraid there will always be ſome; but it is no Proof of it that Strangers are ſometimes choſen; for a Gentleman may have ſo much natural Influence over a Borough in his Neighbourhood, as to be able to prevail with them to chuſe any Perſon he pleaſes to recommend; and if upon ſuch Recommendation they chuſe one or two of his Friends, who are perhaps Strangers to them, it is not from thence to be inferred, that the two Strangers were choſen by the Means of Bribery and Corruption.

To inſinuate, Sir, that Money may be iſſued from the publick Treaſury for bribing Elections, is really ſomething very extraordinary, eſpecially in thoſe Gentlemen who know how many Checks are upon every Shilling that can be iſſued from thence; and how regularly the Money granted in one Year for the publick Service of the Nation, muſt always be accounted for the very next Seſſion in this Houſe, and likewiſe in the other, if they have a Mind to call for any ſuch Account. And as to the Gentlemen in Offices, if they have any Advantage over Country Gentlemen, in having ſomething elſe to depend on beſides their own private Fortunes, they have likewiſe many Diſadvantages: They are obliged to live here at *London* with their Families, by which they are put to a much greater Expence, than Gentlemen of equal Fortunes who live in the Country: This lays them under a very great Diſadvantage, with Reſpect to the ſupporting their Intereſt in the Country: The Country Gentleman, by living among the Electors, and purchaſing the Neceſſaries for his Family from them, keeps up an Acquaintance and Correſpondence with them, without putting himſelf to any extraordinary Charge; whereas a Gentleman who lives in *London*, has no other Way of keeping up an Acquaintance or Correſpondence among his Friends in the Country, but by going down once or twice a Year at a very extraordinary Charge, and often without any other Buſineſs; ſo that we may conclude, a Gentleman in Office cannot, even in 7 Years, ſave much for diſtributing in ready Money, at the Time of an Election; and I really believe, if the Fact were narrowly enquir'd into, it would appear, that the Gentlemen in Office are as little guilty of bribing their Electors with ready Money, as any other Set of Gentlemen in the Kingdom.

That there are Ferments often raiſed among the People without any juſt Cauſe, is what I am ſurpriſed to hear controverted, ſince very late Experience may convince us of the contrary: Do not we know what a Ferment was raiſed in the Nation towards the latter End of the late Queen's Reign? And it is well known what a fatal Change in the Affairs of this Nation was introduced, or at leaſt confirmed by an Election's coming on while the Nation was in that Ferment: Do not we know what a Ferment was raiſed in the Nation ſoon after his late Majeſty's Acceſſion? And if an Election had then been allowed to come on while the Nation was in that Ferment, it might

might perhaps have had as fatal Effects as the former; but, thank God, this was wiſely provided againſt by the very Law which is now wanted to be repealed.

It has indeed, Sir, been ſaid, that the chief Motive for enacting that Law now no longer exiſts: I cannot admit that the Motive they mean was the chief Motive; but even that Motive is very far from having entirely ceaſed. Can Gentlemen imagine, that in the Spirit raiſed in the Nation but about a Twelvemonth ſince, *Jacobitiſm* and Diſaffection to the preſent Government had no Share? Perhaps ſome who might wiſh well to the preſent Eſtabliſhment did cooperate, nay, I do not know but they were the firſt Movers of that Spirit; but it cannot be ſuppoſed that the Spirit then raiſed ſhould have grown up to ſuch a Ferment, merely from a Propoſition which was honeſtly and fairly laid before Parliament, and left entirely to their Determination. No, Sir, the Spirit was perhaps begun by thoſe who are truly Friends to the illuſtrious Family we have now upon the Throne; but it was raiſed to a much greater Height than, I believe, even they deſigned, by *Jacobites*, and ſuch as are Enemies to our preſent Eſtabliſhment, who thought they never had a fairer Opportunity of bringing about what they have ſo long and ſo unſucceſsfully wiſhed for, than that which had been furniſhed them by thoſe who firſt raiſed that Spirit. I hope the People have now in a great Meaſure come to themſelves, and therefore I doubt not but the next Elections will ſhew, that when they are left to judge coolly they can diſtinguiſh between the real and the pretended Friends to the Government: But I muſt ſay, if the Ferment then raiſed in the Nation had not already greatly ſubſided, I ſhould have thought a new Election a very dangerous Experiment; and as ſuch Ferments may hereafter often happen, I muſt think that frequent Elections will always be dangerous; for which Reaſon, in ſo far as I can ſee at preſent, I ſhall, I believe, at all Times think it a very dangerous Experiment to repeal the *Septennial Bill*.

Theſe were the only Gentlemen who ſpoke in this Debate, except *E——d H——ey*, Eſq; and *W——m S——n*, Eſq; who both ſpoke in Favour of the Queſtion, after Mr. *C——is*, and before C——l *B——en*; and Sir *E——d S——ey*, who ſpoke likewiſe in Favour of the Queſtion, and next after Sir *W——m Y——ge*. Upon a Diviſion, the Queſtion was carried in the Negative, by 247 to 184. (See a Liſt of thoſe who voted for and againſt this Queſtion, in our *Magazine*, for *April*, p. 206, 207.)

A Letter from the late Biſhop ATTERBURY *to Mr.* P--PE.

Dear Sir, *Paris, Nov.* 23, 1731.

YOU will wonder to ſee me in Print; but how could I help it? The Dead and the Living, my Friends and my Foes, at Home and Abroad, call'd upon me to ſay ſomething; and the Reputation of a Hiſtory which I, and all the World value, muſt have ſuffer'd, had I continued * ſilent.

I have printed here, in Hopes ſomebody may venture to reprint in *England*, notwithſtanding the two frightning Words at the Cloſe of it. Whether that happens or not, it is fit you ſhould have a Sight of it, who I know will read it with ſome Degree of Satisfaction, as it is mine; tho' it ſhould have (as it really has) nothing elſe to recommend it. Such as it is,——*Extremum hoc munus morientis habeto*; for that may well be the Caſe, conſidering that within a few Months I am entering into my 70th Year; after which, even the Healthy and the Happy cannot much depend on Life; and will not, if they are wiſe, much deſire it. Whenever I go, you will loſe a Friend that loves and values you extremely; if one in my Circumſtances can be ſaid to be loſt to any one when dead, more than I am already while living.

I expected to have heard from you by Mr. *Morrice*, and wonder'd a little I did not; but he owns himſelf in Fault in not giving you due Notice of his Motions. It was not amiſs that you forbore writing to me on a Head wherein I had promiſed more than I was able to perform. Diſgraced Men fancy ſometimes that they preſerve an Influence, where, when they come to exert it, they ſoon ſee their Miſtake. I did ſo, my good Friend, and acknowledge it under my Hand. You ſounded the Court, and found out my Error, it ſeems, before I was aware of it. But enough on this Subject.

What are they doing in *England* to the Honour of Letters? And, particularly what are you doing? Do you purſue the moral Plan you mark'd out, and ſeem'd ſixteen Months ago ſo intent upon? † Am I to ſee it perfected e'er I die? And are you to enjoy the Reputation of it whilſt you live? Or do you rather chuſe to leave the Marks of your Friendſhip, like Legacies in a Will, to be read and enjoy'd only by thoſe that ſurvive you? Were I as near you as I have been, I would hope to peep into the Manuſcript, even before it was finiſhed. But, alas! there is, and

* *The Biſhop's Vindication of Biſhop* Smalridge, *Dr.* Aldrich, *and Himſelf, from the Reflexions of* Oldmixon, *relating to the Publication of Lord* Clarendon's *Hiſtory*. Paris, 1731, 4to. *ſince reprinted in* England. † *The* Eſſay on Man, *ſince printed.*

and will probably ever be a great deal of Land and Sea between us. How many Books of late have come out in your Parts, which you think I ſhould be glad to peruſe? Name them: The Catalogue (I believe) will not coſt you much Trouble. They muſt be good ones, indeed, to challenge any Part of my Time, now I have ſo little of it left. I, A that ſquandered away whole Days heretofore, now huſband Hours, when the Glaſs begins to run low; and care not to miſpend them on Trifles. At the End of the Lottery of Life, our laſt Minutes, like Benefit Tickets in a Wheel, riſe in their Valuation. They are not ſo much worth, perhaps, in themſelves, as thoſe which preceded; but we are apt to prize them more, and with Reaſon I do ſo, B my dear Friend, and yet think the moſt precious of my Minutes well employed in reading what you write. But that's a Satisfaction I cannot much hope for, and therefore muſt betake myſelf to others that are leſs entertaining. Forgive me, dear Sir, engaging with one whom I think you have reckoned among the Heroes of the *Dunciad*. It was C neceſſary for me, either to accept his dirty Challenge, or to have ſuffered in the Eſteem of the World by declining it.

My Country, at this Diſtance, ſeems to me a ſtrange Sight. I know not how it appears to you that are in the Midſt of the Sun, and yourſelf a Part of it. I wiſh you would tell me. Sketch out a rough Draught of it, that I may be able to judge whether a Return to it be really eligible, or whether I ſhould not, like the Chymiſt in the Bottle, upon hearing Don *Quevedo*'s Account of *Spain*, deſire to be cork'd up again. After all, I do, and muſt, love my Country, with all its Faults and Blemiſhes, even that Part of the Conſtitution which wounded me, and itſelf thro' my Side. It will ever be dear to me, and my laſt Wiſh will be like that of Father *Paul*, *Eſto perpetua!* and when I die at a Diſtance from it, it will be in the ſame Manner as *Virgil* deſcribes the expiring *Peloponeſian*,

——————————— *Cœlumque*
Aſpicit, & dulces moriens reminiſcitur Argos.

Do I ſtill live in the Memory of my Friends, as they certainly do in mine; I have read a good many of the Paper Squabbles about me, and am glad to find ſuch free Conceſſions on that Head, tho' made with no View of doing me a Pleaſure, but merely of loading another.

I am, &c.
FR. ROFFEN.

A View of the Weekly ESSAYS *and* DISPUTES *in this Month.*

Univerſal Spectator, Dec. 7. N° 322.

The inſenſible Female puniſh'd at laſt. In a Letter from a Lady. D

SIR,

IT is a common, tho' falſe Maxim of our Sex, when they are in their Pride of Beauty, to boaſt an *Indifference* to all Mankind, and to treat ſuch as profeſs themſelves their *Lovers* with *Scorn* and *Contempt*. All *Women* are ſuſceptible of *Love*; and for E an Example to the *Coquetting Part* of my Sex, the following little Hiſtory of an *inſenſible Lady* will ſhew, that the *Woman* who is *inſenſible*, is ſhe who has not yet ſeen the Perſon ſhe is to *love*.

In a populous City in the Weſt of *England* liv'd a Lady of extraordinary Beauty, whom I ſhall call *Elvira*; but the Charms of her Perſon were not more wonder'd at than F her Severity of Manners, and an unaccountable Indifference ſhe profeſs'd for all *Men*: She had no Notion of what ſhe heard her Sex term *Love*, but look'd on every *Man* with the ſame Thought ſhe did her *Brother*: Among her Female Acquaintance ſhe was ever hearing ſome Tales of *Love* and ever ridiculing them; ſhe ſaw a thouſand Follies which *Love* was ſaid to be the Cauſe of; but not comprehending what they could mean, thought it *Madneſs*. *Friendſhip* was the only Thing ſhe could conceive an Idea of, therefore cultivated a very intimate one with *Amanda*, a young Lady of her own Age, and not inferior in Beauty.

Notwithſtanding *Elvira*'s profeſs'd *Inſenſibility* ſhe was not without *Lovers*; the Men, who will always pretend to judge of a Female Heart, thought there was more *Affectation* in *hers* than *Sincerity*, at leaſt *each* of them imagined *he* had Power enough to remove her *Inſenſibility*. A *Prebendary* in the *Cathedral* of that City where ſhe lived being intimate with her Father had frequent Opportunities to be in her Company, and to hear her Sentiments in regard to *Men*: He was charmed with her *Beauty*, and looked on her Contempt of *his Sex* only as a little Artifice of her *own*. He ventured to declare his Paſſion, but was repuls'd with the utmoſt Scorn; yet conſcious that he was agreeable in his Perſon, Humour and Converſation, and

equal

equal to her in Family and Fortune, he renewed his Addreſſes; but ſhe laugh'd at him, rated him, and expoſed every Kind of Thing he ſaid in all Companies ſhe came into; her *Heart was untouch'd*, and to keep up her Zeal againſt her Lover, ſhe forgot the Decency of good Manners.

A young Gentleman of a great Family, and Heir to a great Eſtate, who was juſt come from *Cambridge*, ſucceeded the *Prebendary* in the Train of her more remarkable Lovers; he had every Thing to recommend him, blooming Youth, agreeable Mein, and a lovely Wit; but neither his Youth, his Mein, or his Wit, could make any Impreſſion on the cold *Elvira*: All the *Tenderneſs* that Love is naturally apt to inſpire, was to be ſeen in this Youth; her *Slight* he repay'd with Vows of *Conſtancy*, and her *Contempt*, which ſhe openly ſhew'd to him, was return'd only with a *ſilent Sigh*, and a Look ſo *affectionate*, that would have rais'd Compaſſion in any Breaſt but that of an *Inſenſible*. Her continued Diſregard ſtruck too deep in a Heart too young to moderate his Paſſion with Reaſon; in ſhort, her young Lover fell into all the Agonies of *Deſpair*, which brought on him a Complication of Diſtempers: Every Maiden in the City was moved at ſo uncommon a Paſſion, but *She* who alone could give him Relief: He died her Victim, and ſhe by her ſeeming Triumph ſhew'd ſhe was as inſenſible of *Pity* as ſhe was of *Love*.

Every one now allow'd that ſhe had a *Heart incapable of Love*; yet an *old Merchant* was not afraid to propoſe himſelf as a *Huſband*: He thought, that tho' a Woman's Heart might withſtand the Force of *Love*, yet it was impoſſible it ſhould reſiſt the Power of *Gold*; but tho' the old Gentleman had more Aſſurance than his Predeceſſors, he had the ſame Succeſs. Now her *Vanity* was at the utmoſt Pitch, as ſhe had confirmed her *Inſenſibility*; the Man who was to *revenge* it, had not as yet appeared. Her old Spark tho' he had given up his Amour, yet had Leave to continue a formal Viſit: One Day he carried along with him his *Son*, a Youth of a ſprightly Temper, and who had a *Commiſſion* in the *Army*: The *military Profeſſion* is generally very agreeable to the *fair Sex*, and even *Elvira* beheld the *Captain* with a more than uſual Concern. Having heard of his Father's Amour, or for ſome other Reaſon, he ſaid very little in her Company, and from this little Converſation ſhe form'd a Judgment of his Wit: She could not tell why, but ſhe wiſh'd he had more. She ſaw him afterwards at the *Aſſembly*, and there ſhe heard him *talk*, and with *Wit* too; yet he gave her more Uneaſineſs, for the Converſation did not turn on *herſelf*: He ſaid a great many *pretty Things*, but not one in *Praiſe* of *her Beauty*. She was ſurpriſed that a Perſon of ſo *much Senſe*, ſhould have ſo *little Gallantry*. At the next Aſſembly her Friend *Amanda* was with her, and the *Captain* came up to them: They had not convers'd long, before *Elvira* was convinced of her *Error*; the *Captain* ſhe ſaw had *Gallantry*, but it was for *Amanda* only; he could then talk of *Beauty*, and ſay a thouſand ſoft Things in the Praiſe of it; he not only could uſe kind Expreſſions, but utter'd them with a peculiar Tenderneſs: *Elvira* could not bear it; ſhe was no longer *indifferent*, ſhe was *jealous*. From that Time ſhe grew reſerved to her Friend, yet wanted to ſee *her* and the *Captain* in Company together once more: She did; ſhe is now ſatisfy'd of her *Suſpicion*; ſhe cannot bear *Amanda*; ſhe looks on her as a *Rival*, and is convinced that the Thing which broke off their Friendſhip was called *Love*. *Elvira* and *Amanda* ſee one another no more, but *Amanda* and the *Captain* are *inſeparable*; they love mutually; they agree to marry; they are marry'd: *Elvira* hears of it, and raves; accuſes her *Friend* of *Ingratitude* in robbing her of her *Lover*; ſhe can take no Reſt, her Body grows weak, and her Mind diſturb'd, ſhe talks to her *Maid*, her *Father*, or her *Brother*, as if it was the *Captain*: She recollects her Error and bluſhes for it, and then relapſes into a greater, which ſhe does not bluſh for: She has Intervals of *Reaſon*, but 'tis of Reaſon ſhe moſt complains: She finds ſhe is not *inſenſible* of *Love*, but finds it *too late*. In ſuch a State of Miſery ſhe lies, that they who thought nothing could ſufficiently revenge her *Pride* and *Inſenſibility*, now begin to think the Puniſhment inflicted *too ſevere*.

SACHARILLA.

Weekly Miſcellany, Dec. 7. No. 104.

Remarks on a Pamphlet, entitled, The Reaſons alledg'd againſt Dr. *Rundle*'s Promotion to the See of *G* ——, ſeriouſly and diſpaſſionately conſidered.

1. THE Author ſeems throughout to impute it as a *Crime* to any Eccleſiaſtick, that he endeavours to *preſerve* the Conſtitution of the Church, of which he is a Member, and is deſirous that the Government of it may be committed, not to Perſons who are *juſtly ſuſpected* of *Diſaffection* to it; but to thoſe who are of *known Fidelity*, and are not willing that any *Rights* or *Powers* be taken from it, to which it ſtands entitled by Laws *Civil* or *Sacred*. Such as theſe he repreſents as *Enemies* to *Liberty*.

2. He finds (I perceive) *no Medium* between *no* Toleration, and an *abſolute*, *unlimited* Toleration; nor can ſee any Difference between *Changes* which affect the very *Eſſence* of an Eſtabliſhment, and ſuch Changes as are only *circumſtantial*.

3. He repreſents what has been done in Dr. *R*——'s Caſe as an *Inquiſition*, and as if he were proſecuted upon *Suſpicion* only, in order to be *puniſhed* for his Opinions; when no more is meant, than that one, who is a Candidate for *Favour*, ſhould firſt remove all reaſonable Objections which are raiſed againſt his being *duly qualified* for it.

4. He ſuggeſts that Dr. *R*—— and his Friends *do not know* what are the Imputations from which he ſhould clear himſelf. I do not take upon myſelf to be his Accuſer: But did Dr. *R*—— or his Friends never hear that he had been charged with *Arianiſm*, and a *Denial* of a *Fact*, which is expreſly affirmed by *Moſes* in the *Old* Teſtament, and by St. *Paul* and St. *James* in the *New*? (See p. 255.)

5. He ſuggeſts, that whereas ſome of Dr. *R*——'s Friends appealed to his *Charges* made at his *Archi-diaconal Viſitations*, in Evidence for his hearty Attachments to the Truth of the Goſpel, it was ſaid in Anſwer, that *no* Regard was to be paid to what was done *ex Officio*. No body has ever ſaid that a *Viſitation Charge* is *therefore* to be diſregarded, *becauſe* it is delivered *ex Officio*: But it has been ſaid, very properly, that Dr. *R*—— would have *publiſh'd* thoſe *Charges* made ſo long before he had any Views to a Biſhoprick, if he had known that they contained ſuch Things as would have ſet him right in the Opinion of the World.

6. He affirms, that Dr. *R*—— avers, that he had never any ſuch Notions *in his Head or Heart* as he is charged with. But this doth not yet appear.

7. In his Treatment of the two Clergymen, who (as it is ſaid) can and will, if Occaſion requires, bear Teſtimony againſt Dr. *R*—— this Writer has ſhewn no Sort of Regard to *Truth* or *Decency*. *One* is repreſented as a *poor Creature*, unqualified to judge of the moſt common Incidents in Converſation, ready to be offended, and *choak'd* at *even demonſtrable Truths*; the other as a *Tale-bearer*, *Pickthank*, *Informer*, and I know not what. I am willing to reſt theſe Matters upon the Judgment of the Publick; but there is one Thing which I cannot help obſerving, *viz.* That what gives this Writer the greateſt Offence in the Characters of theſe Gentlemen, is their *Zeal* and *Piety*, which ſeem to appear, in his Eyes, a much *worſe Crime* than *want of Faith*.

8. This *Gentleman of the Temple* expreſly aſſerts, that the Laws of the Land have *not* any where *defined* what is *Hereſy*. But he knows, or ought to have known, 1. That by 1 *Eliz. C.* 1. *that* is *Hereſy*, which has been adjudged to be ſuch by the firſt four General Councils, and that the firſt of thoſe four is the Council of *Nice*, which condemned *Arius* and his Adherents. 2. That in a much later Statute, *viz.* 9, 10 *Will.* III. *Cap.* 32, among the *blaſphemous* and *impious Opinions*, contrary to the Doctrines and Principles of the Chriſtian Religion, (they are the *Words* of the Statute) there are two: The denying any of the Perſons in the holy Trinity to be *God*, and the denying the holy Scriptures of the *Old* and *New Teſtament* to be of divine Authority.

9. He intimates, that the Oppoſers of Dr. *R*——'s Promotion are of Opinion, and do inſiſt, that *no* Man *ought* to be preferred to a Biſhoprick, unleſs the Recommendation is made by *ſome* or *all* the Biſhops; and, in particular, that *Lawyers* ought not to intermeddle in ſuch Affairs. Which is abſolutely falſe. Nobody ever pretended to exclude Lawyers, or any other Lay Perſon, from recommending to Biſhopricks, provided the Perſon recommended has a clear Character; of which the late Promotion to the Biſhoprick of *Carliſle* is an Inſtance.

10. He ſuggeſts, with great Aſſurance, that not only *one*, but *many* of the Biſhops are for Dr. *R*——'s Promotion. But to give that Suggeſtion its proper Weight, it ought to have been made appear, that *more* than one are for it, and will not only be ready to *join* in the *conſecrating* him, when nominated; but alſo in *recommending* him, which is what this Writer roundly aſſerts.

11. He ſuggeſts as if ſomething had been *given up* which was *at firſt* objected to Dr. *R*——'s Promotion. It is falſe. *Nothing* has been *given up*, which was *at firſt* objected.

12. He ſuggeſts I know not what *Projects* of making Dr *R*—— Dean of *Durham*, or giving him ſome Biſhoprick in *Ireland*. Meer Town-talk! which he dares *not pretend to ſay from whence, or from whom it came*; and yet, in about ten Lines after, has the Impudence to *pin* it upon the *great Eccleſiaſtick*, (as he thinks fit to call the *Biſhop* of *L*——*n*) and argue upon it as if *he* was reſponſible in this Caſe.

13. He ſuggeſts, that *all* the Clergy who are againſt Dr. *R*——'s Promotion, (*i. e.* the *whole Body* of the Clergy, with very few Exceptions) are *Enemies* to *Liberty* and to the preſent *Royal Family*; which is a vile Slander. But it is Truth, and no Slander, that there is not an *Infidel*, *Deiſt*, or *modern Freethinker* in the Kingdom, who is not zealous for his Promotion.

N. B. Fog *having laid aſide his Political Part for this Day, and only given us a Paper of a private and perſonal Nature, relating to the ſuppoſed Author of the* Prompter, *which would afford little or no Entertainment to our Readers, we therefore omit it, and paſs on to the*

Craftſman

Craſiſman, Dec. 7. N° 440.

The Diſſertation on Parties *continued from p.* 596. *In which the Preference of* our Conſtitution *to the* French *is conſider'd, &c.*

BOTH *the Anceſtors* of the *French*, and *our Anceſtors* came out of *Germany*, and had probably much the ſame Manners, Cuſtoms, and Forms of Government. But as they proceeded differently in their Conqueſts, ſo did they in the Eſtabliſhments that followed. The Conqueſt of *Britain* was a Work of Time, and the *Saxon Monarchy* was long in forming. The Conqueſt of *Gaul* was carried on with greater Rapidity, and the *French Monarchy* was ſooner formed. From hence ſome Reaſons might be drawn to account for that great Difference between the *Conſtitutions of the two Monarchies*, which theſe *two German Nations* founded, at no great Diſtance of Time, in *Britain* and in *Gaul*. But whatever were the Reaſons, this is certain; that the Diſtinction of *Lord* and *Vaſſal* became the general Diſtinction of the whole *French* Nation; that the *Commons* amongſt them were little better than *Slaves*, whatever they had been in *Germany*; and that they were ſo inured to Servitude under their *Kings*, *Prelates* and *Lords*, that they look'd on themſelves at laſt, not *juſtly*, but *unjuſtly*, as Men, who had no Right, no not even by Nature, to any Share in the Government.

In *Britain* another Conſtitution was formed, and another Spirit prevailed. The *Saxons* had a * *Nobility* too, ariſing from perſonal Valour, or Wiſdom, continued by Blood, and ſometimes conferred by the Prince. All theſe were the *Adelings* or *Nobles*, an Handful in Compariſon of the *Frilingi*, or *Freeborn*, who made the Body of the *Saxon People*. The Freedom of this People was erected on two Columns, that have proved more durable than Braſs. They were Parties to the making, and to the executing all the general Laws of the Kingdom. They ſhared the *legiſlative Power*; were joined to the *Lords* in the Adminiſtration of Juſtice; and no Magiſtrate, or Officer, could exerciſe Juriſdiction over them, no not Eccleſiaſtical, without their Conſent and Election. The *Comites ex Plebe*, who were choſen for this laſt Function, the Adminiſtration of Juſtice, made one Rank amongſt the *Saxon Commonalty*. The *Cuſtodes Pagani*, ſuch as had an Helmet, a Coat of Mail, and a gilt Sword, for their ordinary Arms, whether they fought on Foot, or on Horſeback, made another Rank; and the plain *Pagani*, or *Ceorles*, made the loweſt. But even theſe were totally diſtinct from, and far ſuperior to the *Lazzi*, or *Slaves*, nay to the *free Lazzi*, ſuch as had been *Slaves*, and were become free. The *Ceorles* were *Freemen* to all Intents and Purpoſes.

Theſe are the Sources, from which all the Diſtinctions of Rank and Degree, that exiſt at this Day amongſt us, have flowed. Theſe are the general Principles of all our Liberties. That this *Saxon Conſtitution* hath vary'd in many Particulars, and at ſeveral Periods of Time, I am far from denying: That it did ſo, for Inſtance, on the Entry of the *Normans*, tho' certainly not near ſo much as many have been willing to believe. But let it be allowed for Argument's Sake, that during the firſt Confuſion, and the ſubſequent Diſorders, the Scheme of the *Saxon Conſtitution* was broken, and the *Liberties of the People* invaded, as well as the *Crown* uſurp'd; the utmoſt that can be made of it will amount to this; that Confuſion and Violence at the Entry, and for ſome Time after, under the Government of a *foreign Race*, introduced many illegal Practices, contrary to the Spirit, and Letter too, of the *antient Conſtitution*; and that *theſe Kings* and the *Lords abuſed their Power over the Freemen, by Extortion and Oppreſſion, as Lords over Tenants*. But it will remain true that neither *Kings*, nor *Lords*, nor both together † *could prevail over them, or gain their Conſent to give their Right, or the Law, up to the King's Beck. But ſtill the* Law *remain'd Arbiter both of* King *and* People, *and the* Parliament *ſupreme Expounder and Judge both of it and them.*

To bring our Diſcourſe to that Point, which is here immediately concerned; *Parliaments* were never interrupted, nor the Right of *any Eſtate* taken away, however the Exerciſe of it might be diſturb'd. Nay, they ſoon took the Forms they ſtill preſerve, were conſtituted *almoſt* as they now are, and were *intirely* built on the ſame general Principles, as well as directed to the ſame Purpoſes.

Property indeed, and *Power* by Conſequence, have changed Hands, or rather have ſhifted much in the ſame Hands, ſince the *Norman Æra*. *King*, *Lords*, and the *Church* were in thoſe Days, and long afterwards, the great Proprietors, and by the Nature of Tenures, as well as by the Bulk of their Eſtates, they held the *Commons* in no ſmall Subjection, and ſeem to have governed without much Regard to them. But the Regard, that was not paid them at firſt, the *Kings*, the *Lords* and the *Church* found it neceſſary to pay them in a ſhort Time; and that Weight in the Balance of Power, which *Property* did not then give them, they ſoon acquired, or rather reſumed by their *Numbers*, and by the *Circumſtances*, that follow'd; I mean the great Diſorders in the State, and the Civil Wars, which

* *Nat. Bacon. Hiſt. & Pol. Diſ.*

† *Nat. Bacon Summary Conclus. of the firſt Part of His. and Pol. Diſ.*

which the Ambition of *Princes*, of the *Nobility*, and of the *Church* too, created. In all theſe Conflicts, ſome of the Commons* *holding for the* King, *who promiſed Liberty from the* Lords, *and others ſiding with the* Lords, *who promiſed them Liberty from the* King, they came off better in the End than their *Principals*, and an Example rarely to be parallel'd was ſet; for *general Liberty* was A
buried by theſe Means under the Wings of *particular Ambition*. In later Days, when the Nation, haraſſed by the long Wars of *York* and *Lancaſter*, ſeem'd glad to ſettle under any ſtable Government, and in this Temper gave many Advantages to the Cunning of *Henry* VII. which the Violence of his *Son* improved, it is certain that the B
Commons ſuffered extremely from the Avarice of *one*, the Profuſion of the *other*, and the high-ſtrain'd Prerogative of *both*. But then their Sufferings were temporary, and may be ſaid to have ended with theſe Reigns; whereas the Sufferings of the *Nobility* and the *Church* were permanent and irretrievable. *The King and his Council*, ſays the Author I C
quoted laſt, *under Colour of Liveries and Retainders, brought the whole Kingdom to be of their Livery*. But ſtill the *Commons* loſt nothing, and gain'd much. They were more under Subjection to the *Crown*; but leſs under Subjection to the *Lords* and the *Church*. Not only the Dependencies on *theſe* were broken, but the *Lords* and the *Church* were made more dependent on the *Crown* than the D
Commons had been on *them*. The *Lords* were obliged to attend the *Court* at their own Expence, and might alienate their Eſtates to defray this Expence. A great Part of the Lands of the *Church* were confiſcated and parcell'd out to thoſe, who could buy, at very cheap Rates; and the Increaſe of *Trade*, which began about this Time to be very E
conſiderable, put the *Commons* into a Condition of being the Buyers. Thus were the old Foundations of *Property* and *Power* ſapped on one Side, and new Foundations laid on the other. *Democracy* was ſo well poiſed with *Ariſtocracy*, after this great Change, that if they divided, they could not invade one another; and if they united, they could not be invaded by the *Monarchy*. Far diF
ferent was the Caſe in other Countries, where the *Crown* got the better of the *Lords*, and baffled, at leaſt in ſome Degree, the monſtrous Attempts of *Eccleſiaſtical Uſurpation*. In *France*, for Inſtance, when the Incroachments of the *Papal Power* were check'd, the *Church* compounded with the *Crown*, and an Alliance ſucceeded of the *Monarchy* with G
the *Hierarchy*. But if the *Church* was able to compound, the *Nobility* was forced to ſubmit in that Kingdom; ſo that the Authority and Wealth of the *Church* being fix'd on the Side of the *Crown*, the whole Strength and Influence of the *Nobility* being taken from them, and incorporated with the Power of the *Crown*, and the *Commons* having nothing to do in that Government, but to pay Taxes, and carry Arms, the Kings of *France* are become *abſolute Monarchs*; and whatever *Liberty*, or *Appearance of Liberty*, there was in *that Conſtitution*, it is totally deſtroyed.

When I ſay *that Parliaments were intirely built on the ſame general Principles, as well as directed to the ſame Purpoſes, as they ſtill are*, I ſhall be juſtify'd by the whole Tenor of our *Hiſtory*, and of our *Law*. Let us conſider this in a Caſe the plaineſt imaginable, tho' it ſuffers ſo much Debate thro' the Effrontery of *ſome Men*. Let us conſider it relatively to that great Principle, *that Parliaments ought to be independent of the Crown*, in all Reſpects, except ſuch as are ſettled by the Law and Cuſtom of *Parliament*, and concerning which there is no Diſpute. What elſe did thoſe Laws mean, that were made in the Time of the *Lancaſter Kings*, to regulate the *Elections*, and to prevent the Influence, which *Richard* IId had illegally and arbitrarily employ'd, and which there was room to fear that *other Princes* might employ? What elſe do all thoſe Reſolutions, Declarations, Remonſtrances, and Acts of Parliament mean, that have been made ſo often, and enforced ſo ſtrongly, from Time to Time, and from thoſe Days to theſe, againſt the Influence of the *Crown*, either on the *Elections*, or on the *Members of Parliament*? If this be ſo, what do *thoſe Men* mean, who are employ'd, or rather what does *he* mean, who employs them, to plead in all Places, and on all Occaſions, even the moſt ſolemn, in Favour of this very *Influence*, nay of the very worſt Sort of it, which is created immediately by *Corruption*; for to that their Arguments reach by undeniable Conſequences? *Reaſon* is againſt *him* and *them*; ſince it is a plain Abſurdity to ſuppoſe a *Controul on the Crown*, (and they have not yet ventured to ſuppoſe the contrary, that I know of) and to eſtabliſh at the ſame Time a Power, and even a Right, in the *Crown* to render *this Controul* uſeleſs.

We ſhall hear, for ought I know, even in this Age, that *Kings* are *God's Vicegerents*; that they are, next to *him* and his Son *Chriſt Jeſus, ſupreme Moderators and Governors*. We ſhall hear again, perhaps, of their *hereditary, divine, indefeazable Right*, and the reſt of that ſilly Cant, which was invented to make the Uſurpations o *Prerogative* go down the better. But will even this alter the Caſe? Will this make it unworthy of them to ſubmit to the full Controul of ſuch a *Conſtitution* as God himſelf approved, in the Inſtitution of the *Jewiſh Senate*. *Moſes* was undoubtedly *God's Vicegerent*; he was, if ever Man

* *Nat. Bacon Hiſt. and Pol' Diſc. Concluſ. of the 2d Part.*

Man was ſo, next and immediately under God, a *ſupreme Moderator and Governor*. He was inſpired, and aſſiſted in a ſupernatural Manner; and yet he took the Advice of his Father-in-Law *Jethro*, the Prieſt of *Midian*. He aſſociated to himſelf in the Government of the Common-Wealth, or he had the People take, as he ſays in another Place, or chuſe, *wiſe Men and underſtanding, and known among the Tribes*, that they might be aſſociated to him. Whether they, who deduce from hence the Inſtitution of *Sanhedrins*, are in the Right, or they, who aſſign them a more modern Date, againſt the Opinion of the *Jewiſh Doctors* themſelves, it matters not to enquire. Thus much is certain. A *great Sanhedrin* ſubſiſted at *Jeruſalem* even at the coming of the *Meſſiah*, as well as *inferior Sanhedrins* in ſeveral Parts of *Paleſtine*; which Form of Government bore ſome Reſemblance to our old *Saxon Conſtitution*; and he, who looks into Mr. *Selden*, will find that the *great Sanhedrin* had as much Authority, and exerciſed as much Power, as ever *Parliaments* did, or *Wittenagemotes* could claim. That God approved a Kind of *Parliamentary Eſtabliſhment*, and a Diviſion of the ſupreme Power between his Vicegerent *Moſes* and the *70 Elders*, to whom he gave ſome of the *Spirit, that was on Moſes*, is plain from Scripture. After this, it cannot be ſaid, I think, to derogate from the Majeſty of any Prince, that he is relieved from the Burthen of governing *alone*; that he is obliged to ſhare the ſupreme Power with the *Nobility* and *Commonalty* of the Realm; and that he is hindred from deſtroying, either directly or indirectly, that Independency of *theſe other Eſtates*, which can alone preſerve this Diviſion of the ſupreme Power.

But, perhaps, theſe *great* and *honeſt Men* have diſcovered a Neceſſity of putting the *Members*, or a *Majority of the Members of Parliament* under the Influence of the *Crown*, in order to preſerve this very *Conſtitution*. Let us ſee therefore what Dangers *this Expedient* is fitted to prevent. Are we afraid that an *Houſe of Commons*, unleſs reſtrain'd by *Places* and *Penſions*, ſhould give up the Conſtitution to the *Lords*, and eſtabliſh an *Ariſtocracy*? This Fear would be ridiculous ſurely. Are we afraid that an *Houſe of Commons*, unleſs reſtrain'd in this Manner, ſhould uſurp more Power than belongs to them, and eſtabliſh a Kind of *Democratical Tyranny*? But they would have in Oppoſition to them a Power ſufficient to defeat their Deſigns; the united Power of the *Crown* and of the *Houſe of Lords*. Formerly indeed, they ſucceeded in an Attempt of this Kind, and the *King* and the *Lords* may at any Time throw too much Power into their Scale, and ſet the Senſe and Spirit of the People on their Side, as was done at that Time. But this neither hath been, nor can be done, unleſs both *King* and *Lords* conduct themſelves ſo ill, that the Miſchiefs to be apprehended from their Prevalency appear as great, or greater than from the Prevalency of the *Commons*. Let it be remembered too that as the *King* and *Lords* may give too much Power and Popularity to the *Commons*, ſo the *Lords* and *Commons* may give too much Power to the *Crown*. The Difference will lye only here; that the *King* and *Lords* will never do the firſt deſignedly; whereas there is a Poſſibility that the *Lords* and *Commons* may be induced, in ſome Age leſs virtuous than the preſent, by *Places, Penſions*, and *other Gratifications*, beſtowed on a Majority of *thoſe Aſſemblies*, to do the laſt deſignedly. What now remains to be urg'd, in Favour of *this Expedient*? From what Danger are we to be protected by it? Shall we be told that *Parliaments* will not purſue the national Intereſt, unleſs their Members are bought into it by the *Crown*? Something like this hath been advanced, I have heard, and nothing more impudent, nor more ſilly, could be advanced. Some Inconveniencies may likewiſe ariſe from the *Independency of Parliaments*. *Miniſters*, for Inſtance, may be called to Account by the Paſſion, by the Prejudice, if you will, of *ſuch Aſſemblies*, oftener perhaps than they deſerve to be, or their Faults be puniſhed with more Rigour, not only than true *political Juſtice* requires, which ſhould always be tempered with *Mercy*, but even than *ſtrict Juſtice* exacts. But as one of theſe is a Fault, if it be a Fault, on the beſt Side, and as the other will certainly happen very ſeldom, it does not ſeem reaſonable that a Door ſhould be opened to *Corruption* and *Dependency*, in order to prevent them. Nay farther, this Vigilance and Severity of *Parliaments*, will not fail to have ſome very good Effects, more than ſufficient to balance the ſuppoſed ill Effects. They may render the Raſh, who are in Power, more cautious, and the Bold more modeſt. They may render Fools leſs fond of Power, and awe even Knaves into Honeſty. It were better ſurely that able and good Men ſhould now and then ſuffer (nay the good Man who ſuffered would be himſelf of this Opinion) than that the Adulation and Servility of *Parliaments*, which are the neceſſary Conſequences of *Corruption* and *Dependency*, ſhould ever contribute to make the *Court* become, in any future Age, a Sanctuary for *Pickpockets*, and an Hoſpital for *Changelings*.

The Prompter, Dec. 10. N° 9.

Advice to Widows.

THE Point to be canvaſſed, in Favour of Widows, is, *whether that* Decency *that ought to accompany ev'ry Woman's Actions*,

ent, is not a little violated by a ſecond Marriage? I exclude from my Deciſion all Widows paſt the Age when Paſſion is becoming, and adds a Grace to Beauty, or that are loaded with a numerous Off-ſpring, whoſe Intereſt a ſecond Match might *hurt*; for the firſt of theſe ought to have no *Paſſion* at all, and the ſecond to transfer *it* to her Children. The Queſtion then is, *Whether a Lady, yet in the Age of Paſſion and Beauty, ought to marry again?*

There are Perſons in the World, that think it is impoſſible to *love twice*, whence they conclude a ſecond Match a *Violation of Decency, without any Excuſe.* If it were true that it is impoſſible to *love twice*, I would allow the Inference; but I am of ſo very different an Opinion, that I think that Perſon that *once* has *loved*, moſt in Danger of *loving again*, ſince, eſpecially in the Fair Sex, there is a Softneſs of Nature that excludes *Inſenſibility*, which (tho' the Object that firſt turn'd it into Love is gone for ever) ſtill lives in the ſame Breaſt, and *is*, and *ought* to be open to the ſame Poſſibility of Change.

I am not for refuſing a Woman that generous and tender Regard due to the Memory of a Man, whom either Love or Gratitude may have made dear to her; but if ſhe puſhes it to inward Uneaſineſs and Diſcontent, ſhe *goes out of Character*, and wants prompting into a *right* Knowledge of herſelf, and the *Part ſhe is to act.*

The *Cue* then that I would give to Widows, is to marry again, when they find a Perſon from whom they have Reaſon to expect Happineſs; but I ſtrictly enjoin them to aſſociate the *Mind*'s Eye with the *Body*'s, in ſearching for this *Perſon.*

Free Briton, Dec. 5. and 12.

The Cauſes which contributed to the Ruin of the Liberties of Caſtile: *In Anſwer to the* Craftſman. (See p. 589.)

THE *real Grievance* of the Commons of *Caſtile*, was the King's commanding their *Cortes* to attend at the *Greyne*, which was in another Province, and was as unnatural a Summons, as if the *Lords and Commons of Great Britain*, ſhould be required to hold their Seſſion at the *Land's-End*, or in the *Highlands of Scotland.* On this Occaſion, the *natural* Remedy was to chuſe *no Procurators* for the future, but ſuch as ſhould engage to obey no Summons which called them out of *Caſtile*, and to give no Money till their Grievances were redreſſed.

It is infamouſly falſe, to charge the Loſs of Liberty in *Caſtile*, upon the Grant of the *Cortes*, in 1406, which gave the King a Power to raiſe new Taxes, for the Support of the War, when in 1520, (more than 110 Years afterwards) the Power of the *Cortes*, in all the Provinces of *Spain*, was formidably great; ſo that *Charles* V. tho' he ſpent a *Million of their Money*, at *Barcelona*, could not obtain of the *Cortes* there, above 25l. clear to himſelf; nor could he obtain any Money in *Aragon*; nor procure it of *Caſtile*, by Force, Fraud, or Corruption, till he drew the *Cortes out of the Province*, and pent up their Seſſion *in the Greyne.*

It is more infamouſly falſe and diſhoneſt, to call that *Grant of the Cortes*, which gave the abſolute Power of raiſing new Taxes, into the Hands of the King, a *Vote of Credit*, in order to defame the *Votes of Credit* in *Great Britain*, which are only Powers to apply Part of the Money, that ariſes on legal Funds, according to the Exigencies of the Times, to be judged of, within a few Months, by the whole Nation in Parliament, which Delegation of Power, will not amount to any Authority of *Taxing the People*; nor even of raiſing the Money to *defray the Debt*, hereby incurred, unleſs it be juſtified by a future Seſſion.

The ſame Spirit of *Falſhood* and *Diſhoneſty carries the Author of the Diſſertation* into his Reflections on the Corruption of the *Cortes of Caſtile*, as the Ruin of the *Spaniſh Liberties.* He knew thoſe Liberties were not loſt by the *Acts of the Cortes*; that the whole Charge againſt them, and the whole Effect of their Corruption, amounted to no more than a *Subſidy*, granted to the King at the *Greyne*; and how much ſoever it might diſagree with the Sentiments of their Conſtituents, it could not hurt their Liberties: But if the Author had ventured one Step further, he might have told us, what *in Reality* ruined *their Liberties*, namely, the *Violence of the People*, and not the *Corruption of their Repreſentatives*; for, when theſe Repreſentatives *returned Home*, the People roſe in Arms and *murdered* them: From whence hath been drawn that *Leſſon of publick Virtue* which runs throughout the *Modern Diſſertations* on Patriotiſm, to cure *Corruption* by *Aſſaſſination*, and *reform* Mankind by *murdering their Magiſtrates.*

The *Nobles* and *Clergy of Caſtile*, had been, from the Beginning of the Tumult, *Well-wiſhers to the Commons*; and ſuch of theſe Orders, as did not openly join them, looked on their Succeſs with real Satisfaction: A *Miniſtry of Foreigners* had enraged the Nobility, and the Promotions of *Dutch Prelates* had enflamed all the Clergy. Of the Nobles, *Inigo de Velaſco, Conſtable of Caſtile*, having ſtill appeared diſcontented with the Court, had been ſuffered to live quietly at *his Houſe in Burgos*; till a Rumour prevailed, that, in the Beginning of the Troubles, a Meſſenger, which this City had ſent to the

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Province of *Marindatis*, inviting them into the Aſſociation, had been perſuaded, by the *Conſtable of Caſtile*, not to go, and had been concealed in his Houſe ever ſince. Upon this Rumour, the Mob roſe, ſurrounded the *Conſtable*'s Houſe, threatning to fire it, and, at length, the *poor Wretch*, who had been hid there, was delivered up to their Rage, who *hanged him* up at the *Conſtable*'s Gate, and threatened to *hang up the Conſtable* likewiſe, if he did not quit *Burgos* immediately. This outrageous Procedure rouzed him *to take up Arms* in the Cauſe of the Crown, *againſt the Commons*: And thus, by *their Violence*, having raiſed up *this Great Man to their Ruin*, his Art over-reached them, his Influence corrupted them; and his Arms, aſſiſted by the *Admiral of Caſtile*, took the *Body of the aſſociated Cortes*, Priſoners at War in the Town of *Tordeſillas*; which was ſtormed with Sword in Hand, to the utter Deſtruction of the *Communities of Caſtile*.

For, having drawn theſe formidable Enemies, the *Conſtable* and *Admiral* of *Caſtile*, upon them, by their Violence and Madneſs, the Remains of the *Junta*, which had met with this dreadful Blow at *Tordeſillas*, eſcaping to *Valledolid*, and erecting themſelves into a *Council of State*, with *Don John de Padilla* at their Head, they in moſt unſeaſonable Vengeance againſt the *two great Men* abovementioned, *declared War* againſt *all the Nobles* of *Caſtile*; demanding likewiſe, a *General Reſumption* of all *the Lands of the Crown*; and put it into every one's Mouth, that, before Harveſt Time, *all the Nobles of the Country would be ſent a begging*. And, from this Period, not a Word was heard of Grievances from a *Miniſtry of Foreigners*, or any of the old *popular Complaints*; but the univerſal Cry was *that the* Nobles *had robbed the King and ruined the Kingdom*: So that, inſtead of the *Conſtable* and *Admiral*, they ſummon'd by this *prodigious Act of Extravagance*, *all the Nobility of Caſtile*, to arm againſt the Communities.

Charles V. ſeeing that the triumphant *Nobles*, were, by this ſtrange Revolution, his Friends; and that the brave *John de Padilla*, the *Hannibal of Spain*, was, by the Chance of War, taken Priſoner and beheaded; had the Cunning to draw the *Clergy* into his Intereſts. *William de Croy* the *Flemiſh Archbiſhop of Toledo* being now dead, the Emperor named a *Caſtilian* to ſucceed him; and, on this, the *whole Prieſthood of Spain* turned, as one Man, *to betray the Commons into Slavery*, whom they principally had *excited to riſe in Rebellion*. *Padilla*'s Widow, *Maria Pacheco*, the *Heroine of her Sex*, whoſe matchleſs Fortitude raiſed her almoſt above the moſt illuſtrious Examples of antient Virtue, with an invincible Genius, when the Fortunes of her Party were turned; when the *Junta of the Commons* were cut to Pieces; when their Army had been deſtroy'd, and *her brave Lord* had loſt his Head; this *Great Woman*, ſtill preſerved the Liberties of her Country pent up together with herſelf, within the *Walls of Toledo*: With aſtoniſhing Magnanimity ſhe held out the City againſt the *Crown*, the *Nobility*, and the *Clergy*, calling on the People inceſſantly, *never to lay down their Arms till they had ſecured their* Freedom, *and had taken Vengeance on the* Butchers *who had* cut the Throats *of their beſt* Patriots.

If it was the Misfortune of this illuſtrious Lady, that her Perſuaſion and Influence precipitated that War, which, ſanctify'd by the Cauſe of Liberty, produced ſuch popular Extravagance, and ended in the *Ruin of Caſtile*; it will be to her Glory, to the Glory of her Sex, and to that of her Nation, that, with ſuch manly Virtue, ſhe greatly ſupported her dying Country, and bravely ſtood in its Defence to the very laſt Gaſp of its Liberty; incapable of all Corruption, incapable of Fear, and ſtirring up the People to a new War in Defiance of an all-prevailing Enemy.

But the *Clergy of Toledo* no ſooner were gratified with the Promotion of a *native Archbiſhop*, than they employ'd the *Power of the Church* againſt *Padilla*'s *Widow*; and, as it often happens where the Turn is by ſuch Means to be ſerved, they made it the *Cauſe of God and Religion* to ſlander and *defame her*. Thus, ſhe, who, to her eternal Renown, had refuſed the Offers of the *Governours of Caſtile*; nay the ſtrongeſt Sollicitations of her Brother; declaring to him, *that as ſhe did not care to outlive the* Liberties of her Country, *ſo, had ſhe a* thouſand Lives, *ſhe would loſe them all, rather than receive any Favour from thoſe Traitors to their Country who had* butcher'd *the brave* Padilla, *for no other Reaſon than his having ſtood up for its Liberties*; ſhe, this *Miracle of a Woman*, was *bely'd* by the Clergy, *as a Witch*. They ſaid, that the *Negro Woman*, ſhe kept, *was no Woman*, but an *Imp of Hell*, who furniſhed her with Charms to faſcinate the Multitude; and, that the People, who reverenced this Lady to Adoration, might be ſatisfy'd *that ſhe bewitch'd them*, theſe *godly* Deceivers affirmed, *That, by Virtue of ſome very ſtrong Exorciſms, they had forced* the Devil *to confeſs as much out of the* Mouths *of ſeveral of her* chief *Admirers*.

At length, her Courage and Wiſdom proving ſuperiour to theſe *Eccleſiaſtical Calumnies*, when neither Menaces nor Promiſes could prevail over her Virtue, but ſhe ſtill defended the City; the *Biſhop of Leon*, at the Head of a Multitude, whom he had pioufly *diſenchanted by his Exorciſms*, aſſaulted her Houſe; and, after it had been defended ſeveral Hours by her Servants, *ſhe*, with her Siſter, the *Counteſs of Montecute*, eſcaped privately out of

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the City, and, from *Caſtile* went into *Portugal*; where ſhe was kindly received by her own Relations, the *noble Family* of the *Pacheco's*; whilſt *Charles* V. with impotent Rage, wreaked his Malice on her Name and Effigies, whom all Poſterity muſt mourn and praiſe.

The Day after *ſhe left* the *City of Toledo*, the Magiſtrates made their Submiſſion; and thus fell the *Conſtitution of Caſtile*, tho' its *Cortes* continued to enjoy ſome Appearances of its ancient Power.

I will here conclude this ſummary View of the Wars of the *Commons of Caſtile*, whilſt thoſe who would improve the Clamours of Corruption into ſuch Scenes of civil Uproar, may learn, from this Story, what is moſt likely to be the Fate of their Country from ſuch extravagant Meaſures.

Univerſal Spectator, Dec. 14. N° 323.

Man's Life a continual Round of Hurry and Amuſement.

THE *great Buſineſs* and *Hurry* of *Mankind*, is little more than ſo many different Expedients to paſs away their Time, and divert the *Fatigue* of *Living* by doing ſomething to keep them in Exerciſe. The Progreſs of our Paſſions are ended only with our Life; while there is *Life* there will remain certain Deſires, which have relation to *Futurity*, and which is impoſſible to confine to any ſtated Point of Time. We cannot ſay to them, *no farther ſhall you go*, ſince Progreſſion is neceſſary to Exiſtence, and when we ceaſe to *proceed*, we ceaſe to *be*. Action is the Conſequence of Living, and when we are moſt idle, it is only to find out ſome new Expedient of getting rid of our Time next.

Old Men are generally blamed for laying Foundations for great Buildings, which they can never live to ſee finiſh'd: This may ſhew us how natural a Delight it is to be doing ſomething; ſince they are ſo loſt in executing their Deſigns, that they never once think of having them interrupted by Death. There was a Gentleman in *Hertfordſhire*, who after he was *Fourſcore*, planted a Row of Walnut-Trees, which do not bear Fruit in *many Years* after they are ſet, and told his Friends they were of a particular Sort, and he planted them for his *own Eating*: And Mr. *Hobbes*, when he was turn'd of his *90th* Year made a warm Winter Coat, which he ſaid wou'd laſt him about ſix Years, and then he wou'd have juſt ſuch another.

The Dialogue between *Pyrrhus*, King of *Epirus*, and *Cineas*, his *Prime Miniſter*, is full of Inſtruction, and ſets forth the reſtleſs Spirit of Man: *What, Sir, do you propoſe in this Expedition againſt the* Romans? ſays Cineas: *To conquer all* Italy, anſwers Pyrrhus: *And what next?* ſays the Counſellor: *Then we will tranſport our Forces into* Sicily, *and make that Kingdom our own*, reply'd his Majeſty: *And what Expedition will you go on after that? Then*, quoth the enterprizing Hero, *we'll ſail to* Africa, *and ſubdue that Part of the World. And what*, continues the Stateſman, *remains to be done then? Why then,—then*, ſays the Monarch, *we will ſit down and be merry over our Bowls. And what*, anſwers his Miniſter, *hinders us from doing that* Now?

What Anſwer the *King* made, I think is not recorded; but Fighting was his Expedient of waſting his Time, and his conſtant Diverſion to the laſt Gaſp, without arriving at that *merry Hour* which he propos'd as the Iſſue of all his Victories; for he was knock'd on the Head at ſtorming of a City, and ſo like a true Hero died in his Vocation.

Many are the Arts practis'd by poor Mortals to diſpatch their Time: The whole Series of their Lives is taken up in tiring themſelves by one Action, then flying to another to make them forget they are tir'd; and when that Expedient alſo grows tireſome they have Recourſe to another: Thus they proceed in one continued Round of Curioſity and Fatigue, and ſupport the preſent Burthen of Life in looking forward to a future.

But the Methods of waſting away our Life are as various as the Humours and Capacities of Mankind: *Princes* go to *War* as Country Gentlemen do to a Hunting, only to deſtroy a Parcel of *Innocent Creatures* for their *Diverſion* and *Exerciſe*; and the great *Stateſmen* ſtruggle for *white Staves*, as the *Children* do for *Rattles*; the *harmleſs Babes* indeed are *amuſed* with the Tinkle of the *Bells*, but the *Amuſement* of the *Politick Infants* is often the *Ruin* of a *Province*, or the *Plundering* of a *Nation*. Thus ſome lead *Armies*, ſome invent *Projects*, ſome make *Speeches*, and ſome *pick their Teeth*; the *Beaus* recreate themſelves with their *Snuff*, their *Solitaires*, and their *Looking-Glaſſes*; and the *Ladies* divert themſelves with their *Tea*, their *Scandal*, and that faſhionable Amuſement *Quadrille*, which with a wonderful Facility not only waſtes their *Time*, but their *Pin-Money* too.

There are ſome few who in *Devotion* find an excellent Expedient to paſs away ſeveral Hours; but the Stratagem of making *Piety* an *Amuſement*, is not thought conſiderable enough to be much in *Vogue*.

Fog's Journal, Dec. 14. N° 319.

The People's Duty to preſerve their Liberties.

IN all Governments that have any Remains of Freedom, and where Power is

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acknowledg'd to be deriv'd from the People, the People will and ought to oppose every Thing that looks like the least Design of incroaching upon their Liberties; and therein consists their Safety.

Machiavel says, that when Men rise to a little Power, it is natural for them to grasp at more; and therefore those who would firmly establish their Liberties, must frame their Government in such a Manner, as if they suspected all Men by Nature more inclined to Evil than Good. They ought therefore to confine their Governors within such Bounds as not to leave it in their Power to do Mischief. He observes very well, that after the Expulsion of the *Tarquins*, the Nobility and the People were so united, that they went Hand in Hand, and acted as if they had been but one Family; but no sooner were the Nobility deliver'd by the Death of the *Tarquins*, from the Fear of any Party rising up in Favour of Kingly Government, but they changed their Conduct, were for inlarging their own Power, and for exercising the same Tyranny, under another Name, which the *Tarquins* had practised before: But this brave and wise People always opposed their Attempts; so that after many Struggles, Things were accommodated betwixt them by the Creation of the Tribunes of the People.

Notwithstanding that this proved an excellent Barrier for the publick Liberties, yet the Nobility could not resist the Temptation of pushing for more Power, as often as any Occasion presented itself, which seemed to favour such a Design; but as the People always took the Alarm, they defended the Post of Liberty, by such Methods as are practised in all free Governments, but which under Tyrannies or Governments running into Tyranny, are called riotous and seditious.

Machiavel taking Notice of the Contentions betwixt the Nobility and the People of *Rome*, speaks of them to this Effect:

I cannot pass over the Commotions which happen'd in Rome *betwixt the Death of the* Tarquins *and the Creation of the Tribunes, nor can I forbear giving my Opinion against those who will needs have it that* Rome *was a tumultuous Commonwealth, full of Mutiny and Confusion, and that had not its Valour and good Fortune supplied its other Defects, it would have been inferior to any other Commonwealth.*

Those who object against the Tumults between the Nobility and the People in this City, do, in my Opinion, condemn the very Thing to which it ow'd its Freedom; but some Men regard the Bustle and Clamours which usually attend such Commotions, without considering the good Effects they commonly produce, not reflecting that in all Commonwealths there are two opposite Humours, one of the Nobility, the other of the People; that all Laws made in Favour of Liberty proceed from the Differences betwixt them, which certainly was the Case of Rome; *for from the Time of the* Tarquins *to the* Gracchi *(which was more than* 300 *Years) in all the Tumults in* Rome, *seldom any body was banish'd, and seldomer put to Death; so that it is neither just nor reasonable to call these Tumults dangerous and horrible, or to pronounce that a seditious and bloody Commonwealth, which, in so long a Time, amidst all their Heats and Animosities, sent not above eight or ten Persons into Banishment, executed but few, and condemn'd not one to any pecuniary Fine.*

Nor can those Methods be called seditious which never produced any Laws prejudicial to the publick Interest, and tho' it may be objected that their Ways were wild and whimsical, and that it must look strange to hear the People clamouring against the Senate, and the Senate railing at the People; to see them shut up their Shops, and run tumultuously about the City, and assemble in great Bodies; I answer, that all Cities ought to be allowed some Vent for their Passions, especially where, in Times of Exigence and Danger, all Strength and Succour is drawn from the People; of which Number the City of Rome *was one, where when the People had a Mind to a new Law, in Favour of Liberty, they either had Recourse to these Methods, or else refused to list for the Wars; so that the Nobility were in a Manner obliged to comply with them; nor had this ever any bad Effect, because the Desires of a Free People never tend to the Destruction of the Commonwealth.*

Thus (says *Fog*) it has been the Custom in all free States for the People to assemble in Multitudes, in order to sound each other's Sentiments, to consult, to petition, and to oppose all such Laws as appear'd to them to have any Tendencies towards restraining and lessening their Liberties. Whenever those in the Government venture to dispute this Right with them, and begin to controul them in it; when they threaten Ruin to all that discover any Dislike to their destructive Measures, I say, if ever those entrusted with the Administration of publick Affairs, should arrive at such an Insolence of Power, to do this in a Country that is called Free, we may venture to pronounce, that the Liberties of that People are not long-liv'd.

Craftsman, Dec. 14. N° 441.

The Dissertation on Parties *continued from p.* 641.

THE great Alteration we have spoken of, in *Property* and *Power*, brought our *Constitution*, by slow Degrees, so near the most perfect Idea of a *free System of Government*, that nothing would be now wanting to

compleat it, if effectual Means were found of ſecuring the Independency of Parliament againſt *Corruption*, as well as it is ſecured againſt *Prerogative*. Our *Kings* have loſt little of the gaudy Plumage of the Crown. Some of their ſuperfluous Power, indeed, hath been bought, and more hath been wreſted from them. Notwithſtanding which, the Crown muſt ſit lighter, and more ſecure, on the Head of a *wiſe Prince*, ſince the great Change of *Property* and *Power*, in Favour of the *Commons*, than ever it did before. Our *Kings* are no longer expoſed to the Inſults of *turbulent*, *ambitious Lords*, or *haughty Prelates*. It is no longer in the Power of a *few factious Noblemen* to draw Armies into the Field, and oblige their *Prince* to fight for his Crown, to fight to gain it, and to fight to keep it; as *Edward* the IVth did, I think, in nine pitch'd Battles. To make the *Prince* uneaſy, or inſecure, as we are now conſtituted, the *whole Body of the People* muſt be uneaſy under his Government. A *popular King* of *Great Britain* will be always not only eaſy and ſecure, but in Effect abſolute. He will be, what the *Britiſh Conſtitution* alone can make any *Prince*, the *abſolute Monarch of a free People*.

The Condition of the *Nation* is mended in every Reſpect, by the great Improvements of our *Conſtitution*; which are due principally to the *Change* I have mention'd, as the Advances we have made in *Trade*, and in *national Wealth* and *Power*, are due principally to theſe Improvements. It is by *theſe*, that the Subjects of *Great Britain* enjoy hitherto ſuch a Freedom of their *Perſons*, and Security of their *Property*, as no other People can boaſt. Hence that great Encouragement of *Induſtry*; hence that broad and ſolid Foundation of *Credit*, which muſt always continue, unleſs the Weight of *Taxes*, and the Oppreſſion of *Tax-gatherers* make it worth no Man's while to be induſtrious any longer, and unleſs *national Credit* be reduced, by Length of Time, and private Management to reſt no longer on its *natural and original Foundation*, but on the feeble Props of *yearly Expedients*, and *daily Tricks*; by which a *Syſtem*, that ought to be the *plaineſt* and *faireſt* imaginable, will become of courſe a *dark*, *intricate*, *and wicked Myſtery of Stockjobbing*.

But the great Advantage we are to inſiſt on here, from the Alteration in the State of *Property* and *Power*, is this; that we have been brought by it to the true Poiſe of a *mix'd Government*, conſtituted like ours on the *three ſimple Forms*. The *Democratical Power* is no longer kept under the ſame *Dependencies*; and if an *Houſe of Commons* ſhould now fail to aſſert that *independent Share in the ſupreme, legiſlative Power*, which the Conſtitution aſſigns to *this Aſſembly*, it could not proceed, as it might and ſometimes did formerly, from the Nature of *Tenures*, and many other unavoidable Reſtraints; but alone from the *Corruption of particular Men*, who threw themſelves into a *voluntary Dependency*. The *Democratical Power of our Conſtitution* is not ſufficient to overtop the *Monarchical* and *Ariſtocratical*; but it is ſufficient to counterwork and balance any *other Power* by its own Strength, and without the fatal Neceſſity of favouring the Ambition of the *Crown* againſt the *Lords*, or that of the *Lords* againſt the *Crown*. Nay more, as our Government is now conſtituted, the *three Eſtates* have not only one common Intereſt, which they always had; but they have, conſider'd as *Eſtates*, no ſeparate, contradictory Intereſt. Our *Conſtitution* gives ſo much Grandeur and Power to the *Crown*, and our *Parliaments* give ſo immenſe a Revenue, that no *Prince* hath any real Intereſt to deſire more, who looks on himſelf as the *ſupreme Magiſtrate of a free People*.

The Property of the *Commons* is not only become far ſuperior to that of the *Lords* upon the Whole, but in the Detail there are few, very few Inſtances to be produced of greater Shares of private Property amongſt the *latter* than amongſt the *former*; and as the Property of the *Commons* is greater, ſo it is equally *free*. There are no Badges of Servitude on *one Side*; no Pretence of any Superiority, except thoſe of *Title* and *Rank*, on the *other*. The *Peers* are, in ſome Points, (I ſpeak it with all the Reſpect due to them) *Commoners with Coronets on their Coats of Arms*; and affecting to act as ſuch, it is plain they deſire very wiſely to be taken for ſuch, on many Occaſions. The Intereſts of *theſe two Eſtates* then, with all the Regard to *Property*, are the ſame; and their *particular Rights* and *Privileges* are now ſo well aſcertained, and ſo widely diſtinguiſhed, that as the Proximity of their Intereſts of *one Sort* ſhould always unite them, ſo the Diſtance of thoſe of *another Sort* cannot eaſily make them claſh. In ſhort, *theſe two Orders*, according to the *preſent Conſtitution* have no Temptation, and ſcarce the Means, of invading *each other*; ſo that they may the better and the more effectually unite their Efforts, whenever it ſhall be neceſſary, againſt the Encroachments of the *Crown*.

The *Peers of the Realm* can, the *Commons* cannot aſſemble in their *collective Body*, without exceeding thoſe Numbers, amongſt whom the Quiet, Order, Decency, and Solemnity of a *Senate* may be preſerved. The *Peers* therefore ſit in Parliament in their *collective*, the *Commons* in their *repreſentative Body*. The *Peers* have an inherent, the *Commons* a delegated Right. The Peers are therefore accountable for their Conduct, as all other Men are, to *God*, to their *own Conſciences*, to the Tribunal of *publick Fame*, and to no other. But the *Commons* are accountable to

nother Tribunal, as well as to *theſe*; to that of their *Conſtituents*, before which they muſt frequently appear, according to the true Intent of our *Conſtitution*, to have a Cenſure, or Approbation, paſſed on their Conduct, by the Refuſal, or Grant of *new Powers* to the particular Members. Thus the *collective Body of the People of Great Britain* delegate, but do not give up, truſt, but do not alienate their Right and their Power, and cannot be undone, by having Beggary or Slavery brought upon them, unleſs they co-operate to their own Undoing, and in one Word betray themſelves.

We cannot therefore ſubſcribe to thoſe two Sayings of my Lord *Bacon*, *that* England *can never be undone unleſs by* Parliaments; *and that there is nothing, which a* Parliament *cannot do. Great Britain*, according to our *preſent Conſtitution*, cannot be undone even by *Parliaments*; for *there is ſomething, which a* Parliament *cannot do.* A *Parliament* cannot annul the *Conſtitution*; and whilſt that is preſerved, tho' our Condition may be bad, it cannot be irretrievably ſo. The *Legiſlative* is a *ſupreme*, and may be call'd, in one Senſe, an *abſolute*, but in none an *arbitrary Power.* * *It is limited to the* publick Good of the Society. *It is a Power, that hath no other End but* Preſervation, *and therefore can never have a Right to* deſtroy, enſlave, *or deſignedly to* impoveriſh *the Subjects*; *for the Obligations of the* Law of Nature *ceaſe not in* Society, *&c.*

If you therefore put ſo extravagant a Caſe, as to ſuppoſe the *two Houſes of Parliament* concurring to make at once a formal Ceſſion of their *own Rights* and *Privileges*, and of thoſe of the *whole Nation* to the *Crown*, and aſk who hath the *Right*, and the *Means*, to reſiſt the *ſupreme, legiſlative Power*; I anſwer, the *whole Nation* hath the *Right*, and a *People*, who deſerve to enjoy *Liberty*, will find the *Means.* An Attempt of this Kind would break the Bargain between the *King* and the *Nation*, between the *repreſentative* and *collective Body of the People*, and would diſſolve the *Conſtitution.* From hence it follows that the *Nation*, which hath a Right to preſerve *this Conſtitution*, hath a Right to reſiſt an *Attempt*, that leaves no other Means of preſerving it but thoſe of Reſiſtance. From hence it follows that if the *Conſtitution* was actually diſſolved, as it would be by ſuch an Attempt of the *three Eſtates*, the *People* would return to their original, their natural Right, the Right of reſtoring the *ſame Conſtitution*, or of making a *new one.* No Power on Earth could claim any Right of impoſing a *Conſtitution* upon them; and leſs than any *that King, thoſe Lords*, and *thoſe Commons*, who, having been intruſted to preſerve, had deſtroy'd the *former.*

But to ſuppoſe a Caſe more within the Bounds of Poſſibility, tho' one would be tempted to think it as little within thoſe of Probability; let us ſuppoſe our *Parliaments*, in ſome future Generation, to grow ſo *corrupt*, and the *Crown* ſo *rich*, that a *pecuniary Influence* conſtantly prevailing over the *Majority*, they ſhould aſſemble for little elſe than to *eſtabliſh Grievances*, inſtead of redreſſing them; to approve the *Meaſures of the Court*, without Information; to engage their Country in *Alliances*, in *Treaties*, in *Wars*, without Examination; and to give *Money*, without *Account*, and almoſt without *Stint.* The Caſe would be deplorable. Our *Conſtitution* itſelf would become our *Grievance*, whilſt *this Corruption* prevailed; and if it prevailed long, our *Conſtitution* could not laſt long; becauſe this ſlow Progreſs would lead to the Deſtruction of it as ſurely as the more conciſe Method of giving it up at once. But, in this Caſe, the *Conſtitution* would help itſelf, and effectually too, unleſs the *whole Maſs of the People* was tainted, and the *Electors* were become no honeſter than the *Elected.* Much Time would be required to beggar and enſlave the Nation in this Manner. It could ſcarce be the Work of *one Parliament*, tho' *Parliaments* ſhould continue to be *ſeptennial.* It could not be the Work of a *triennial Parliament* moſt certainly; and the People of *Great Britain* would have none to blame but themſelves; becauſe, as the *Conſtitution* is a ſure Rule of Action to *thoſe*, whom they chuſe to act for them, ſo it is likewiſe a ſure Rule of Judgment to them in the Choice of their *Truſtees*, and particularly of ſuch as have *repreſented them already.* In ſhort, nothing can deſtroy the *Conſtitution of Britain*, but the *People of Britain*; and whenever the *People of Britain* become ſo degenerate and baſe, as to be induced by *Corruption* to chuſe *Perſons* to repreſent them in Parliament, whom they have found by Experience to be under an *Influence*, ariſing from *private Intereſt, Dependents on a Court*, and the *Creatures of a Miniſter*; or *others*, who are unknown to the *People*, that elect them, and bring no Recommendation but that, which they carry in their *Purſes*; then may the *Enemies of our Conſtitution* boaſt that they have got the better of it, and that it is no longer able to preſerve itſelf, nor to defend *Liberty.* Then will that trite, proverbial Speech be verify'd in our Caſe, *that the Corruptions of the beſt Things are the worſt*; for then will that very Change in the State of *Property* and *Power*, which improved our *Conſtitution* ſo much, contribute to the Deſtruction of it; and we may even wiſh for thoſe little Tyrants, the *great Lords* and the *great Prelates* again, to oppoſe the Encroachments of the *Crown.* Then will the Fate of *Rome* be renew'd, in ſome Sort, in *Britain.* The Grandeur of

Rome

* Locke's *Eſſay on civil Government*, C. 11. *of the Extent of the* Legiſlative Power.

Rome was the Work of many Centuries, the Effect of much Wiſdom, and the Price of much Blood. She maintain'd her *Grandeur*, whilſt ſhe preſerved her *Virtue*; but when *Luxury* grew up to favour *Corruption*, and *Corruption* to nouriſh *Luxury*; then *Rome* grew venal; the Election of her *Magiſtrates*, the Sentences of her *Judges*, the Decrees of her *Senate*, all was ſold; for her *Liberty* was ſold, when *theſe* were ſold; and her *Riches*, her *Power*, her *Glory*, could not long ſurvive her *Liberty*. She, who had been the Envy, as well as the Miſtreſs of Nations, fell to be an Object of their Scorn, or their Pity. They had ſeen and felt that ſhe governed other People by *Will*, and her own by *Law*. They beheld her governed herſelf by *Will*; by the *arbitrary Will* of the worſt of her own Citizens, of the worſt of both Sexes, of the worſt of Humankind; by *Caligula*, by *Claudius*, by *Nero*, by *Meſſalina*, by *Agrippina*, by *Poppæa*, by *Narciſſus*, by *Caliſtus*, by *Pallas*; by *Princes*, that were ſtupid, or mad; by *Women*, that were abandoned to Ambition and to Luſt; by *Miniſters*, that were emancipated Slaves, Paraſites and Pandars, inſolent and rapacious. In this miſerable State, the Few, that retained ſome Sparks of the old *Roman* Spirit, had double Cauſe to mourn in Private; for it was not ſafe even to *mourn* in Publick. They mourn'd the Loſs of the Liberty and Grandeur of *Rome*; and they mourn'd that both ſhould be ſacrificed to *Wretches*, whoſe *Crimes* would have been *puniſhed*, and whoſe *Talents* would ſcarce have recommended them to the *meaneſt Offices*, in the virtuous and proſperous Ages of the Commonwealth. Into ſuch a State, (the Difference of Times, and of other Circumſtances conſidered) at leaſt, into a State as miſerable as this, will the People of *Britain* both fall, and deſerve to fall, if they ſuffer, under any Pretence, or by any Hands, *that Conſtitution* to be deſtroyed, which cannot be deſtroy'd, unleſs they ſuffer it; unleſs they co-operate with the *Enemies of it*: If ever this happens, the *Friends of Liberty*, ſhould any ſuch remain, will have one Option ſtill left; and they will rather chuſe, no Doubt, to die the *laſt of* Britiſh *Freemen*, than bear to live the *firſt of* Britiſh *Slaves*.

The Prompter, Dec. 17. N° 11.

How to enjoy Life.

ONE ſeldom goes into any mixed Company, without hearing, if the Converſation grows ſerious, frequent Complaints againſt Life, viz. *That it is nothing but one dull Round of the ſame Enjoyments, over and over again: That thoſe Pleaſures that appear'd ſo tempting* unpoſſeſt, poſſeſt, *are trifling, and not worth living for: That we riſe up to eat and drink, and pay a few ridiculous Viſits, and then lie down again to ſleep: That even this* happy State *is often interrupted by Sickneſs, or one Diſappointment or other:* And, *That, at laſt, Old-Age comes on, robs us of our Health, and Senſes, and renders us the Object of the Contempt of the Younger, till Death cloſes the Scene.*

If we conſider Life in the *contracted View* of theſe *Murmurers*, and make it conſiſt only in ſo ridiculous a *Rotation*, Life would indeed become a Burthen; but if we employ the nobler Powers, we have, in conſidering what *Life* is, and act in Conſequence of ſuch Knowledge, we ſhall find a Scene of ſo *exalted* and *dignified* a Nature, that we ſhall be apt to think the *Spectacle* Providence has introduced us to, by *veſting* us with human Faculties, ſo *noble*, that we ſhould ſtand *indebted* only for *one Day's* Acquaintance with it.

Life, properly underſtood, offers to the human Creature, an unlimited Scene of Pleaſure; but if he will *confine* his own Sphere of Action in a narrower Compaſs than his Powers extend, whom can he blame? If, inſtead of employing his Reaſon in conſidering the various Parts of the Univerſe, and acquiring a *Knowledge* productive of the nobleſt Happineſs, he will make no Manner of Uſe of thoſe Faculties he is Maſter of, but *bury* himſelf in the *groſſer* Part of himſelf, it is no Wonder if he finds the Enjoyments of Life *trivial*, *few*, and *not worth living for*. A Man, that makes no other Uſe of Life, than what his animal Frame points to, muſt of courſe find a *Void* in Happineſs; ſince, the *Senſes gratified*, the *little* Reaſon he has, is juſt *enough* to make him feel a *Want*, and that *Want*, to make him *repine*. The Senſes, as Part of the human Conſtitution, have indeed a natural Right to be indulged, but ſtill *ſubordinately*.

If theſe Complaints were only in the Mouths of the *Senſual* or *Ignorant*, or the poorer Part of Mankind, I ſhould not be ſo much ſurprized; but when I hear Perſons of tolerable good Senſe talk in this Manner, it raiſes a Sort of *Indignation* in me at their Ingratitude. For my Part, when I conſider Mankind in their different Purſuits of Pleaſure, *all* actuated by the ſame *Principle*; inſtead of *arraigning*, I can't but admire the wonderful Sagacity of *Providence*, who has beſtowed ſuch a Variety of Entertainments to pleaſe the contrary Taſtes of each particular Perſon.

This Conſideration brings on another, a no leſs Proof of the Wiſdom of Providence, viz. *The Deſire implanted in our Minds, of enjoying one Thing above another*, ſince the *Want* of ſuch a *Deſire* would either make the Mind *ſicken* thro' *Inaction*, and grow a *Burthen* to itſelf, or elſe *ſurfeit* in the contrary.

Free

Free Briton, Dec. 19. N° 267.

WALSINGHAM having diſcours'd on the Affair of parallel Hiſtory, ſuggeſted ſo often, as he ſays, in *Fog* and the *Craftſman*, &c. concludes thus: The Effects of their Illuſions on the Multitude, have given them room to imagine that the *Rabble* are ripened, and prepared for *more important* Exploits. To this Apprehenſion in the Party, we owe their late *Tranſcripts of Hiſtory*, their Appeals to the Power of the People, their *Examples* of popular *Madneſs*, *Bloodſhed*, and *Butchery*: And when they have made the People lewd and daring enough to call for the Application of this *Hiſtorical* Learning, the Conſequence is evident: *You ſee*, Gentlemen, *the Conſtitution is deſtroyed*; you *are to reſtore it. The Government is now no longer in King, Lords, and Commons: It is in* You, *the People, and it is in* Us, *your Leaders: Follow the Examples which you have heard of:* Cut the Throats *of your Repreſentatives, and you will* cure Corruption. This is the Concluſion carried on in *all* the *Diſſertations on Parties*, and this is the obvious Drift and Deſign of the *laſt Craftſman*. (See p. 645.)

There is not a ſenſible Man can remain without Conviction, that all Factions which work by Violence, drive at Ruin and Deſtruction; and, after ſo much Violence as they have recommended, abetted, and juſtified; after the *Vow of Deſtruction* in one Aſſembly, and the *Reeking Blood* (*viz.* of Baron *Goertz*) which was ſo emphatically ſpoke of in the other; after the *Solemn League and Covenant* which was promulged when the *Oath of a Privy Counſeller* was broken, and the *Privacies of the King's Cloſet* were publiſhed, to the Amazement of the Kingdom; after the *Vaſconcellos* of *Fog*, (Vol. II. p. 78.) and the *Rufinus* of the *Craftſman*; (See p. 573.) after their Panegyricks upon one *Lord Mayor*, for juſtifying *Riots*, and their Invectives againſt *another*, for interpoſing to diſperſe them; after *Mobs* encouraged to violate the ſacred *Liberties of Parliament*, and to aſſault the Perſons of the Members; (Vol. II. p. 211.) after Attempts to keep up *Anniverſary Mobs*, perpetual Riots, and *endleſs Outrage*; is there any Man ſo blinded, or deceived, as not to ſee the Uſe and Intention of *Hiſtories revived*, wherein the *Clamours againſt Corruption* were directed, with fatal Effect, to *cut the Throats of a Parliament*, to carry on a *War againſt the King*, and (as it was really propoſed in the *Wars of Caſtile*) to *change the Sovereign, and ſubvert the Succeſſion?*

Univerſal Spectator, Dec. 21. N° 324.

The Art of Female Converſation.

AS I ſhall not attempt to preſcribe *Topics* for *Female Converſation*, nor dare to be ſo bold as to baniſh from the *Tea-Table* the adjuſting a *Faſhion* and whiſpering a *Scandal*, I ſhall only give an Account of thoſe *Arts* which are neceſſary to be known by that Lady who has an Ambition to attain a proper Notion of ſpending her Time *elegantly*, and be let into all the *Secret* of *faſhionable Converſation*.

The *Gentlemen* have ſeveral *Arts* to adorn their Diſcourſe which are commonly made uſe of by the *Ladies*: The *Diamond Ring* is of equal Service to them both, and muſt be managed by both Sexes after the ſame Method. (See p. 575.) Nor is the *Ruffle* leſs an Auxiliary to *Female* than to *Manly Converſation*; tho' the *plain Cambrick* one, which is often very ſucceſsful among the *Gentlemen*, is of no Force among the *Ladies*: It is neceſſary for theirs to be made of the fineſt *Lace*; and here ariſe great Diſputes, whether the *Mecblin* or the *Bruſſels* is to have the Preheminence.

In all *Female Converſations* there is nothing of ſuch univerſal Uſe to fix the Reputation of a fine Talker, as the *Snuff-Box*. The *Ladies* have ſuch a ſurpriſing Volubility of Tongue, which pours out their Conceptions with ſo vehement a Torrent of Eloquence, that it is neceſſary to have ſomething to put a ſhort Stop to it, that they may not too unwarily run themſelves out of Breath; and what with more Propriety than the *Snuff-Box*? The agreeable *Parentheſis* which a *Pinch* of *Havanna* produces, has as ſtrong an Effect to charm an Audience, as a ſkilful *Pauſe* in a full Concert. There are ſome *Ladies* ſo ſenſible of the Benefit of this *polite Aid* to *Converſation*, that they cannot ſpeak ten Words without it; it ſtands by them at their *Dinner* and their *Tea*; it inſpires them with *Wit* at the *Quadrille Table*, and with *Devotion* at the *Church*.

The next important *Qualification* to converſe genteely, is the *polite Management* of the *Fan*. The Actions which flow from employing this Inſtrument *elegantly*, are often thought to have more *Eloquence* than the fineſt Thing that can be *ſpoke*. By this may be expreſſed all the various Paſſions of the Mind, according to the different Motion and Attitude the *Fan* is put into. *Anger* or *Reſentment* is always ſhewn by *haſty Flirts*; therefore in thoſe Converſations where the *Ladies* grow *warm* in a *Diſpute*, (ſuch as diſtinguiſhing the ſuperior Accompliſhments *Farinelli* has to *Careſtini*) all the *Fans* in the Room are in *Motion*, and thoſe ſmart *Cracks* they make, add not a little to enforce their ſeveral Arguments. The *playing* the *Fan* in a careleſs Manner, letting the Sticks fall gradually ſlow, beſpeaks an *Air* of *Indolence* or *Indifference*, and is moſtly practiſed when a diſagreeable Gallant is making his Addreſſes; but the *ſpreading* it and viewing the *Mount* with the

Eyes

Eyes caſt downwards, proclaims an innocent Confuſion at the amorous Proteſtations of a favourite Lover.

There are a *merry* Set of *Ladies*, who think there can be no *Wit* nor *Spirit* in any *Converſation*, without there is a great deal of *Laughing*: Among ſuch, nothing is more eaſy than to paſs for a Woman of a *fine Underſtanding*; you need not ſpeak a Word, but obſerve only to join in with them at the *firſt Tittering*, and continue as *loud* and as long a *Laugh* as any in the Company. As this is a *naſty Art* to keep up *Converſation*, it has its *contraſt* Embelliſhment, which conſiſts of a *Whiſper*. I might ſay a great deal on the *Science* of *Whiſpering*, as it would prodigiouſly contribute to the Repoſe of publick Places, if it was more generally in *Faſhion*; yet I cannot but obſerve, that the *Whiſperers* have a great Advantage over any other Ladies in the Room, for they have the Happineſs by making a very ſilly Remark a *Secret*, to give a Suſpicion they whiſper'd ſomething very *ſatirical*.

Fog's Journal, Dec. 21. N° 320.

The Political Quack.

THERE is an old Saying and a true, *That when a Man's Name is up, he may lie a-bed.* Your enterprizing People, or more properly, your Men of Front, who reſolve to impoſe upon the World, and to profeſs ſome Science or Trade of which they are altogether ignorant, are ſo convinced of this Truth, that they ſeldom give themſelves the Trouble to acquire any Knowledge in the Buſineſs, even after they have reſolved to make it their Livelihood. Many a Quack has made a good Eſtate in this wiſe Town before he underſtood the Meaning of any one Term of his Profeſſion. It will be aſk'd, How is this brought to paſs? Why they are cunning enough to take the ſhorteſt Way of growing rich. They make their Court to ſome Perſon who has a numerous Gang of Dependants and Followers, perhaps to ſome great Fool in Faſhion, or they intercede with the Chamber-maid of ſome kept Woman to ſpeak to her Miſtreſs, to ſpeak to the rich Financier her Cully to cry up the Doctor. This often has ſuch an Effect, that the great Vulgar or rich Mob, who are ſcarce ever directed by common Senſe, but are influenced by a fooliſh Affectation, and can give no Reaſon for any Thing they do, but that they have ſeen Somebody elſe do it before them, will hear of nothing but the Doctor in Vogue.

When our ignorant Pretender is ſo fortunate to ſucceed, he carries the World before him, and looks with Contempt upon his learned Brother who has waſted the Flower of his Life in a laborious and fruitleſs Study, to acquire the true Knowledge of ſome Art or Science, upon which he may happen to ſtarve, if he truſts to his Merit alone.

It is not only the Quacks in Phyſick, that attempt to impoſe upon the World. There are Quacks in every other Profeſſion, nay, even in Mechanicks. From the Jeweller down to the Oyſter ſeller, nothing will paſs with the rich Vulgar, but what comes from the Perſon who has the Name.

As often as I have reflected on this, I have wonder'd at the ill Luck of a certain Perſon in the World, who long ſince has been diſcover'd, to have been as very a Quack in the worſt Senſe of the Word, as ever had the Impudence to profeſs what he did not underſtand. The Perſon I mean has been diſtinguiſh'd by ſeveral Denominations; among the reſt, his Countrymen have given him the Title of Knight of the brazen Head, a Title which indeed comprehends the Whole of his Merit. All the common Arts and little Tricks, which are generally uſed by Quacks, have been put in Practice over and over again by our Knight; but what is very ſtrange, they have not ſucceeded. All the World ſaw, that the more he was cried up, the more he was deſpiſed. Whenever he meddles in any Thing of Importance, it is taken for granted, that he will blunder; when the Thing happens accordingly, there is not the leaſt Wonder expreſſed at it; for no-body can be ſurpriz'd at what all the World expected.

It has been obſerv'd, that the People are apt to think but meanly of the Doctor's Parts, when the *Zani's* he brings upon the Stage have neither Wit nor Humour to entertain them; and it ſo happen'd, that the brazen Knight's *Toad Eaters* were the moſt ſtupid Rogues that ever harangu'd the Crowd, and no Wonder they ſhould be ſo, for they were of his own chuſing. One of the Fathers of the Church ſaid long ago, Tell me your Company, and I will tell you what you are; our Knight as a Proof of his Wiſdom invited none to aſſiſt him in Practice, but the moſt notorious Dunces. His little Cunning lay here, he flatter'd himſelf that it would be a great Advantage to him to appear in a Groupe of very dull Fellows, for that he might ſhine in ſuch Company; but here he was bit, for the World was of Opinion that he muſt have a very muddy Head of his own, or he would not keep ſuch Company. In fine, he was ſo poorly aſſiſted by theſe Tools, that he was ſometimes forced to puff for himſelf, and as it is the common Cant of Quacks to brag of their Riches, in order to perſuade the World that they don't practiſe for Neceſſity, the Devil put it into his Head upon a certain Occaſion to boaſt of the great Eſtate to which he was born, when two Thirds of his Auditors knew he was a Beggar but a few Years before. All that he got by this, was to con-

vince

vince his Hearers that he could out-lie the Devil himſelf.

Ars non tam bene agendi, quam bene fallendi. The Art of ſucceeding with the World, does not ſo much conſiſt in acting well, as in deceiving well. This was the Saying of ſome Quack, either Antient or Modern, I have forgot which. Our Knight perhaps might not have been aſhamed of not ſucceeding in the firſt of theſe, becauſe he never ſo much as meant it, but his miſcarrying in the laſt, is certainly ſome Slur upon him, becauſe he never ſtudied any Thing elſe in his whole Life.

But to give the Devil his Due: I cannot help thinking, in Spight of the general Prejudice, that there were ſome Qualities in the Man, which might have entitled him to the Name of a Politician. In the firſt Place, he had gain'd ſuch a Maſtery over his own Temper, that he could ſmile in a Man's Face, while he was endeavouring to deſtroy him behind his Back: Which is ſome Mark I hope of a Politician. Next, it was found out by a long Obſervation, that he never ſpoke as he meant, nor meant as he ſpoke: Here is another Mark of a Politician. In the third Place, he could fawn and make court to the Man he hated: A third Proof of a Politician. In the next Place, tho' the People might often have been embarraſs'd, and even impoveriſh'd by his Meaſures, yet it is allow'd that he greatly enrich'd himſelf and his own Family: Here is another Proof of a Politician. In the laſt Place, I think it is allow'd to be the Part of a Politician, ſo to manage that the Deſign of his Meaſures is not to be penetrated or ſeen thro' before they are brought to Maturity. Here he exceeded all that ever went over him, for when his Negotiations had all taken Effect, neither Friend nor Foe could ever diſcover what he meant by them.

Craftſman, Dec. 21. N° 442.

Concluſion of the Diſſertation on Parties. *(See p. 645.)*

HE, who undertakes to govern a free People by *Corruption*, and to lead them by a *falſe Intereſt*, againſt their *true Intereſt*, cannot boaſt the Honour of the Invention. The Expedient is as old as the World, and he can pretend to no other Honour than that of being an humble Imitator of the *Devil*. To *corrupt our Parliaments* hath been often attempted, as well as to *divide our People*, in Favour of *Prerogative*, and in order to let the arbitrary Will of our *Princes* looſe from the Reſtraints of *Law*; as in the Reign of *Charles* the IId; but the Efforts then made were ineffectual. The frugal Habits of the former Age were not intirely loſt in that; and this, I preſume, may be reckon'd as one Cauſe of the noble Stands, then made by our *Parliaments*, in Oppoſition to the *Court*. But not to aſcribe more Honour than is due, perhaps, to our Fathers, the *Revenue of the Crown* was at that Time ſo ſmall, (I ſpeak comparatively; for, in every other Reſpect, it was very ample) and the Profuſion of *that Prince* on his Pleaſures was ſo great, that no Miniſter of K. *Charles* IId could find Sums ſufficient to buy a *Parliament*. He ſtood therefore on his *Prerogative*, ſtrain'd it as far as he durſt, and made all the Uſe of it he could. The *Revenue of the Crown* was greatly increas'd in the Reign of K. *James* the IId, and was given *moſt unwiſely* for Life. I ſay *moſt unwiſely*; for as a *Prince*, who hath an Heart and Head to govern well, cannot ſtand in Need of *ſuch a Grant*; ſo a *Prince*, who hath neither, does not deſerve it; and therefore whatever the Generoſity of our Countrymen to their *Princes* may carry them to do at any Time, they might leave this undone at all Times, without any Reflection on their Prudence, or even their Generoſity. The Reign of K. *James* was ſhort, and during this ſhort Reign he reſted on that *Prerogative*, which he knew was a cheaper Expedient than *Corruption*, and which he vainly flatter'd himſelf was enough confirm'd to ſupport the Meaſures he took, for ſubverting the Religion, the Laws, and the Liberty of *Britain*. Thus were Men brought, by the Conduct of *theſe two Princes*, to fix their Eyes on *Prerogative*, as the ſole Inſtrument of Tyranny, and to forget that *Corruption* had been employ'd, tho' unſucceſsfully, by K. *Charles*, and might have been employ'd with greater Force, and perhaps more Succeſs, by K. *James*. The Cry of the Nation was for a *free Parliament*, and no Man ſeem'd to doubt in that Ferment but that a *Parliament muſt be free*, when the *Influence*, which the *Crown* had uſurp'd, in the precedent Reigns, over the *Elections*, was removed; as it was by the *Revolution*. But this general Inadvertency, as well as the particular Neglect of thoſe, who took the Lead in national Affairs at that Time, are the more ſurprizing, becauſe *Corruption* having been ſo lately employed, among other Means, to render *Parliaments dependent on the Crown*, the Danger of *Corruption* was by Conſequence one of thoſe Dangers, againſt which the Nation had a Right to be ſecur'd, as well as a Promiſe of being ſo, according to the Terms of the *Prince of* Orange's *Declaration*. Thoſe Perſons eſpecially, who had exclaim'd ſo loudly againſt *Placemen* and *Penſioners* in the Reign of K. *Charles*, and who complain'd at this Inſtant ſo bitterly of *undue Influence*, that had been employ'd in ſmall Boroughs chiefly to promote the *Elections of the Parliament*, which ſate in the Reign of K. *James*, ought to have been attentive, one would think, to take the glorious Opportu-

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nity, that was furniſhed them by a *new Settlement of the Crown*, and of the *Conſtitution*, to ſecure the *Independency of Parliaments* effectually for the future. The *Revolution* was, in many Inſtances, and it ought to have been ſo in all, one of thoſe *Renewals of our Conſtitution*, we have often mentioned. If it had been ſuch, with Reſpect to the *Elections of Members to ſerve in Parliament*, theſe Elections might have been drawn back to the *antient Principle*, on which they had been eſtabliſhed; and the Rule of *Property*, which was follow'd antiently, and was perverted by innumerable Changes, that Length of Time produced, might have been reſtored; by which the *Communities*, to whom the *Right of electing* was truſted, as well as the Qualifications of the *Electors* and the *Elected*, might have been ſettled in Proportion to the preſent State of Things.

But nothing of this Kind was done at the *Revolution*. Pleas'd that the *open Attacks on our Conſtitution* were defeated and prevented, Men entertain'd no Thought of the *ſecret Attacks*, that might be carried on againſt the *Independency of Parliaments*; as if our Dangers could be but of *one Kind*, and could ariſe but from *one Family*. Soon after the *Revolution*, indeed, Men of all Sides, and of all Denominations, began to perceive not only that nothing effectual had been done to hinder the *undue Influence of the Crown in Elections*, and an *Over-Balance of the Creatures of the Court in Parliament*, but that the Means of exerciſing *ſuch an Influence*, at the Will of the *Crown*, were unawares and inſenſibly increas'd, and every Day increaſing. In a Word, they began to ſee that the Foundations were laid of giving as great Power to the *Crown* indirectly, as the *Prerogative* they had formerly dreaded ſo much could give directly, and of eſtabliſhing *univerſal Corruption*. The *firſt* hath happened, and we pray that the *laſt* never may.

The *Net Revenue of the Crown*, at the Abdication of K. *James*, amounted to ſomewhat more than *two Millions*, without any Tax on *Land*, or *Malt*, and without a Multitude of *Impoſitions* and *Exciſes*, ſince heap'd on the Nation. It is plain, and it was ſo then, that *this Revenue* might have been ſo increas'd, as to anſwer annually the great annual Expences, in which we engaged ſoon afterwards. In this Caſe, the People would not have have had a greater, nay nor ſo great a Burthen to bear, as they had in the Courſe of the *two Wars*, that followed; and, at the End of *theſe Wars*, they would have found themſelves with little or no Load upon them, inſtead of crouching under a Debt of 50 *Millions*. How it came to paſs that a *Method* ſo practicable, and ſo eligible, was not taken, (whether this was owing to *private Intereſt*, to *Party-Cunning*, or to an unhappy Refinement in Politicks that contracting *national Debts* under a *new Eſtabliſhment* was an effectual Expedient to attach Men to *this Eſtabliſhment*) I ſhall not preſume to ſay. All *three* might have their Share, perhaps, in determining for *another Meaſure*. But however that might be, certain it is that we began to borrow at high Intereſt, to anticipate and mortgage, immediately after the *Revolution*; and having once begun, there was no Remedy; we were forced to proceed in the ſame Manner thro' the Courſe of *two mighty Wars*. Formerly, the whole Expence of the State was born by the *Crown*; and when this Expence grew, on extraordinary Occaſions, too great for the *Revenue of the Crown* to bear, the People aided the *Crown*, if they approved the Occaſions of the Expence. Theſe Grants were properly *Aids*, no more; for the *Revenue of the Crown* was engaged in the firſt Place, and therefore it might ſeem reaſonable that the *Crown* ſhould have the Levying and Management of the *whole*; of *theſe Aids*, as well as of the *ſtanding Revenue*. But it happened in this Caſe, as it does in many; the *Reaſon of the Thing* ceas'd, and the *Thing* continued. A *ſeparate*, *private Revenue*, or a *Civil-Liſt*, as we commonly call it, was aſſign'd to the *Crown*. From that Time, the former Order hath been revers'd. Our *Kings*, inſtead of contributing moſt, have contributed nothing to the publick Charge; and the People of *Britain*, inſtead of giving occaſionally *Aids* to the *Crown*, have taken upon themſelves the whole Load of *ordinary* and *extraordinary Expences*, for which they annually provide. Notwithſtanding this vaſt Alteration in the State of the *Revenue*, and the Intereſt of the *King* and the *People*, in the Management of it, the ſame Forms of granting *Aids to the Crown*, and of levying *Taxes*, and of managing the *publick Treaſure*, have been continued; ſo that the People ſtand obliged (for the *Crown*, that is truſted with the Whole, is bound for nothing) to make good all *Deficiencies*, tho' they have no Share in the Management of the *Revenue*. Altho' our *Kings* have thus no longer any immediate Intereſt in the *publick Eſtate*, they are truſted with the intire Management of it. They are not only *Stewards for the Publick*, but they condeſcend to be ſuch for *all thoſe private Perſons*, who are the *Creditors of the Publick*, and have the additional Trouble of managing about 3 *Millions a Year*, on this Head.

Now this *new Settlement* hath had this evident and inevitable Conſequence. As we have annually increas'd our *Funds*, and our *Taxes*, we have annually increas'd the *Power of the Crown*; and *theſe Funds and Taxes* being eſtabliſhed and laid for *Perpetuity*, or for Terms equivalent to *Perpetuity*, in the Senſe here intended, this *Increaſe of Power* muſt not only

only continue, but ſtill increaſe, as long as *this Syſtem of OEconomy* ſubſiſts. If we conſider in the *Increaſe of Taxes* nothing more than the *Increaſe of Officers* firſt, by which a vaſt Number of *new Dependents on the Crown* are created in every Part of the Kingdom; (*Dependents* as numerous, and certainly more prevalent than all the *Tenants* and *Wards of the Crown* were antiently;) and, ſecondly, the Powers given to the *Treaſury*, and *other inferior Offices*, on Account of *theſe Taxes*; if we conſider this alone, we ſhall find Reaſon ſufficient to conclude that altho' the *Power of Prerogative* was more open, and more noiſy in its Operations, yet the *Power thus acquir'd* is more real, and may prove more dangerous for this very Reaſon, becauſe it is more cover'd, and more ſilent. That Men began to ſee very ſoon after the *Revolution*, the Danger ariſing from hence to our *Conſtitution*, as I ſaid above, is moſt certain. No leſs than 7 *Acts* were made, in K. *William*'s Reign, to prevent *undue Influences on Elections*, and one of the Acts, as I remember, for I have it not before me, is grounded on this Fact, * *that the Officers of the* Exciſe *had frequently, by Threats and Promiſes, prevail'd on Elections, and abſolutely debarr'd them of the Freedom of voting.* What hath been done, or attempted to be done, ſince that Time, in the ſame View, and what hath been done, and attempted to be done, both in the Reign of K. *William* and ſince, to prevent an *undue Influence on the Elected*, as well as on the *Electors*, I need not recapitulate. They are Matters of freſh Date, and enough known. Upon the Whole, this Change in the State and Property of the *publick Revenue* hath made a Change in our *Conſtitution*, not yet perhaps attended to ſufficiently, but ſuch an one however as deſerves our utmoſt Attention; ſince it gives a *Power*, unknown in former Times, to *one of the* 3 *Eſtates*; and ſince *publick Liberty* is not guarded againſt the Dangers, that may ariſe from *this Power*, as it was, and as it is now more than ever, againſt the Dangers, that uſed to ariſe from the *Powers* formerly poſſeſs'd, or claim'd by the *Crown*.

Whitehall Evening Poſt, Dec. 21.

Remarks on the Weekly Miſcellany *of* Dec. 7.
(*See p.* 637.)

THE *Miſcellany* makes it an Argument of Guilt in Dr. *R.* that he has not publickly vindicated himſelf in Print from the Accuſations brought againſt him; and becauſe his Friends have aſſerted, that he does not *know* the Particulars of *theſe Accuſations*, therefore the *Miſcellany* aſks, *Did Dr.* R. never hear, *that he has been charg'd with* Arianiſm, *and a Denial of a Fact which is expreſly affirm'd by* Moſes *in the Old Teſtament, and by St.* Paul *and St.* James, *in the New?* It is indeed very probable, that they have *heard* this. But is it incumbent on every Clergyman, recommended to the Royal Favour, to clear himſelf from every *hearſay* Imputation? What will be the Conſequence of ſuch a Rule? Did a Rev. Prelate, or his Friends, *never hear* that *he* has been *ſuſpected* of once refuſing the Oaths to the Government? Did they *never hear* that ſome ſtill *ſuſpect* him of Diſaffection in his Heart? Did they *never hear* it reported, that he has always excluded ſome of the moſt ingenious and beſt Friends to the Government from little Preferments in the Univerſities, for no other Reaſon but their Regard to the Memory of Dr. *Clark*, and aſſerting the Excellence of moral Duties? And muſt *he print* to clear himſelf of ſuch ill-grounded Suſpicions before he is advanc'd to any greater Dignity in the Church? The World, I fancy, would ſmile to ſee a Rev. Divine exerting his Talents to ſo ridiculous a Purpoſe; and after all his Labours to juſtify himſelf from *theſe* Suſpicions, ſome perverſe *Whig* might perhaps *ſuſpect* again, and cut out freſh Employment for his Pen. Thus endleſs and fruitleſs is the Attempt to wipe off *hearſay Aſperſions*. This, however, I may venture to ſay, whenever Dr. *R.* ſhall be accus'd before proper Judges, either of *Arianiſm* or Infidelity, he will be able and ready to juſtify himſelf, to the Shame and Confuſion of his Adverſaries.

But nothing, I find, will content the *Miſcellany* but *printing*; and therefore, *ſince Dr. R's Friends have appeal'd to his Archidiaconal Charges as Proofs of his Zeal for Chriſtianity, it has been ſaid very properly, that the Dr. would have publiſh'd thoſe Charges if he had known they contain'd ſuch Things as would have ſet him right in the Opinion of the World.* But why ſhould the Dr. *print*, to ſet himſelf *right* in the Opinion of the World, before he finds he is *wrong* in their Opinion; Muſt he take it for granted, becauſe a common Talebearer has trump'd up an old Converſation of 15 Years ſtanding, and a great Churchman has given him Credit, or at leaſt Countenance, that therefore 'tis neceſſary he ſhould ſet himſelf *right* in the Opinion of the *World*? However theſe Men may flatter *themſelves*, (or perhaps 'tis only their Art to perſuade *others*) that the *World* is on their Side, *impartial Men* will pay but little Regard to this Accuſation againſt Dr. *R.* till the Accuſer has juſtified himſelf from the Scandal of another infamous Attempt upon the Character of Dr. *H——nſ——n: Then*, it may be Time for Dr. *R.* to publiſh his Charges in his own Defence, when the World entertains a better Opinion of the Honeſty and Veracity of his Accuſer. And tho' the *Miſcellany* ſuggeſts, that the Bench of Biſhops, *one only excepted*, are againſt this Promotion, the Friends of

* 3° *Gul. et Mar.*

Dr. *R.* are ſo confident of the Falſhood of this Suggeſtion, that they would willingly put the whole Diſpute upon this ſingle Iſſue, and be content to ſee the Doctor continue in his preſent Situation, unleſs it can be ſhewn, that a *conſiderable Number* of that Rev. Bench wiſh well to his Promotion.

The *Miſcellany* concludes with another malicious Inſinuation againſt the Dr. *It is Truth and no Slander, that there is not an Infidel, Deiſt, or modern Free-Thinker in the Kingdom, who is not zealous for his Promotion.* What *Truth* there may be in this Aſſertion, I have not Acquaintance enough among the Infidels to determine; but however true it may be, I am ſure it is no Objection againſt Dr. *R.* For, what is the Motive that excites theſe Men's Zeal for him? Not a Conformity of *his* Sentiments to *theirs*, (for this they know he diſclaims) but his declar'd Enmity to all Kinds of Perſecution: And if this be a Reaſon againſt his Promotion, I ſhall ſay with the Author of the *Reaſons*, &c. *Farewel Learning, farewel Merit, farewel true Chriſtianity.*

If in theſe Remarks there be any Thing dropt which appears too warm, it muſt be imputed to the honeſt Indignation which muſt be rais'd in the Breaſt of every *Friend to Liberty*, to ſee a Man of Virtue and Probity, a Lover of Truth and Learning, a good Scholar, and a Chriſtian, thus traduced and injured by the joint Endeavours of an informing and an aſpiring Eccleſiaſtick.

CANTABRIGIENSIS.

Grubſtreet Journal, Dec. 26. N° 261.

Friend *Miſoquackus*,

THE Benefit, which I, and many of our People have received from Friend *Ward*'s *Pills*, engages me to ſay ſomething, in Anſwer to thy Cavils, in a late *Grubſtreet Journal*. As to what thou ſayeſt of our Lord the King's *Chief Baron*, I own it ſmells much of the the Clyſter-Pipe. Verily thou talkeſt like an Apothecary. Before I took my Friend *Ward*'s *Pills*, I had Recourſe unto many of the Doctors, and I took their Medicines, as freely as they took my Money; much Good may it do them, tho' they did me none at all. Now I have often told my Friends, in the Words of the *Chief Baron*, that I had tried the Power of Phyſick *in vain*. But wilt thou ſay, I am not a Teller of Truth, becauſe, that after I had tried 5 or 6 Doctors, I did not run the Gauntlope thro' the whole College? Why doeſt thou number up with ſo much Pains, how many my Friend has kil'ed? Art thou ſure, that they had not ſome inviſible Decay, or Obſtruction, which muſt, otherwiſe, neceſſarily have determined the Period of their Lives? Now I will compute againſt thy Computation. According to the *Weekly Bills*, near 500 Perſons dye weekly; and, I believe, thou wilt allow, that 300 of theſe are attended either by Doctors or Apothecarys. But ſurely thou wilt not affirm, they kill 300 weekly. I will alſo ſuppoſe that 1000 Perſons come weekly to my Friend *Ward*, moſt of whom have tried the Doctors before to no Purpoſe; and canſt thou imagine, that a few muſt not, out of ſuch a Number, dye, by the inevitable Courſe of Nature, and of their Diſtempers only? Several of my Friends have been lately under the Direction of the Doctors, but are now no more, for they *ſleep with their Forefathers*. But I will not ſay the Doctors *killed* them; but I will ſay, they did not cure them, and that the Doctors who came laſt ſaid, the firſt had done ill. Whither then muſt we fly in Sickneſs, but to thoſe, who do not talk of curing, but yet cure? The *Quack* (as thy Brethren in *France* called him) cured the King's Brother (if I miſtake not) of an Ague, which their Doctors could not; wherefore they reviled him, and ſpoke Evil of his Medicine (the Bark) ſaying unto him, What is an Ague? But he anſwered, It is what I can cure, and ye cannot. And do the learned Doctors themſelves now cure Agues by any other Medicine? You enquire, what is this *Pill*, and what is this *Drop*? And ye anſwer yourſelves, Surely it is *Poiſon*. I believe truly, it is *Poiſon* to you and your Brethren; but to me and to many Thouſands, it has been the Reſtorer of Health. But as thou haſt enquired, What is this *Pill*? I will anſwer for my Friend, You ſhall not know, what this *Pill* is. And as thou haſt very learnedly told us what is *Poiſon*, I will tell thee plainly and ſimply, what is not *Poiſon*. *Opium*, *Mercury*, and many other Medicines, are not *Poiſon*, if given in proper Quantities. Nothing is *Poiſon*, that does not kill, much leſs hurt. Why do you not ſatisfy your Doubts by proper Enquiries from the Multitudes who daily reſort to my Friend's Houſe; and why will you ſhut your Eyes againſt the Truth and the Light of Experience? *Your well-wiſhing Friend*,

Obadiah Anti-clyſterpipus.

Free Briton, Dec. 26. N° 268.

Patriot Ward *and Doctor* B——ke.

IT being clear that *Ward*'s *Pill* and *Drop* would have done as ſignal Service to the *Church* and the *Laws* as it hath produced within the *Province of Medicine*, I cannot but imagine that a Man *of his Patriotiſm*, and furniſhed *with his Noſtrums*, might practiſe on the *Body Politick* with as great Succeſs as on the *Natural Body*.

Let me then ſuppoſe that the *Great Reform-*

mers of the State are poſſeſſed of this *mighty Arcanum*? That, like him, they proceed by *one univerſal* Rule of *Purging*, *Vomiting*, and *Sweating* the *State*, *all at once*, as he does to his *Patients*; that, like him, they *deſpiſe Ability* or Underſtanding in the Office of adminiſtring to Mankind.

With theſe wholſome Maxims, behold their Leader, the *Diſpenſer of their Noſtrums*, the great *Corruption-Doctor*, *B——ke*; and as the Operations of his Remedies tally moſt exactly, in all the Effects of Violence, the Hazards of Diſſolution, and the Horrors of Deſtruction; ſo his *Fortunes*, like his *Phyſick*, have the ſame Analogy with thoſe of Mr. *Joſhua Ward*; inſomuch, that, for the future, I ſhall pronounce the one a *B——ke in Medicine*, and the other a *mere* Ward *in Politicks*.

To judge the better of the *Parallel* between them: Does not every one know that *Ward* was an *Exile from his Country*, and that he was *an Exile in France*? Was not *B——ke* in the *like Circumſtances*? And were they not therefore *Graduates* in the *ſame Univerſity*, before they commenced *Doctors* and *Patriots* here?

The *Craftſman* tells us, that *Ward* had a *Pardon from the Crown*, before he thought it prudent to venture hither: Did *B——ke* venture hither, without the *ſame Pardon* in his Pocket?

In the Courſe of their happy *Diſpenſations*, are they not equally zealous for the bleſſed *Coalition of Parties*? Hath not Mr. *Ward reconciled* all Parties to his *Pill*; ſo that a *Proteſtant Judge* atteſts its Succeſs, [Ld. Chief Baron *R——ld*'s] and a *Popiſh Lady* diſpenſes his Pacquets? (according to *Courant*, *Nov.* 28.) Does not *B——ke*, alſo, draw all Parties into the ſame *Opinion of his Projects*? Are not *pretended Whigs*, and *diſguſted Jacobites*, alike engaged in the Support of his Scheme?

Do not the *Populace* attend Mr. *Ward* in Crowds, and hath not his *Pill* been triumphant over its Enemies, by the cleareſt Proofs of the *Senſe of the People* in its Favour? What leſs hath *B——ke* to boaſt of, in the Behalf of his *Papers*? Hath he not the ſame *Mob-Followers*? The ſame *Mob-Applauſe*?

It were eaſy to ſhew the ſtricteſt Analogy between *Ward*'s *Pill*, and *B——ke*'s *Politicks*; that the regular Doſe of either does not weigh *a Grain*; that 480 Doſes of each are not worth *one Penny*; that they have had the ſame *poiſonous* Effects in *Alehouſes*, *Brandy*, and *Baker*'s *Shops*; and that they have killed an incredible Quantity of *Chairmen*, &c. too much addicted to *irregular Phyſick*, and *irregular Politicks*.

Craftſman, Dec. 28. N° 443.

Remainder of the Concluſion of the Diſſertation on PARTIES. (See p. 651.)

AFTER *recapitulating ſeveral Things concerning the* Civil Liſt, Officers of the Revenue *and the* publick Funds, *which gave riſe to Stockjobbing*; *the Author proceeds thus*:

As the meaneſt Grubs have rais'd themſelves by *Stockjobbing* to the Rank and Port of Noblemen and Gentlemen; ſo may Noblemen and Gentlemen debaſe themſelves to their Meanneſs, and acquire the ſame Spirit, by following the ſame Trade. That *Luxury*, which began to ſpread after the Reſtoration, hath increas'd ever ſince, hath deſcended from the higheſt to the loweſt Ranks of our People, and is become national. *National Luxury* and *national Poverty* may in Time eſtabliſh *national Proſtitution*. Beſides this, the *immenſe Wealth of particular Men* is a Circumſtance, which always attends *national Poverty*, and is in a great Meaſure the Cauſe of it. Now, as *publick Want*, or *general Poverty*, (for in that Senſe I take it here) will lay Numbers of Men open to the Attacks of *Corruption*, ſo *private Wealth* will have the ſame Effect, eſpecially where *Luxury* prevails, on ſome of thoſe, who do not feel the *publick Want*; for there is *imaginary*, as well as *real Poverty*. He, who thought himſelf rich before, may begin to think himſelf poor, when he compares his Wealth, and the Expence he is able to make, with thoſe of Men, whom he hath been uſed to eſteem, and perhaps juſtly, far inferiour to himſelf in all Reſpects. Thus may *Contraries* unite in their Effect, and *Poverty* and *Wealth* combine to facilitate the Means and the Progreſs of *Corruption*.

Britain will then be in that very Condition, in which, and in which alone, her *Conſtitution*, and her *Liberty* by Conſequence, may be deſtroyed; becauſe the *People* may, in a State of *univerſal Corruption*, and will in no other, either ſuffer others to betray them, or betray themſelves. How near a Progreſs we have made towards *this State*, I determine not. We are not expoſed, at preſent, moſt certainly to any ſuch Contingency; but the bare Poſſibility of being ſo is a Reaſon ſufficient to awaken, and alarm every honeſt Man. Hath not every ſuch Man, indeed, Reaſon to be alarmed, when he hears the Cauſe of *Corruption* publickly pleaded? *Corruption* may have been practiſed in ſome Degree, perhaps, at all Times. But then it hath been always kept under by the Shame and Danger, that attended both the *Corruptor* and the *Corrupted*. It hath been always complained of, never defended, and Endeavours have been uſed, from Time to Time, with general Applauſe, to prevent it. But according to the *Principles*

now avow'd, these Endeavours were unjuſt; they ought to be repented of; and the Acts made in Conſequence of them ought to be repeal'd; for the *conſtitutional Independency of the Crown* cannot be ſupported, unleſs the *Crown* have the Right and the Means of taking their Independency from the *other Parts of the Legiſlature*. Let no Man think that the Abſurdity and Profligacy of *theſe Doctrines* ſecure us againſt the Effect of them. They may ſoon grow into Vogue, and be reputed as ſacred Truths as any of thoſe Falſhoods, that are eſtabliſhed by the Syſtems of Policy and Religion, in many other Countries.

But if we ſhould apprehend the Effects of *this Doctrine* as little, as we eſteem the *Doctors*, who preach it; yet ſtill the Alarm is given by them, and it would be Stupidity, or ſomewhat much worſe, not to take it. The *Friends of our Conſtitution* therefore are in the Right to join Iſſue upon this Point with the *Enemies of it*, and to fix upon this principal and real Diſtinction, and Difference, the preſent Diviſion of *Parties*; ſince *Parties* we muſt have; and ſince thoſe, which ſubſiſted formerly, are quite extinguiſhed, notwithſtanding all the wicked Endeavours of *ſome Men* to revive them. If there was great Merit, in oppoſing the Aſſertors of *Prerogative* formerly, when it roſe ſo high as to endanger our *Liberty*; there is great Merit in oppoſing the Aſſertors of *Corruption* now, and in expoſing the Means, by which this Expedient may be improved to the Ruin of our *Conſtitution*, and therefore of our *Liberty*. Nay, the Merit is greater in ſome Reſpects, if *Corruption* be more dangerous than *Prerogative*.

On the whole Matter, a *Diſſertation upon Parties* could not wind itſelf up more properly, we think, than by ſhewing that the *Britiſh Conſtitution* deſerves, above all others, the conſtant Attention, and Care to maintain it, of the *People*, who are ſo happy as to live under it; that it may be weakened for Want of Attention, which is a Degree of Danger; but that it cannot be deſtroyed, unleſs the *Peers* and the *Commons*, (that is, the *whole Body of the People*) unite to deſtroy it; which is a Degree of Madneſs, and ſuch a monſtrous Iniquity, as nothing but *confirm'd* and *univerſal Corruption* can produce; that ſince the Time, when all our Dangers from *Prerogative* ceas'd, *new Dangers to this Conſtitution*, more ſilent and leſs obſerved, are ariſen; and, finally, that as nothing can be more ridiculous than to preſerve the nominal Diviſion of *Whig* and *Tory Parties*, which ſubſiſted before the *Revolution*, when the Difference of *Principles*, that could alone make the Diſtinction real, exiſts no longer; ſo nothing can be more reaſonable than to admit the nominal Diviſion of *Conſtitutioniſts* and *Anti-Conſtitutioniſts*, at this Time, when an avow'd Difference of *Principles* makes this Diſtinction real.

To reduce therefore our preſent Parties to *this ſingle Diviſion*, our preſent Diſputes to *this ſingle Conteſt*, and to fix our principal Attention on *this Object of Danger*, hath been, and is, the ſole Deſign of theſe Diſcourſes. The Deſign may have been inſufficiently executed; but it is honeſt; but it is of the laſt Importance. Let us hope, and endeavour by all poſſible Means, that it may not be felt too late; and to encourage the *Conſtitutioniſts*, or *Country Party*, in this Attempt, let us conſider from whom an Oppoſition to it is to be expected. Shall it be expected then from thoſe, who have paſſed under the Denomination of *Tories*? Certainly not. They feel as much as any Men in *Britain* the Preference, that ought to be given to that Syſtem of Government, which was eſtabliſhed by the *Revolution*, and in which they took ſo great a Share, and ſhew themſelves as ready to render that *great Work*, which was left imperfect, compleat. Shall this Oppoſition be expected from the *Diſſenters*? It cannot be. Shall they, who pretend to greater Purity than others, become the Advocates of *Corruption*? Shall they contribute their Endeavours to undermine the beſt Conſtitution they can hope to enjoy, unleſs they hope to riſe on the Ruins of it, and to form another on their own Model? As *religious Sects*, they deſerve Indulgence, and they have it; but they are too wiſe not to ſee that, as a *Faction in the State*, they would deſerve none. In fine, ſhall this Oppoſition be expected from thoſe, who have been called *Whigs*? That too is impoſſible. Their Predeceſſors aſſerted the *Independency of Parliaments*, and ſtruggled hard againſt *Corruption*, in former Reigns. When the reſt of Mankind embrace the *ſame Principles*, and purſue the *ſame Ends*, ſhall they renounce *one*, and run counter to the *other*? Shall they own themſelves againſt *one Method of deſtroying our Conſtitution*, but for *another*; againſt making *Kings independent on Parliaments by Prerogative*, but for making *Parliaments dependent on Kings by Corruption*? Shall they give the *Enemies of the Revolution* a plauſible Pretence to ſay that nothing more was meant, by *them* at leaſt, than a *Change of Government*, in which they hoped to find their *particular* and *Party Account*? This would be to *caſt black and odious Colours on the Revolution*, indeed; more *black*, and more *odious* than any, that it was in the Power of a *vain, forward, turbulent Preacher* to caſt, by his frothy Declamations. It remains therefore that no *national Party* can be form'd in Oppoſition to thoſe, who endeavour to ſecure the *Independency of Parliaments* againſt *Corruption*; nor any Strength to be exerted, except that of a *Faction*, compoſed of the *Refuſe of all Parties*. But what-

whatever *Miniſters* may govern, whatever *Factions* may ariſe, let the *Friends of Liberty* lay aſide the groundleſs Diſtinctions, employed to amuſe and betray them; let them hold faſt their Integrity; and they will make the *Britiſh Conſtitution* triumph, even over *Corruption*.

I have now gone thro' the Taſk I impoſed on myſelf, and ſhall only add theſe few Words. There was an Engagement taken, in the Beginning of theſe Diſcourſes, not to flatter. I have kept this Engagement, and have ſpoken with great Freedom; but I hope with the Juſtice and Moderation, and Decency, that I intended, of Perſons and of Things. This Freedom intitles me to expect that no Parallels, no Innuendo's ſhould be ſuppoſed to carry my Senſe farther than I have expreſs'd it. The reaſonable Part of Mankind will not diſappoint ſo reaſonable an Expectation. But there are a *Set of Creatures*, who have *no Mercy on Paper*, and who are ready to *anſwer*, even when they are abſolute Strangers to the *Subject*. They play with *Words*, and turn and wreſt *particular Paſſages*. They have done mine that Honour, as I am told, and have once or twice ſeen. They may do the ſame again, whenever they pleaſe, ſecure from any *Reply*, unleſs they have Senſe enough, or their *Patrons* for them, to take for a *Reply* the Story I am going to tell you, and which you may find related a little differently in one of the *Spectators*.

A certain pragmatical Fellow, in a certain Village, took it into his Head to write the Names of the *Squire*, of *all his Family*, of the *principal Pariſh Officers*, and of ſome of the *notable Members of the Veſtry*, in the Margin of the *whole Duty of Man*, over againſt every Sin, which he found mentioned in that moſt excellent Treatiſe. The Clamour was great, and all the Neighbourhood was in an Uproar. At laſt, the *Miniſter* was called in, a pious and prudent Divine. He heard them with Patience; with ſo much, that he brought them to talk one after the other. When he had heard them, he pronounc'd that they were all in the wrong; that the *Book* was written againſt *Sins of all Kinds*, whoever ſhould be guilty of them; but that the *Innocent* would give Occaſion to unjuſt Suſpicions by all this Clamour, and that the Guilty would convict themſelves. They took his Advice. The *whole Duty of Man* hath been read ever ſince, with much Edification, by all the Pariſhioners. The *Innocent* have been moſt certainly confirm'd in *Virtue*, and we hope the *Guilty* have been reform'd from *Vice*.

Univerſal Spectator, Dec. 28. N° 325.

The Omnipotence of GOD.

ALL *Creatures* are endow'd with ſuch *Principles* of *Activity* as are ſuitable to their *Nature*, diſtributed to them by the ſupreme *Diſpoſer* and *Creator* of all Things. The *Sun*, by diffuſing his *Attributes* of *Light* and *Heat*, not only illumines and gives Warmth to the Air, but emits his prolifick Qualities down to the inmoſt Receſſes of Earth, and unfathomable Depths of the Sea. But why need we have Recourſe to ſo vaſt a Body, who has ſo prodigious an Energy by its Nature? Obſerve only the *Activity* which the *Omnipotent Creator* has given to a ſmall vegetable Seed; from an inconſiderable Grain behold it ſhoots up its lofty Head, ſpreads its Branches, and produces new Seeds, which multiply themſelves beyond Number: Imagine then, if it may be poſſible to imagine, all the Activity and all the Force that are to be found thro' the whole *Species* of *Terreſtrial created Beings*, collected into *one ſingle Agent*; would not ſuch Activity, ſuch Strength, be ſtupendous? Would it not confound the Conception of Man? But if we conſider the *Omnipotence* of *God* in a *higher View*, and make it have Relation to thoſe *excelling Beings* of his making, the *Angels*, it is beyond what can poſſibly enter the Heart of Man to comprehend. The *Angel*, ſays the Royal Pſalmiſt, *excels in Strength*: If ſuch is the *Power* of *one* only, what is that of many Thouſands? And how much ſuperior ſtill that of all the innumerable *Seraphims* and *Cherubims*, and whole Hoſt of Heaven? Was all this *inconceivable Power* of the whole Hoſt of Heaven lodg'd in *one* of the *created Angels*, there is no *Idea* that Human Underſtanding could form of it: But this *inconceivable* Power in the *imaginary* Angel, really exiſts in the *Creator* of him, *God Almighty*; nay, in a Degree ſo infinitely *ſuperior*, that *that* Angel being but a *created Being*, and of a limited Nature, would not excel the moſt contemptible Reptile ſo much as he himſelf would be excell'd by the *ſupreme Being*: There may be ſome Proportion between the loweſt and the higheſt created Being, as they are both dependent, but between the moſt glorious *Creature* and his infinite omnipotent *Creator* there can be no Parallel.

Was not the *Almighty* poſſeſs'd of this *Attribute*, all his other *Attributes* would conſequently be uſeleſs: That *Wiſdom* which forms his Deſigns, requires Power to put them in Execution. If his *Goodneſs* was impotent he could only be willing, not able to make others happy; and if his *Juſtice* was unarm'd with Might, how could he puniſh the Criminal, or reward the Virtuous: Then convinc'd of his *Omnipotence*, let us adore his *Wiſdom*, which is ſeen thro' all his Works; let us return Thanks for his *Goodneſs*, in ſending us his *only Son* to be the *Redeemer* of *Mankind*, and let us live up to thoſe Precepts that our *Saviour*

viour gave us, that we may rather expect the promis'd *Rewards*, than the threatned *Puniſhments* of his *Juſtice*.

PHILOTHEUS.

Weekly Miſcellany, Dec. 28. N° 107.

AFTER humorouſly expoſing ſeveral Indecencies practis'd at Church, the Author concludes with the following Inſtructions.

1. I inſiſt upon it, that all Perſons (of what Age, Quality, or Condition ſoever they be, and upon what Motive ſoever they think fit to come to Church) come in good Time, and ſeat themſelves quietly before the Service begins.

2. That they ſhall be as careful of their Behaviour, as they would eſteem themſelves obliged to be in the ſame Company, if they were to meet in any other Place; becauſe the *Place* not making any Alteration in the *Nature* of Things, whatever *Poſtures*, *Actions*, or *Looks*, are reckoned *rude* and *diſreſpectful* any where elſe, muſt be equally ſo at *Church*.

3. For ſtill more weighty Reaſons, I require, that during any Part of the Service, nobody preſume to *talk*, *laugh*, or do any Thing elſe that may diſturb *ſcrupulous Conſciences* who are attentive to it. If any one, who has not been at Church ſince he came to *Years of Diſcretion*, has a Mind to ſee what People do there, the Rules already laid down may be deemed ſufficient; but if he came thither often enough to make it preſumed that he is a *Chriſtian*, it is expected,

4. That they conform to the Directions of the *Rubrick*, and *ſeem*, at leaſt, to join in the Service; for, otherwiſe, well-meaning *Chriſtians* may reaſonably be *offended* at their *Indevotion*: And this I apprehend they may the more eaſily comply with, becauſe, tho' this Kind of *Hypocriſy* would, in my Judgment, become a *Virtue*, yet it has ſo much the Appearance of *Vice*, that it may help to recommend the Practice.

The Biſhop of London's *Circular Letter to the Clergy of his Dioceſe.*

Good Brother, *Dec.* 17, 1734.

I Believe it is not unknown to you, that at this Time there is an uncommon Diligence among the Prieſts of the Church of *Rome*, in making Converts to Popery. And tho' the Numbers they have ſeduced in theſe two great Cities may not be altogether ſo large as ſome have repreſented; yet it is certain, that the Converts they make are obſerved by many ſerious and well-diſpoſed People, to be much more numerous than in former Times. And this is a Warning to every one who has the Care of Souls committed to him, to uſe the like Diligence in watching thoſe who lay in wait to deceive, and to ſpare no Pains in hindring his People from falling into the Snare; that is, from being perverted to a Religion, which has ſo groſly corrupted the true Faith and Doctrine of Chriſt, and introduced ſo much Superſtition and Idolatry into the Chriſtian Worſhip.

This is a Duty incumbent upon all who are Paſtors in a *Proteſtant Church*; and not only ſo, but Subjects to a *Proteſtant Government*; the ſupporting of which is the only Means, under God, of perpetuating to us the free and quiet Enjoyment of our own Religion. And it muſt be remembred, that every Convert to Popery, at the ſame Time that he becomes a Zealot for the Church of *Rome*, becomes alſo a Zealot for a Popiſh Pretender to the Throne.

Upon both theſe Accounts, let me beſeech you to have a watchful Eye over your Flock, and eſpecially over ſuch of them as you think more liable than others, to be attack'd by *Romiſh* Prieſts, and in Danger to be ſeduced by them; that you may prevent thoſe Attempts, or at leaſt the Succeſs of them, by learning what are the Arguments in Favour of the Church of *Rome*, which make the greateſt Impreſſion upon their Minds, and by furniſhing them with proper Antidotes againſt them.

And beſides your private Endeavours, it will be very neceſſary at this Time, that in your publick Diſcourſes from the Pulpit, you take all proper Occaſions to poſſeſs your People in general, with a juſt Senſe of the many groſs and dangerous Corruptions of the Church of *Rome*; and of the Agreement of the contrary Tenets of this *Proteſtant Church*, with the Doctrines of the Goſpel.

Thus, commending you to the Bleſſing and Direction of God, and praying that this and all your other Paſtoral Labours may be attended with Succeſs, I remain,

Sir,

Your aſſured Friend and Brother,

Edm' London

A Poem sent to the Rev. Dr. Swift, *on his Birth-Day, with* Pine's Horace, *in Turkey Leather, very finely bound and gilt.*

By Mr. J. Sican, *A. B. T. C. D.*

Horace *supposed to speak.*

YOU'VE read, Sir, in poetic strain,
How *Varus* and the *Mantuan* swain
Have on my birth-day been invited,
(But I was forc'd in verse to write it,)
Upon a plain repast to dine,
And taste my old *Campanian* wine.
But I who all punctilios hate,
(Tho' long familiar with the great)
Nor glory in my reputation,
Am come without an invitation.
And tho' I'm us'd to right *Falernian*,
I'll deign for once to taste *Iernian*.
But fearing that you might dispute
(Had I put on a common suit)
My breeding, and my politess,
I visit in a birth-day dress,
My coat of purest turkey red,
With gold embroid'ry richly spread,
To which I've sure as good pretensions,
As *Irish* L——s who starve on pensions.
What tho' proud ministers of state
Did at your antichamber wait;
What tho' your *Oxfords*, and your *St. Johns*,
Have at your levee paid attendance;
And *Peterborough*, and great *Ormond*,
With many chiefs who now are dormant,
Have laid aside the gen'ral's staff,
And public cares, with you to laugh:
Yet I some friends as good can name,
No less the darling sons of fame;
For sure my *Pollio* and *Mecænas*,
Were as good statesmen, Mr. Dean, as
Either your *Bolingbroke* or *Harley*,
(Tho' they made *Lewis* beg a parley.)
And as for *Mordaunt* your lo'd hero,
I'll match him with my *Drusus Nero*.
You'll boast perhaps your fav'rite *Pope*,
But *Virgil* is as good, I hope.
I own indeed I can't get any
To equal *Helsham* and *Delany*,
Since *Athens* brought forth *Socrates*,
A *Grecian* isle *Hippocrates*,
Since *Tully* liv'd before my time,
And *Galen* bless'd another clime.
You'll plead perhaps to my request
To be admitted as a guest,
Your hearing's bad —— but why such fears;
I speak to eyes, and not to ears.
And for that reason wisely took
The form you see me in —— a book.
Attack'd by slow devouring moths,
By rage of barb'rous *Huns* and *Goths*;
By *Bently*'s notes, my deadliest foes,
By *Creech*'s rhimes, and *Dunster*'s prose;
I found my boasted wit and fire
In their rude hands almost expire;
Yet still they but in vain assail'd,
For had their violence prevail'd,
And in a blast destroy'd my fame,
They would have partly miss'd their aim;
Since all my spirit in thy page,
Defies the *Vandals* of this age.
'Tis yours to save these small remains,
From future pedants muddy brains,
And fix my long uncertain fate;
You best know how—which way—translate.

Spoken Extempore by Dean Swift, *on his Curate's Complaint of hard Duty.*

I March'd three miles thro' scorching sand,
With zeal in heart, and notes in hand.
I rode four more to great *St. Mary*;
Using four legs when two were weary.
To three fair virgins I did tye men
In the close bands of pleasing *Hymen*;
I dipp'd two babes in holy water,
And purify'd their mothers after.
Within an hour, and eke a half,
I preach'd three congregations deaf.
Which thundering out with lungs long winded,
I chopp'd so fast that few there minded.
My emblem, the laborious sun,
Saw all these mighty labours done,
Before one race of his was run.
All this perform'd by *Robert Hewit*:
What mortal else cou'd e'er go through it?

The Parson's Case. *In Imitation of* Martial. By the same Hand.

THAT you, friend *Marcus*, like a Stoick,
Can wish to die in strain heroick,
No real fortitude implies;
Yet, all must own, thy wish is wise.
Thy curate's place, thy fruitful wife,
Thy busy, drudging scene of life,
Thy insolent illit'rate vicar,
Thy want of all-consoling liquor,
Thy thread-bare gown, thy cassock rent,
Thy credit sunk, thy money spent,
Thy week made up of fasting days,
Thy grate unconscious of a blaze,
And, to compleat thy other curses,
The quarterly demands of nurses,
Are ills you wisely wish to leave,
And fly for refuge to the grave:
And, O what virtue you express
In wishing such afflictions less!
But, now should fortune shift the scene,
And make thy curate-ship a dean;
Or some rich benefice provide,
To pamper luxury and pride;
With labour small, and income great;
With chariot less for use than state;
With swelling scarf, and glossy gown,
And license to reside in town;
To shine, where all the gay resort,
At concert, coffee-house or court;

And

And weekly perſecute his grace
With viſits, or to beg a place;
With underlings thy flock to teach,
With no deſire to pray or preach;
With haughty ſpouſe in veſture fine,
With plenteous meals, and gen'rous wine;
Wou'dſt thou not wiſh, in ſo much eaſe,
Thy years as num'rous as thy days?

On the GOUT.

WHILE the firſt race of men with toil and ſweat,
Manur'd the ground, and earn'd the bread they eat;
From conſtant exerciſe and temperate food,
Vigour unbought and health ſpontaneous flow'd;
Long did the gout remain unknown on earth,
Unknown the fatal cauſe that gave it birth;
Till plenty, parent of exceſs and eaſe,
Call'd forth the latent ſeeds of the diſeaſe.
Exceſs, of every malady the ſource,
Chang'd our perverted bleſſings to a curſe.
Hence ſtill a ſtranger to the lowly cells,
Where health with poverty and labour dwells,
To thoſe proud ſtructures for retreat he flies,
Where luxury ſwells the dome, and bids the column riſe.
When ſeaſon'd diſhes croud the glutton's feaſt,
And poignant ſauces gratify his taſte,
When the inflaming glaſs moves briſkly round,
And the gay board with thoughtleſs mirth is crown'd,
How dearly muſt the wretch hereafter buy,
With hourly pangs, each moment's fleeting joy?
While every wanton and ſuperfluous draught
With future woe and miſery is fraught:
In each delicious morſel poiſon lurks,
Deſtroys at leiſure and in ſecret works.
Is life too long, that thus inventive man,
By various arts, contracts his niggard ſpan?
Are there not num'rous deaths we cannot ſhun,
That we ſo willingly to deſtruction run?
Hence noxious humours taint th' infected blood,
Retard its force, and clog its circling flood,
Miſhapen nodes the ſwelling joints diſtend,
And pungent tortures every ſinew rend;
Nor ceaſes here —— from race to race it runs,
This, with their wealth, the ſires bequeath their ſons.
Hence the diſtorted limbs, the ſickly mein,
The lep'rous ſpots which taint the infant ſkin;
Such in the well-born child we often trace,
Characteriſticks of a noble race.
Gehazi thus entail'd on all his ſeed,
The curſe inflicted on his venal deed.
How falſe our eſtimate of human things?
How hid the ſource from whence our welfare ſprings?
We envy and admire the rich and great,
Smit with the dazzling ſplendour of his ſtate.
But turn your eyes and ſee another ſcene,
View him in all the agonies of pain,
When killing anguiſh throbs in every vein.
His limbs unwieldy, cumberſome and ſlow,
Their wonted functions now no longer know.
How little then avails his envi'd wealth,
To baniſh pain, or purchaſe wiſh'd for health?
How gladly would he truckle uſeleſs ſtore,
For the laborious vigour of the poor?
Thoſe dainties now which crown his plenteous board,
But mock the miſ'ry of their wretched lord.
Joyleſs amidſt his affluence he pines,
Nor taſtes his choiceſt meals or richeſt wines.
So *Damocles* with anxious fear oppreſs'd,
View'd with a fickly eye the tyrant's ſplendid feaſt.
Who would be rich on terms ſevere as theſe?
Has wealth, with ſuch attendants, charms to pleaſe?
Who would his humble poverty forego,
For fancy'd happineſs and real woe?
—— But wealth, in time of need, can ſummons art,
And ſov'reign med'cine ſhall its aid impart.
Little avails what *Huſſe* or *Mead* can do;
Tho' every drug and every herb they knew,
Inferior ſtrength muſt yield to a ſuperior foe,
Who ſafe entrench'd in eaſe, maintains his ground,
Tho' all the *force* of *Warwick-Lane* ſurround.
Wou'd you be free from pain, and health enſure?
In your own hand behold the means of cure:
'To rugged toils enure your cruel foe,
'Hard lodging and coarſe diet let him know;
'Send him to dig the ground and till the field,
'To cleave the ſtubborn wood, the pond'rous flail to wield;
'Sweating to mow the graſs, both let him know [ſnow.
'The ſcorching ſummer's heat, and winter's
Such, exerciſe, thy power! it can prevail
Where drugs are vain and *Cataplaſms* fail.

On the Nativity of CHRIST.

WHAT ſounds harmonious ſtrike the ears!
See! darkneſs flies, the light appears.
The ſun a purer beam diſplays,
And ſhines with more diſtinguiſh'd rays.
E'n nature 'ſelf with chearful grace,
In triumph ſhews her radiant face.
Odours diffuſe, ye ſpicy beds;
Cedars, bow down your awful heads.
Soft ſtreams, your joys in murmurs tell;
And boiſterous waves, exulting ſwell.
Meſſiah comes,——in homage now,
Let univerſal nature bow.
Glory to God, who reigns above,
Fountain of univerſal love.
Good will to men that dwell below,
Let *peace on earth* eternal flow;
Thus heavenly breaſts in friendſhip glow.
Let men redeem'd their joys reſound,
And angels pleas'd return the ſound;

Since

Since wildly through th' abandon'd ſkies,
Th' arch-rebel in confuſion flies,
And a new heaven and earth take place,
Which *Adam*'s ſons reſtor'd ſhall grace.

(*See Mr.* Pope's *moſt excellent Poem on this Subject, p.* 441.)

The Annual Receſs.

FROM town by love of peace being led,
To my calm retreat I fled;
From threat'ning frown, or artful ſmile,
Or ſelfiſh courtier, full of guile;
From ſnarling patriots critic ſneer,
And wanton harlots amorous leer;
From fops and fools, from knaves and coquets;
From ballad-trollers, and pickpockets;
From hackney coaches noiſy din,
And courtly ladies, full of ſpleen;
From every vice, and every paſſion,
To country ſports, and recreation:
Where the woods uprear'd their head,
And fields with verdure gay were ſpread:
Where groves obſcur'd from every eye,
Might well with lofty IDA'S vye.
Here meads were ſeen in loveliеſt dreſs,
There ruſtic grotto's dark receſs;
Sunny lawns, and hillocks green,
A ſweet inviting *Sylvan* ſcene;
Purling rills, and murmuring ſtreams,
Where poetick fancy teems.
But, oh! the ſeaſon's fled away,
Which made the landſkip look ſo gay.
No more the fruits invite the hand,
Nor odorous ſweets in order ſtand;
No more the hills look freſh and green;
No more we ſee the *Sylvan* ſcene:
Inſtead of *Zephyr*'s ſpicy gale,
Which gently bruſh'd the lowly vale,
Roaring winds impetuous blow,
And all the country's white with ſnow:
The ſtream that with its murmuring ſong,
In ſweeteſt accents roll'd along,
Alas! with ice is cover'd o'er;
The purling rill deſcends no more.
Unwilling, now I muſt away,
Again in ſmoaky town to ſtay,
Waiting till PHOEBUS back will bring
The pleaſures of th' enchanting ſpring:
Then will I take again my flight,
To peace, and joy, and calm delight.

E.

The Gentleman. *Addreſs'd to* John Joliffe, *Eſq; Commiſſioner of the Wine-Licence. By* Richard Savage, *Eſq;*

A Decent mien, and elegance of dreſs;
Words, which, at eaſe, each winning grace expreſs;
A life, where love, by wiſdom polliſh'd, ſhines;
Where wiſdom's ſelf again, by love, refines;
Where we to chance for friendſhip never truſt;
Nor ever dread from ſudden whim diſguſt;
The ſocial manners, and the heart humane;
A nature ever great, and never vain;
A wit, that no licentious pertneſs knows;
The ſenſe, that unaſſuming candour ſhows;
Reaſon, by narrow principles uncheck'd,
Slave to no party, bigot to no ſect;
Knowledge of various life, of learning too;
Thence taſte; thence truth, which will from taſte enſue;
Unwilling cenſure, tho' a judgment clear;
A ſmile indulgent, and that ſmile ſincere;
An humble, tho' an elevated mind;
A pride; its pleaſure but to ſerve mankind;
If theſe, eſteem, and admiration, raiſe,
Give true delight, and gain unflatt'ring praiſe,
In one, wiſh'd view, th' accompliſh'd man we ſee;
Theſe graces all are thine, and thou art he.

From the Manuſcript of an eminent *French* Poet.

I.

PHILLIS, *nous ſommes bien conſtans,*
Mais d'une façon fort contraire;
Vous refuſez, & je pretens,
Vous reſiſtez, je perſevere;
Vos refus, & mes veux combattent trop long temps:
Philis, *quelque ardeur qui me tienne,*
Quittez vôtre conſtance, ou je perdrai la mienne.

II.

Vous avez une cruaute,
A rebuter le plus fidelle;
Je garde une fidelite,
Qui flechiroit la plus cruelle;
Si vous ne flechiſſez, me voila rebute;
Le ſeul deſſein qui me retienne
C'eſt de toucher vôtre ame, ou de guerir la mienne.

Imitated by Mr. Lockman. *The Conſtant Lovers.*

I.

WE both are conſtant, beauteous fair,
But in a very different way:
You ſtill refuſe; I perſevere:
You hate, and I fond love obey.
Too long my homage, and your pride
Have ſtruggled. Grant now my Deſire,
Lay your harſh conſtancy aſide,
Or mine (too tender) will expire.

II.

So icy cold is your diſdain,
It ſoon would damp the ſtrongeſt flame;
So warm a truth I entertain,
Wou'd fire with love the coldeſt dame.
Then liſten, *Phillis*, when I ſue,
Or, here, your empire I diſown,
And only wait, with this bleſt view,
To move your heart, or eaſe my own.

N. B. *The other Verſes from a* French *Poet, with the Imitation, ſhall be inſerted in our next.*

To the famous W——d, *on the* Courant's *miraculous Diſcovery of the* Pill-Plot; *upon the ever memorable 28th Day of* November, 1734. *

THE college, now thy ſecret's out,
No more ſhall thee controul;
They'll ne'er diſturb their heads about
A med'cine for the ſoul.

Religion's no concern of theirs,
We from divines muſt hope,
That nothing, which thy art prepares,
May uſher in the Pope.

As thou no grounds, for this thy ſkill,
Cou'd e'er be brought to render;
'Twas very eaſy, in the pill,
To ſpy out the Pretender.

Such miracles, as make us ſtare,
Of thee does *C*——*l* tell;
Thy pills muſt come from papal chair,
They're ſo infallible.

Tho' now thy hand, in pill and drop,
Communicates both kinds;
It very ſoon the cup will ſtop,
When wiſh'd ſucceſs it finds.

Tho' now we take thy doſe at will,
Our faith is ne'er the ſafer,
For when we have got down the pill,
Thou'lt make us take the wafer.

O ſcarlet whore! O quack deluder!
O mother of all ills!
When we long ſince refus'd thy powder,
Doſt think we'll take thy pills!

Auſpicious month! be ne'er forgot!
May ev'ry age remember;
That both the pill and powder plot,
Were baffled in *November*.

The Tavern-Hunters. *A Ballad.*

THE gentry to the *King*'s-*Head* go,
The nobles to the *Crown*,
The knights you'll at the *Garter* find,
And at the *Plough* the clown.
But we'll beat ev'ry buſh, boys,
In hunting out good wine;
And value not a ruſh, boys,
My landlord, or his ſign.

The biſhop to the *Mitre* ſticks,
The ſailor to the *Star*,
The parſon topes beneath the *Roſe*,
At the *Trumpet*, men of war.
But we'll, &c.

The bankrupt to the *World*'s-*End* roams,
No Fair the *Feather* ſcorns,
The lawyer to the *Devil* runs,
The tradeſman to the *Horns*.
But we'll, &c.

SONG.

NOW we feel the frozen winter;
Chloe's heart is frozen too;
Cupid's arrow will not enter,
Nor the ſtubborn maid ſubdue.

Nature ſeems, as 'twere expiring,
In this melancholy plight;
I too die with much deſiring;
Chloe's coldneſs kills me quite.

K.

A Morning Hymn.

AT nature's birth, when on the deep
Darkneſs and horror lay,
Let there be light, the Almighty ſaid,
And ſtrait ſprung forth the day.

This thy firſt bleſſing to the world,
The ſun revolving brings;
And ſmiling comfort viſits man,
Born on the morning's wings.

Nature, imperfect, and undreſt,
Abhorr'd the prying light.
A world of beauteous objects now,
Each morn reveals to ſight.

Sweet is the light, and bright the ſun,
When he begins his race;
But neither ſun nor light is ſweet,
If thou conceal thy face.

The day advances, morning flies,
And blazing noon comes on
In vain, while I, in darkneſs hid,
Lament my abſent ſun!

Speak, Lord, and to thy ſervant's ſoul,
Thy quickening beams reſtore;
The light with double luſtre ſhines,
When darkneſs goes before.

On WINTER. *By a Perſon in the Country.*

NOW gloomy winter ſhews his hoary head,
And nature's face is with confuſion ſpread;
Stern *Boreas* rambles forth with bluſt'ring ſweep,
T' explore the continent, and ſtorm the deep:
A-while he ranges with deſpotic ſway,
Till vanquiſh'd by the genial lamp of day.
The foreſt now appears with rueful mien,
The groves diſplay a like ungrateful ſcene:
No chearful verdure beautifies the field,
Nor can the vales their wonted odours yield:
The open lawns, with each dilated plain,
No ſemblance of their former bloom retain.
Now humid vapours, fogs and miſts ariſe,
Which choak the air, and ſhade th' envelop'd ſkies;
Impetuous rains in ſable ſtreams deſcend,
And various meteors in the æther blend:

* *The* Courant *endeavour'd to ſhew, that the Deſign of Mr.* W——d's *Practice was to promote Popery.*

The

The rapid floods, which from the mountains pour,
With voice like thunder thro' the vallies roar:
Whilſt echo does the noiſy din provoke,
And joins the diſcord from each vocal rock.
The ſilver ponds now ſhine in glitt'ring mail,
And frozen clouds diſcharge the patt'ring hail;
A coverlet of fleecy ſnow o'erſpreads
The tow'ring hills, and cloathes the naked meads.
No warblers now chant forth their ſprightly ſtrains,
Nor with ſoft notes divert the liſt'ning ſwains;
No pleaſing object entertains the ſight;
Nor rural walks nor ſylvan ſhades invite:
No more we trace the mazes of the grove,
Tho' once our calm retreat, and ſeat of love:
But now, with briſk wood-fire and nut-brown ale,
In friendly ſocial mirth, ourſelves regale.

J. M.

GIN, *a Poem, in* Miltonick *Verſe. By the Author of the Tranſlation of Dr.* Barrow's Latin *Poem prefix'd to* Paradiſe Loſt. *(See p. 604.)*

YE ſacred nymphs, who on *Parnaſſus'* top
Attune ſymphonious lyres, thence wont to inſpire
The daring genius of the *laureat bard*,
Deign your immortal aid; whilſt touring high,
On wings expanded in the æther born,
Of potent *Gin's* unbounded pow'r, I ſing.
Midſt various butts, in phalanx order plac'd,
Of rum, from rich *Barbadoes* fertile coaſt,
Or brandy, produce of the *Gallic* clime;
Whoſe vivid ſtreams and grateful draughts altern
Pleaſure redundant yield; the veſſel ſtands,
Of monſtrous ſize, huge * *Heidelbergian* tun.
O'er theſe aſtride the jolly god elate,
Young *Bacchus* with his bloated ruddy cheeks
Triumphant ſits; with verdant wreaths entwin'd
His dizzy head, and opiate runlett crown'd.
To this as to the *Delphian* ſhrine erſt flock'd
Myriads, to ſcan the events of future deeds,
So faſt the rabble rout tranſported come:
Hither reſort the jocund ſongſters blithe
That thro' the ſtreets their merry ballads chant.
Oft here I've ſeen the lees of mortal race,
Whom want and hunger, dread companions, ey'd
With ghaſtly grin aſkance, quaff the rich juice,
Till the ſtrong fumes intoxicate their brain:
Then he who late in cottage darkling dwelt,
Or cell obſcure by glimmering ray ſcarce own'd;
Majeſtic pomp exerting, now aſſumes
Deſpotic ſway; and with unſteady ſteps
Vaunting aloud, his regal will declares,
And an imaginary monarch reigns.
The humble mendicant in tatter'd garb
Of variegated hue, to brumal blaſts
And penury, the poor man's guide, inur'd;
If the ſmall pittance of his plaintive tone
Can purchaſe but a glaſs of potent gin,
His ſole ambition's gain'd; nor ſplendid dreſs
Nor robes attractive of plebeian eyes
His admiration claim; benumming cold
No more he feels, but ſpurns the hoary froſt;
And ſtrait, unmindful of his former ſtate,
Rapt in ecſtatic bliſs, exulting runs.
When from ſome ſtreet we hear melodious ſtrains
Of *Wallſtreet* oyſters uſher in the eve,
We thence to *Gin's* diffuſive ſtrength aſcribe
The ſhrill *ſtentorian* voice. *Bellona's* ſons
Inſpir'd by this, midſt arms refulgent ruſh,
Braving the diſcord of the jarring helms;
And meet undaunted in terrific forms,
The meagre viſage of unhidebound death.
But more its all-diſpenſing power's invok'd,
When mortals early to their labours haſte;
Whilſt cold *Arcturus* and the frozen wain
Shed influence unperceiv'd by human ken
I'th' ſpangled hemiſphere; e'er *Phœbus* mounts
In bright *Aurora's* lap, his glaring car,
That with unerring circuit meaſures out
Grateful viciſſitude of day and night.
Mean while th' imperious dames with jovial crew
Of prattling females, round a maple ſtool
Sipping vaſt goblets of belov'd *bohea*,
Their ſland'rous news with never ceaſing din
Promiſcuous tell, till a reviving glaſs
Of this ſalubrious juice their malice ſtems,
And puts a period to their ſage debates.
Nor does it to the ignoble motly herd
Confine its virtues; oft the rich it cheers
Whilſt wine and brandy unregarded ſtand.
Inſpir'd by this, the weary traveller
Benighted on the verge of danger toſt,
Walks unappal'd amidſt the noon of night:
Thro' drifts of ſnow the † *Caledonian* loon
Maugre the force of bluſtring *Boreas* ſtalks
Diſdainful, with a draught of this elate,
And whiff of foul *Mundungus*, ſtinking weed.
Its power ‡ *Iverne's* ſons o'er boggy moors,
And § *Cambro-Britons* on the naked tops
Of mountains bleak, with front ſerene diſplay,
Secure with this 'midſt elemental jars.
Hail mighty *Gin*, thou health preſerving dram!
Of warmth productive, plenteous and cheap,
From gentle *Thames* to *Danube's* torrent fam'd.
Hail! melancholy's foe, delightful bane
To pannic fear and care with furrow'd brow;
If the chaſte bounds of moderation guide
Man's reaſon, elſe all good it ſtrait ſubverts;
And human nature feels the dire effects,
Plung'd in abyſs of woe and conſcious ſhame.

E. C.

* *A famous Tun of uncommon Size, at* Heidelberg *in* Germany. † *The* Scotchman.
‡ *A Name of* Ireland. § Welchmen.

The following came too late for laſt Month.

Epilogue *to* Vo'pone, *acted at* Bury-School, Nov. 5.

GREAT minds to ſtrokes of fortune never yield,
But with freſh courage reaſſume the field;
To night as mountebank I have been drubb'd,
What then? Sir *William Read* a knight was dubb'd,
And many drubbings he, no doubt, ſuſtain'd,
Before he that immortal honour gain'd.
I love ſuch publick ſouls, and I'll eſſay
To benefit mankind as much as they: [clin'd
Ne'er ſeem'd the world (ſince *Adam*) more in-
To favour mountebanks of every kind: [ſpiſe,
They've learn'd the graduate blockhead to de-
Ay--'twas Sir *William* open'd firſt their eyes.
Heav'ns! what a run about a twel-month paſt
Crude mercury had,-the god ne'er mov'd ſo faſt,
Ne'er drove (whatever p ets feign) before
Such ſhoals of ſpirits to the *Stygian* ſhore.
But now *Ward*'s pill unrival'd reigns alone,
Ward's peerleſs pill, what wonders has it done!
A *Drury* virgin, who convers'd with beaux,
Chanc'd by misfortune to loſe half her noſe;
She took a ſingle pill,- -- and I profeſs,
Noſe has been growing from that minute --leſs.
A noted cuckold, ---I conceal his name,
Whoſe horns were pointed at, wher-e'er he came,
Took but a couple in a glaſs of wine,
And ſince his forehead is ---as ſmooth as mine.
An honeſt tar, being aſham'd to beg,
Took half a dozen -- for a wooden leg, [ther)
And ſince proteſts, (I ſcorn the truth to ſmo-
He feels leſs pain in that than in the other.
What ſtrange prodigious cures are theſe, O! *Ward*!
Thou'lt ſurely be a knight, perhaps a lord.
Oh how thy glory fires my blood, thy pill [ſtill:
Could not do't more,-- but I'll out-ſtrip thee
Something will I invent, ſhall youth reſtore,
And drived eath off, tho' rapping at the door;
Then ſhall *Ward*'s pill be never heard of more.

TAVY's *Speech.*

PLESS hur prave eyes! hur's half afraid
To ſpeak the ferſe now hur has made:
But leſt you think hur prains a tunce;
Look you, hur'll out with it at once:
And tho' hur may be wrong ſome times,
Hur'll ſure and give you all the rhimes;
If not, hur hopes you'll grant excuſes,
Nor ſit like judges on hur muſes:
Hur heart e'en quakes within hur guts,
Hur pegs you will not hang the ſluts.
Well then, and ſo hur Speech begins,
Hur gueſs you'll like hur by your grins;
Hur hopes hur nation's not the worſt,
We're all porn ſhentlemen at firſt;
Tho' ſaucy infamy wou'd blot hur
Hur's ſure *Cadwallader* begot hur.
Indeed hur owns on ſteep *Welch* rocks,
Hard fate conſtrains to feed hur flocks;
What then, good deeds! hur pook can ſee,
Kings has kept flocks as well as ſhe.
What's hur with that outlandiſh name,
Whoſe freaks ſet *Troy* town in a flame?
Hur there? pho, pho, I pray you ſilence,
Why what! I read hur name a while hence-
Paris- yes now- (hur wiſh him wipt)
Who ſaw three Goddeſſes unſtript,
And *Menelaus*' good woman made ill,
Who was a goatherd from hur cradle;
Tho' was a king inteed for all yet,
And liv'd on *Ide*, --- I think they call it.
That *Ide*, tho held ſuch pig account in,
Hur warrants leſs than hur *Welſh* mountain.
Hur knows the ſtory of the moon,
How the coy ſwain ſhe puſs'd at noon;
Fair '*Dymeon*--- hur can poaſt for pride
God *Pan*--- and ſome as good beſide.
But where was any hur could mention,
Like hur St. *Tavy* for invention.
(Was hur own nameſake too, ant ſave ye;
Pray you, hur own porn name was *Tavy*)
He chreſtian ſoul for want of cats,
Contriv'd a wond'rous trap for rats:
Shew'd how vile mouſter might be taken,
And ſav'd his country's cheeſe and bacon;
And dairies of ſuch vermine ſwept,
By *Engliſh* too in membrance kept;
For which each *March*, as pooks relate,
Hur's hang'd in effigy for ſtate;
Not as ſome vulgars think in ſpite,
Meaning to ſtain hur glory by't,
But plac'd in honourable ſtation
In mem'ry of hur famous nation;
With the renown'd red herring by hur,
That drew poor mouſes in the wire:
And for hur crown, in feather's ſtead,
Sticks a huge leek to grace hur head:
Prave leek, whoſe ſight and ſmell they ſay,
Did fright hur country's foes away.
But hold you now—hur pray your patience,
Hur's got a world of ſtrange relations:
Of bold Sir *Shinkin* let hur tell,
St. *Winifred*, and of her well;
Of *Owen* too, that witch *Glendore*,
With all his imps, and twenty more;
Of ſuch fam'd tales hur's got a ſtock,
Wou'd laſt an hour out by the clock.
Hur'll thro' 'em all now hur's begun,
Not ſhe, hur cares not when hur's done.
Grant, *Pollo*, what hur will rehearſe,
May have but all their legs in ferſe.
Hur thinks hur pribles and hur prables
Was petter ſerve to pleaſe the rabbles.
Hold--- mem'ry fails hur, hur's in doubt,
Ay--- look you ſure poor *Tavy*'s out.
Hur pegs hur may not ſpoil hur part,
But let hur read the reſt by heart.
* Pleſs hur --- ſome knave has ſtole her notes,
Hur'll home good lack, and feed hur goats.

* *Searches his Pockets.*

N. B. *We have receiv'd ſeveral more Manuſcripts from our Correſpondents, which ſhall be inſerted in our next.*

The

The GENTLEMAN's *Monthly Intelligencer.*

DECEMBER, 1734.

AT a Court of Common-Council the Chamberlain of *London* reported, that the Money raiſed by Fines for being excuſed from ſerving the Office of Sheriff, was all laid out in 3 *per Cent. Annuities*, and that the ſame amounted to 19,655 *l.* Stock.

THURSDAY, Dec. 5.

Came an Expreſs to Court, with Advice that the Princeſs of *Orange* having been indiſpos'd at *Calais*, her Royal Highneſs and the Prince did not ſet out for *Holland* till Yeſterday Morning about Nine o'Clock, when they went to *Graveling*, and this Day, were to paſs *Dunkirk*, and from thence proceed upon the Canals to *Newport*, *Bruges*, *Sas-van-Ghent*, *Bergen-op-Zoom*, *Willemſtadt*, *Delft*, and ſo to the *Hague*. The Prince met her Royal Highneſs at *Calais* juſt upon her landing.

SATURDAY, 7.

Came on a Trial in the Court of *Common-Pleas*, *Weſtminſter*, wherein *John Shipthorp*, Printer, was Plaintiff, againſt *John Stevens*, Book-binder, Defendant, for exerciſing the Art and Myſtery of Printing, not having ſerv'd 7 Years to the Trade; and after ſeveral learned Arguments by the Counſel on both Sides, the Jury gave ſix Months Damages for the Plaintiff, 40 Shillings a Month being the Statute of 5 *Eliz.* (See p. 384.)

The Seſſions ended at the *Old Bailey*, when the eight following Malefactors received Sentence of Death, *viz. Aaron Pritchard*, for breaking open the Till of Mr. *Hebbert*, Sen. in *Ludgate-ſtreet*, and ſtealing from thence about 6 *l.* and a Diamond Ring. *Ambroſe Thurman*, for ſtealing a Silver Tankard out of the Houſe of Mr. *Edmond Eyles* at the *Bull-Head* in *Leaden-hall-ſtreet*, Value 8 *l.* *William Williams*, for the Murder of Corporal *Roe*, at *Somerſet-Houſe*. *Peter Hughes*, for robbing Mr. *Syms* at the *Red-Lion-Inn* near *Charing-Croſs*, of Plate and Money to a conſiderable Value. *Edward Atkins*, for ſtealing ſeveral Pair of Silver Buckles from Mr. *Ledger*. *Samuel Flewellen*, for picking the Pocket of *Edward Saliſbury* of a Silver Watch, Value 5 *l.* *Mary Bowman*, for ſtealing a Gold Ring, three *Portugal* Pieces, Value 10 *l.* 16 *s.* five Moidores, ſix Guineas and a Half from *Pearſe Clay*. And *James Caſey*, for robbing *John Atkinſon* on the Highway in *Whitechapel-Fields*, of a Piece of Checque Linnen, containing 31 Yards, and ſome Halfpence. *Iſaac Berridge*, *Roger Arnold* and *Elizabeth Pembroke*, were tried for the Murder of *Richard Cantillon*, Eſq; The Evidence for the King conſiſted of 15 Witneſſes, and about the ſame Number gave Teſtimony to the general good Character of the Priſoners, who, after a Trial which laſted five Hours, were brought in Not Guilty. (See p. 494.) Forty one were caſt for Tranſportation, and forty four acquitted.

Mrs. *Harris*, a Quaker, well known for her great Skill in Needlework, was introduc'd to her Majeſty, and preſented her with two Caps of uncommon Fineneſs, deſign'd for the Princeſs of *Orange*, as Part of her Childbed Linnen.

In the Seams of that deſign'd for a Prince was work'd,

As Providence to glorious William *gave*
Theſe happy nations which he came to ſave:
Still may kind heaven, with royal honours, bleſs
His princely race, and ſend us large increaſe.

And there were other Verſes in the Cap deſign'd for a Princeſs. With them ſhe deliver'd the following Addreſs to her Majeſty:

May it pleaſe the Queen,

A Faithful Subject of thine, and one of theſe call'd Quakers, (a People who have diſtinguiſh'd themſelves by their Love to thy Family) has been excited by the happy Marriage of that amiable Princeſs thy eldeſt Daughter with the Prince of Orange, *to ſhew that the pleaſing Thoughts of it remained with her many Days. I have, O Queen, with my own Hands, (tho' I am more than 64 Years of Age) wrought this*

this Linnen, which I have taken the Liberty to preſent to thy Royal Hand; I beſeech thee ſuffer thy Grandchild to wear it; and may the Almighty, who has made thee Mother of many Children, make them and their Children Comforts to thee and to thy People. So prays thy humble but faithful Subject,

MARY HARRIS.

Mrs. *Harris* had the Honour to deliver the Caps into her Majeſty's own Hand, and received her Thanks for them.

WEDNESDAY, 11.

Came on a Trial at *Guildhall*, on an Action brought by an Oſtler at the *White-Horſe-Inn* in *Fleet-ſtreet*, againſt Sir *William Billers* and others, for committing him to the *Poultry* Compter laſt *Eaſter*, for hiſſing and inſulting Sir *William* when Lord Mayor, in the Proceſſion to St. *Bride's*; and the Plaintiff was non-ſuited.

SATURDAY, 21.

One of his Majeſty's Meſſengers arrived at St. *James's*, with Advice, that their Royal and Serene Highneſſes the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange*, were arrived at the *Hague* in good Health.

WEDNESDAY, 25.

This Morning, about two o'Clock, Mr. *Ward*, a Conſtable, went with a Warrant from the Lord Mayor, to a Shoe-maker's in *Queen-ſtreet*, *Cheapſide*, to ſearch for the Valet-de-Chambre of a certain Noble Lord, who was charg'd with ſeducing away a young Lady of 50,000 *l.* Fortune, and a Coheireſs: The Lord, who was her Guardian, and two other Perſons of Quality, were with the Conſtable; and being admitted into the Houſe, they were directed up to the Chamber, where they found the Valet-de-Chambre and the young Lady together; upon which the Conſtable carried him to the *Poultry-Compter*. She is but 14 Years of Age, and was married in a white Frock and Hanging-Sleeve-Coat. The Lord her Guardian gave the Conſtable a Guinea for his Trouble, and took away the young Lady in a Coach.

MONDAY, 30.

John Butler, *Owen Pritchard*, *Ambroſe Thurman*, and *James Caſey*, were this Day executed at *Tyburn*.

TUESDAY, 31.

William Williams, the Soldier, for the Murder of Corporal *Roe*, was executed over-againſt *Somerſet-Houſe*, and was afterwards hang'd in Chains on *Turnham-Green*. The reſt who were condemn'd the two laſt Seſſions, were repriev'd. (See p. 551, 665.)

A few Days ſince about 100 Yards of the North-Eaſt End of the Iſland of *Portland*, ſunk into the Sea, by which the Pier is in a great Meaſure deſtroyed, at leaſt it is computed that 4000 *l.* will not make good the Damage. The Sinking of this Point of Land occaſioned a Crack a conſiderable Diſtance in the Iſland, which greatly alarmed the neighbouring Inhabitants.

MARRIAGES *and* BIRTHS

HON. *Robert Byng*, Eſq; Member of Parliament for *Plymouth*, married to the Daughter of *Jonathan Forward*, Eſq;

William Peere Williams, Eſq; (ſecond Son of *William Peere Williams*, Eſq;) to Miſs *Seignoret*, Daughter of a rich *Italian* Merchant, a 40,000 l. Fortune.

Capt. *Vaughan*, Brother to the Lord Viſc. *Liſburne*, to Mrs. *Lydell*, a near Relation to Sir *Henry Lydell*, Bart.

The Lady of the Hon. *John Spencer*, Eſq; Grandſon to her Grace the Dutcheſs Dowager of *Marlborough*, and only Brother to the preſent Duke, ſafely delivered of a Son and Heir.

The Lady of Sir *John Heathcote*, Bart. brought to Bed of a Daughter.

The Lady *Frances Meadows*, Siſter to his Grace the Duke of *Kingſton*, likewiſe brought to Bed of a Daughter.

The Lady of the Right Hon. *William Conolly*, Eſq; one of his Majeſty's moſt Hon. Privy Council in *Ireland*, brought to Bed of a Son and Heir.

DEATHS.

REV. Mr. *Charnock*, Fellow of *All-Souls* College, *Oxon*; at his Houſe near *Barham-Down* in *Kent*.

Dr. *John Cockman*, an eminent Phyſician.

Mr. *John Potts*, Groom of the Bed-Chamber to the King, and Collector of the Window-Lights for *Middleſex*.

Mr. *Walters*, one of the Grooms of the Great Chamber to his Majeſty.

At *Hindon* in *Wilts*, *Gyles Eyre*, Eſq; eldeſt Son of Sir *Gyles Eyre*, Knt. appointed one of the Juſtices of the *King's-Bench* at the Revolution.

Freeman Deſbouverie, Eſq; Son of the late Sir *Chriſtopher Deſbouverie*.

Sir *George Saunders*, Knt. Vice-Admiral of the Red Squadron of *Great Britain*, and Member of Parliament for *Queenborough* in *Kent*.

At *Edinburgh*, Mr. *John Mac-Gill*, Surgeon-Apothecary to the King.

Abigail Lady *Maſham*, Wife of the Right Hon. *Samuel* Lord *Maſham*, of *Oates* in *Eſſex*.

William Dowſe, Eſq; an Alderman of *Huntington*, and Receiver-General of the Land-Tax for that County.

The famous Painter, *Peter Tillemans* of *Antwerp*.

Hon. *Henry Bertie*, Eſq; ſecond Son of *Montagu* Earl of *Lindſey*.

Dr.

Dr. *Pearſon*, an eminent Phyſician.

The noted Mr. *Figg*, the Prize-Fighter.

At *Haughton* in *Shropſhire*, Sir *Humphry Brigges*, Bart.

On the 14th about 3 in the Morning at his Seat at *Becket* in the Pariſh of *Shrivenham*, *Berks*, *John*, Lord *Barrington* of *Newcaſtle* in the County of *Dublin*, and Viſcount *Barrington* of *Ardglaſs* in the County of *Down*, ſo created, *June* 11, 1720, 7 *George* I. In the Year 1714, he was elected a Member of Parliament for the Town of *Berwick upon Tweed*, for which Town he was alſo elected a Member in the next Parliament, but expelled the Houſe of Commons on Acount of the Undertaking call'd the *Harbourg Lottery* in 1720: He was a Candidate for the ſaid Town at the laſt Election, againſt the Lord *Polwarth*, but loſt the Election by a Majority of *four*. Between 20 and 30 Years ago, *John Wildman*, of *Becket*, Eſq; ſettled his large Eſtate on him, tho' no Relation, and had but little Acquaintance with him; having always reſolv'd, as is expreſs'd on his Monument in *Shrivenham* Church, *To adopt ſome Perſon his Heir, according to the Method of the* Romans. Some Years after, another conſiderable Eſtate was left him by Mr. *Barrington* of *Eſſex*; whereupon he took that Name by Act of Parliament, his former Name being *Shute*. His Lordſhip was the Author of a Book entitled, *Miſcellanea Sacra*; and alſo of *An Eſſay on the ſeveral Diſpenſations of God to Mankind*; and of ſeveral Pamphlets in Favour of the Diſſenters. His Lordſhip married *Anne*, Daughter and Co-heir to Sir *William Daines*, of *Briſtol*, Kt. by whom he has nine Children now living, and is ſucceeded in Honour and Eſtate by his eldeſt Son, *William Wildman*, now Lord Viſcount *Barrington*.

Sir *Robert Kemp*, Bart. Knight of the Shire for *Suffolk*.

John Merril, of *Lainſton* near *Wincheſter*, in *Southamptonſhire*, Eſq;

Sir *Brian Cooke*, of *Wheatly* in *Yorkſhire*, Bart.

At *Cheſter*, aged 96, Mrs. *Eliz. Booth*, (call'd *Knight Betty Booth*, there being another Maiden Lady of the ſame Name).

At *Edinburgh*, aged 76, *Anne* Counteſs of *Murray*, Aunt to the preſent Duke of *Argyll*.

The Right Hon. *Henry Newport*, Earl of *Bradford*, Viſcount *Newport* and Baron *Newport*, of *Ercall*, Lord Lieutenant and Cuſtos Rotulorum for the County of *Montgomery*.

John Cummins, Eſq; a Gentleman of 1500*l. per Annum*.

Eccleſiaſtical PREFERMENTS.

MR. *Robert Jenkins* preſented to the Rectory of *Weſtbore*, *Kent*.

The Lord Biſhop of *Wincheſter* appointed his Son Mr. *Hoadley* to be Chancellor of the Dioceſe of *Wincheſter*.

Mr. *Peter Vallavine* choſen one of the Minor Canons of *Canterbury*.

Mr. *Hart* preſented to the Living of *Gorſfield*, *Eſſex*.

Mr. *Charles Milles* collated to the Rectory of *Harbledown*, near *Canterbury*.

Mr. *Burton* preſented to the Living of *Moreton*, *Surrey*.

Dr. *Bradſhaigh* made Chaplain to the King.

The Rev. Dr. *Secker*, Rector of St. *James's*, *Weſtminſter*, nominated by his Majeſty to the See of *Briſtol*.

Mr. *John Thomas* preſented to the Rectory of *Kyl-y-bebil*, *Glamorganſhire*.

Mr. *Benj. Owen* to the Rectory of St. *Giles*, *Eſſex*.

Mr. *William Morehouſe* to the Rectory of *Shingham*, *Norfolk*.

Mr. *John Conant*, to the Rectory of *Haſtinglay*.

Mr. *William Jeſſe*, M. A. preſented to the Vicarage of *Amwell*, in *Hertfordſhire* and Dioceſe of *London*.

Mr. *Tho. Cooke*, Fellow of St. *Peter's* College in *Cambridge*, to the Rectory of *Black Notley* in *Eſſex*.

Dr. *Holmes*, Preſident of St. *John's* College, *Oxford*, appointed one of his Majeſty's Chaplains in Ordinary.

Dr. *Martin Benſon* nominated Bp. of *Glouceſter*, in the room of Dr. *Sydall*, deceas'd.

PROMOTIONS *Civil* and *Military*.

COunteſs of *Burlington* appointed Miſtreſs of the Robes and Groom of the Stole to the Queen, in the room of the Counteſs of *Suffolk*.

Mr. *Godfrey* made Deputy-Treaſurer to the Prince, in the room of the late Mr. *Andrews*.

Mr. *Hugh Steel* and Mr. *Monk* appointed Grooms of the Chambers to the King, in the room of the late Mr. *Walters* and Mr. *Potts*.

Capt. *Thomas* made Major of Col. *Harriſon's* Reg. of Foot, in the room of the late Major *How*.

Sir *John Gonſon*, Knt. appointed Col. of the ſecond Regiment of the *Tower* Hamlets, in the room of Sir *William Ogbourne*, deceas'd.

Earl of *Granard* (late Lord *Forbes*) ſworn in Rear-Admiral of the Red, in the room of Sir *George Saunders*, deceas'd. Admiral *Haddock* ſworn in Rear-Admiral of the White, in the room of the Earl of *Granard*. Capt. *Hagar* appointed and ſworn Rear-Admiral of the Blue, in the room of Admiral *Haddock*.

Earl of *Crawford* made Col. of a Reg. of Foot in the Leeward Iſlands, in the room of the late Brig. Gen. *Jones*.

Capt. *James Compton* made Commander of the *Sea-horſe* Man of War.

Capt. *Digby Dent* appointed Commodore of a Squadron for the *Weſt-Indies*.

Sir

Sir *Wm. Aſhburnham*, Bart. made Receiver of the Alienation-Office, in the room of the late Judge *Jeſſop*.

Sheriffs appointed for the Year enſuing.

Bedf. Tho. Groom, Eſq; *Berks.* Hen. Tomkins, Eſq; *Bucks.* John Ware, Eſq; *Cumb.* Fletcher Partis, Eſq; *Derby.* Fran. Sitwell, Eſq; *Devon.* Nich. Hooper, Eſq; *Dorſet.* Edm. Hayter, Eſq; *Eſſex*, Sam. Symons Pebys, Eſq; *Glouceſt.* Tho. Lingen, Eſq; *Heref.* Robert Mynas, Eſq; *Hert.* Anth. Rodney Buckeridge, Eſq; *Kent*, Bladwyn Duppa, jun. Eſq; *Leiceſt.* Cha. Boſville, Eſq; *Linc.* Rob. Lychford, Eſq; *Monm.* Rich. Lewis, Eſq; *Norf.* Geo. Smith, Eſq; *Northamp.* Tho. Langton, Eſq; *Northum.* Hen. Elliſon, Eſq; *Notting.* Tho. Liſter, Eſq; *Oxf.* Sebaſtian Smythe, Eſq; *Rut.* T. Tomlyn, Eſq; *Shrop.* Sherrington Davenport, Eſq; *Somerſet.* John Brickdale, Eſq; *Southam.* Rob. Graham, Eſq; *Staff.* John Hodgets, Eſq; *Suff.* John Reynolds, Eſq; *Surry*, John Copeland, Eſq; *Warw.* Rob. Parker, Eſq; *Wilts.* Wm. Vylett, Eſq; *Worceſt.* Geo. Naſh, Eſq; *Carmar.* Tho. Bavan, Eſq; *Card.* Wm. Brigſtock, Eſq; *Glam.* Grant Gibbon, Eſq; *Breck.* Evan Williams, Eſq; *Rad.* John Clarke, Eſq; *Pemb.* Weriott Owen, Eſq; *Montg.* Tho. Brown, Eſq; *Flint*, Tho. Griffith, Eſq; *Carnar.* Hump. Meredith, Eſq; *Angl.* —— Roberts, Eſq; *Merion.* Rob. Vaughan, Eſq;

Perſons declared BANKRUPTS.

MILES WRAY, late of *Great Grimſby*, in *Lincolnſhire*, Merchant.

John Blundy the Elder, of *Greenham*, in *Thatcham*, *Berks*, Brewer.

Tho. Simpſon, of *Bedford*, in *Bedfordſhire*, Draper.

Thomas Aldwell, of St. *George's Hanover-Square*, *Middleſex*, Dealer and Chapman.

Sam. Dudſon, late of *Mansfield*, in *Nottinghamſhire*, Apothecary.

John Hall, late of *Holborn*, *Middleſex*, Linnen-Draper.

Edmund Hodgkins, of *Stanlake*, *Oxon*, Baker and Chapman.

Ralph Aſhmall, of *Stockton*, *Durham*, Grocer and Chapman.

Adam Ewart, late of *Altrincham*, in *Cheſhire*, Chapman.

Francis Ruſſel, of *German-ſtreet*, *Weſtminſter*, Linnen-Draper and Haberdaſher of Small Wares.

Thomas Goſſe, of *Piccadilly*, *Middleſex*, Blackſmith.

John Michell, of St. *Botolph* without *Aldgate*, *London*, Mercer.

Richard Caſborne, of *Soham* in the County of *Cambridge*, Grocer, Tallow-Chandler, Farmer and Chapman.

John Swinden, of the Pariſh of *St. Saviour's Southwark* in the County of *Surrey*, Brewer.

A General BILL *of Chriſtnings and Burials, within the Bills of Mortality, from* Dec. 11, 1733, *to* Dec. 10, 1734.

Chriſtened,		Buried,	
Males	8955	Males	13016
Females	8675	Females	13046
In all	17630	In all	26062

Decreaſed in the Burials this Year 3171.

Died,			
Under 2 Years of Age			10752
Between	2	and 5	2830
	5	and 10	1228
	10	and 20	829
	20	and 30	1718
	30	and 40	2212
	40	and 50	2154
	50	and 60	1668
	60	and 70	1324
	70	and 80	793
	80	and 90	484
	90	and 100	66

A Hundred and One 1. A Hundred and Four 1. A Hundred and Five 1. A Hundred and Six 1.

Prices

Towards the End of the Month.

STOCKS.

S. Sea 83 ½	*Afric.* 20
—*Bonds* 3*l.* 16	*Royal Aſſ.* 94 ½
—*Annu.* 105 ½	*Lon. ditto* 12 ¼
Bank 107	*Y. Build.* 4
—*Circ.* 5*l.*	3 *per C. An.* 94 ½
Mil. Bank 107	*Eng. Copper* 2*l.*
India 149	*Welſh dit.*
—*Bonds* 4*l.*	

The Courſe of EXCHANGE.

Amſt.	35 9 a 10	*Bilboa*	40 ⅛
D. Sight	34 7 a 8	*Leghorn*	50 ½ a ⅝
Rotter.	35 10 a 11	*Genoa*	52 ⅓
Hamb.	35 3	*Venice*	50 ½
P. Sight	31 ¼ a ⅓	*Lisb.*	5 5 ¼
Bourd.	31 ½ a ⅝	*Oport*	5 5 ⅛
Cadiz	40 ⅜	*Antw.*	36 4
Madrid	40 ⅜	*Dublin*	11 ⅜ a ½

Prices of Goods at *Bear-Key*.

Wheat	26 30	*Oates*	11 14
Rye	18 21	*Tares*	18 23
Barley	15 18	*Peaſe*	20 22
H. Beans	16 20	*H. Peaſe*	16 19
P. Malt	18 23	*B. Malt*	16 22

Abſtract of the *London* WEEKLY BILL, from *Nov.* 26. to *Dec.* 24.

Chriſtned	Males	635	1280
	Females	645	
Buried	Males	876	1830
	Females	954	

Died under 2 Years old			691
Between	2	and 5	180
	5	10	55
	10	20	56
	20	30	126
	30	40	162
	40	50	148
	50	60	164
	60	70	108
	70	80	78
	80	90	54
	90 and upwards		8

Prices of Goods, *&c.* in *London*. Hay 36*s.* *to* 42*s.* a Load.

Coals per Chaldron 25 *to* 26
New Hops p. Hun. 5*l.* 10 *to* 6*l.*
Old Hops 3*l.* 10 *to* 4*l.*
Rape Seed 10*l. a* 11*l.*
Lead the Fodder 19 *Hun.* 1 *half on board*, 14*l. a* 14*l.* 10*s.*
Tin in Blocks 3*l.* 14
Ditto in Bars 3*l.* 16*s.*
Copper Eng. beſt 5*l.* 5*s.*
Ditto ordinary 4*l.* 16*s. a* 5*l.*
Ditto Barbary 85*l. a* 95*l.*
Iron of Bilboa 15*l.* 5*s. per Ton.*
Ditto of Sweden 16*l.* 10*s.*
Tallow 28 *a* 30*s.*
Country Tallow 27*s.* 6*d.*
Cochineal 18*s.* 9*d.*

Grocery Wares by the C.
Raiſins of the S. new 32*s.*
Ditto Malaga Frailes 17*s.*
Ditto Smirna new 22*s.*
Ditto Alicant 18*s.*
Ditto Lipra new 19*s.*
Ditto Belvedera 29*s.*
Currants new 45*s.*
Prunes French none
Figs 20*s.*
Sugar Powder beſt 54 *a* 59*s.*
Ditto ſecond Sort 46*s. a* 50
Loaf Sugar double ref. 12*d.*
Ditto ſingle refine 8*d.*

Grocery Wares by the lb.
Cinamon 7*s.* 8*d.*
Cloves 9*s.* 1*d.*
Mace 15*s.* 0*d*
Nutmegs 8*s.* 7*d.*
Sugar Candy white 14*d. a* 18*d.*
Ditto brown 6*d.*
Pepper for home conſump. 16*d.*
Ditto for Exportation 12*d. half.*
Tea Bohea fine 10*s. a* 12*s.*
Ditto ordinary 8 *a* 9*s.*
Ditto Congo 10 *a* 12*s.*
Ditto Pekoe 14 *a* 16*s.*
Ditto Green fine 9 *a* 12*s.*
Ditto Imperial 9 *a* 12*s.*
Ditto Hyſon 20 *a* 25*s.*

Drugs by the lb.
Balſam Peru 14*s.*
Cardamoms 3*s.* 6*d.*
Campbire refin'd 9*s.* 6
Crabs Eyes 1*s.* 8*d.*
Jallop 2*s.* 8
Manna 2*s.* 6*d. a* 4*s*
Maſtick white 4*s.* 0*d.*
Opium 9*s.*
Quickſilver 4*s.* 3*d*
Rhubarb 18 *a* 25*s.*
Sarſaparilla 3*s.* 0*d*
Saffron Engliſh 22*s* 6
Wormſeeds none
Balſam Copaiva 3*s.* 0*d.*
Balſam of Gilead 20*s.*
Hypocacuanæ 4*s. a* 5*s*
Ambergreece per oz. 8*s.*

Wine, Brandy, and Rum.
Oporto red per Pipe 25 *a* 26*l.*
Ditto white none
Lisbon red 35 *a* 40*l.*
Ditto white 26 *a* 28*l.*
Sherry 26*l.*
Canary new 25 *a* 28*l.*
Ditto old 32 *a* 34*l.*
Florence 3*l.* 0*s.*
French red 30*l. a* 40*l.*
Ditto white 20*l.*
Mountain Malaga old 24*l.*
Ditto new 20*l. a* 21*l.*
Brandy Fr. per Gal. 7*s.*
Rum of Jam. 6 *a* 7*s.*
Lew. Iſlands 6*s.* 4*d.* 6*s.* 10*d.*

COUNT *Traun*, the Governor of *Capua*, having held out ſeveral Months, ſpite of Famine and all the Fire of the *Spaniards*, capitulated the 22d of laſt Month.

Advice from *Italy*, That Count *Konigsegg* having divided his Army into two Bodies, march'd with one over the *Oglio*, and ſent the other croſs the *Po* under the Command of General *Wallis*: That a large Corps of the latter having advanced to *Guaſtalla*, and ſummoned the Governor, who was a *Frenchman*, to ſurrender, Monſieur gave them ſo unpolite an Anſwer, that they began to prepare for beſieging it; but before they had made any Progreſs, Marſhal *Broglio* arriv'd with 20,000 Men from the allied Army, and after a ſhort Reſiſtance, obliged the *Germans* to retire with Loſs: That the whole Body of the *Imperial* Army was again retreated beyond the *Po* and the *Oglio*.

From the *Hague*, That the Council of State had preſented to their High-Mightineſſes the State of the War for the next Year, which (notwithſtanding the great Expectations of the Publick) was the ſame in Subſtance with laſt Year. That the two following Articles had been communicated to the *Imperial* and *French* Ambaſſadors:

1. Whether the *Emperor* and *France* would be content that *Don Carlos* remain King of *Naples* and *Sicily*, on Condition of giving the Houſe of *Auſtria*, *Parma* and *Placentia*, with a Part of *Milan* and the Succeſſion to *Tuſcany*, as an Equivalent?

2. Whether K. *Staniſlaus*, preſerving his Regal Titles, will be ſatisfied to be made Duke of *Lorrain*, and that Dutchy erected into an Electorate? The Duke of *Lorrain* to marry the eldeſt Archdutcheſs, to be declared King of the *Romans*, and to have *Parma* and *Placentia* immediately, and *Tuſcany* after the Death of the Great Duke? Or in caſe this ſecond Article is rejected, Whether *Poland* ſhall not be divided between *Staniſlaus* and *Auguſtus*, the longeſt Liver to take the Whole?

They have Advice in *France*, that the Government of *Naples* is very much embarraſſed: They hear of nothing but Diſturbances, Revolts, and Conſpiracies on all Sides. The Grandees are for *Spain*; but the People in general are for the *Emperor*.

From *Konigsberg*, The *Poliſh* Lords and Prelates, who were at *Dantzick*, and are come to K. *Staniſlaus* here, have written a Letter to the Pope, wherein they diſavow every Step they took in Favour of K. *Auguſtus*.

The following Prayer has been printed and diſperſed in ſeveral Cities of *Germany*, by Order of their ſupreme Magiſtrates.

The Prayer of his Serene Highneſs Prince Eugene, *Generaliſſimo of his* Imperial *Majeſty's Forces on the* Rhine, *which he daily uſeth with great Devotion.*

I believe in thee, O my God! Do thou ſtrengthen my Faith; I hope in thee, confirm my Hopes: I love thee, inflame my Love more and more: I repent of all my Sins, but do thou increaſe my Repentance!

As my firſt Beginning I worſhip thee, as my laſt End I long for thee: As my eternal Benefactor I praiſe thee, and as my ſupreme Protector I pray unto thee.

That it may pleaſe thee, O Lord, to guide and lead me by thy Providence, to keep me in Obedience by thy Juſtice, to comfort me by thy Mercy, and to protect me by thy Almighty Power.

I ſubmit unto thee all my Thoughts Words and Deeds, as well as my Afflictions, Pains and Sufferings, and I deſire to have thee always in my Mind, to do all my Works in thy Name, and for thy Sake to bear all Adverſity with Patience.

I will nothing, but what thou wilt, O God! becauſe 'tis agreeable unto thee. O give me Grace that I may be attentive in my Prayer, temperate in my Diet, vigilant in my Conduct, and unmoveable in all good Purpoſes.

Grant, moſt merciful Lord, that I may be true and faithful to thoſe that have intruſted me with their Secrets; that I may be courteous and kind towards all Men, and that both in my Words and Actions, I may ſhew unto them a good Example.

Diſpoſe my Heart to admire and praiſe thy Goodneſs, to hate all Errors and evil Works, to love my Neighbour, and to deſpiſe the World.

Aſſiſt me, good God, in ſubduing Luſt by Mortification, Covetouſneſs by Liberality, and Anger by Mildneſs, and Lukewarmneſs by Zeal and Fervency.

Enable me to conduct myſelf with Prudence in all Tranſactions, and to ſhew Courage in Danger, Patience in Adverſity, and in Proſperity an humble Mind.

Let thy Grace illuminate my Underſtanding, direct my Will, ſanctify my Body, and bleſs my Soul.

Make me diligent in curbing all irregular Affections, zealous in imploring thy Grace, careful in keeping thy Commandments, and conſtant in working out my own Salvation.

Finally, O God, make me ſenſible how little is the World, how great thy Heaven, how ſhort Time, and how long will be the bleſſed Eternity!

O that I may well prepare myſelf for Death! That I may dread thy Judgments, that I may avoid the Torments of Hell, and obtain of thee, O God! eternal Life, thro' the Merits of Jeſus Chriſt our Lord. *Amen.*

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APPENDIX

TO THE

LONDON MAGAZINE.

Concluſion of the PROCEEDINGS and DEBATES in the *laſt Seſſion* of PARLIAMENT, continued from *Page* 635.

ON *March* 18, the Commons reſolved, *Nem. Con.* to preſent a congratulatory Addreſs to his Majeſty on the happy Nuptials of the Princeſs Royal and the Prince of *Orange*. Alſo to congratulate the Queen on theſe happy Nuptials: And to ſend a congratulatory Meſſage to the Princeſs Royal and his Highneſs the Prince of *Orange*, on this happy Occaſion. (See the Anſwers returned to theſe Congratulations, by the King, Queen, the Princeſs Royal, and Prince of *Orange*, p. 216.)

The Houſe of Lords came likewiſe to the ſame Sort of Reſolutions on this Occaſion.

On the 19th a Bill for exhibiting a Bill for naturalizing his Highneſs the Prince of *Orange* (which was order'd to be prepared and brought in by Mr. *Pulteney*, Mr. *Walpole*, Mr. *Sandys*, Sir *Will. Yonge*, Mr. *Trenchard*, Mr. *Gybbon*, and Col. *Mordaunt*) was brought in and paſſed in the Houſe of Commons, and was ordered to be carried to the Lords for their Concurrence, where it was likewiſe paſſed, and returned to the Commons on the 20th. (See the Preamble to it, p. 155.)

On the 21ſt his Majeſty came to the Houſe of Peers, and gave the Royal Aſſent to this and the other Bills mention'd, p. 154.

The ſame Day a Bill was brought down from the Lords, intitled, *An Act for naturalizing the moſt ſerene Prince* William Charles Henry Friſo, *Prince of* Orange *and* Naſſau, which was that Evening three times read by the Commons, and paſſed *Nem. Con.*

DEBATE *in the Houſe of L——ds on his Majeſty's* Meſſage *for a Power to augment his Forces, if neceſſary, during the Want of a Parliament.*

On the 28th, the D—ke of *N——le* preſented to the Houſe the following Meſſage from his Majeſty, *viz.*

A *That as the War which had broke out in* Europe, *unhappily continued, his Majeſty had nothing more at Heart than to ſee that Flame extinguiſhed, and to avoid, if poſſible, the engaging his Subjects in the Hazards and Expence of a War; being at the ſame Time deſirous, neither to give any juſt Alarm to other Nations, nor to ſubject himſelf to any unprovoked Inſults.*

B *That to the End his Majeſty's Endeavours, in Conjunction with his Allies, for procuring an Accommodation, might in due Time have the deſired Effect; and that his Majeſty might be in a Condition to make good ſuch Engagements as Honour, Juſtice and Prudence might call upon him to fulfil and contract; and that his Kingdoms might not be left expoſed to any deſperate Attempts, during ſuch Time, as it might be impoſſible for his Majeſty to have the immediate*

C *Advice and Aſſiſtance of his great Council, upon any Emergency ariſing from the preſent Poſture of Affairs in* Europe, *which might nearly concern the Intereſt and Safety of theſe Kingdoms; his Majeſty hoped that he ſhould be enabled and ſupported by his Parliament, in making ſuch further Augmentation of his Forces, either by Sea or Land, as might be abſolutely neceſſary*

for the Honour and Defence of his Kingdoms, and in concerting ſuch Meaſures as the Exigency of Affairs might require.

That whatever Expence ſhould be thereby occaſioned, ſhould be made in as frugal a manner as poſſible, and that an Account thereof ſhould be laid before the next Parliament.

On the next Day, the Houſe proceeded to take the ſaid Meſſage into Conſideration; and the D—ke of *N——le* ſtood up and ſpoke as follows, *viz.*

My Lords, as his Majeſty has been always careful not to put his People to any greater Expence, that what was abſolutely neceſſary for their own Safety, ſo in the Beginning of this Seſſion of Parliament, he asked for no greater Augmentation either of Land or Sea Forces than what he thought was neceſſary for the Defence of this Nation; and after the moſt mature Deliberation, his Majeſty's Demands upon that Occaſion were thought ſo juſt and reaſonable, that they were agreed to by both Houſes.

There was then, my Lords, a War broke out in *Europe*, which made it neceſſary for us to make ſome little Addition to our Naval Force at home, and to the Garriſons of our fortified Places abroad; but as we did not ſtand obliged by any former Engagement to take any Share in that War, therefore the Expence we have as yet put ourſelves to on that Occaſion is but very inconſiderable; and as his Majeſty has not yet engaged himſelf upon either Side of the Queſtion, as there has not ſince any Alteration happened with reſpect to the Circumſtances of *Great-Britain* in particular, ſo his Majeſty does not think it neceſſary for us to put ourſelves immediately to any greater Expence than what was then judged to be neceſſary; but as the Fate of War is very uncertain, and as the Liberties of *Europe* very much depend upon the Event of the preſent War, therefore it is impoſſible to foreſee but that his Majeſty may be obliged to take ſome Share in the War, in order to preſerve the Balance of Power, on which depend the Liberties of *Europe*, and conſequently of this Kingdom.

If then, my Lords, upon any future and ſudden Emergency, his Majeſty ſhould find himſelf under a Neceſſity of immediately joining either one Side or the other, we may moſt certainly expect, that thoſe he joins againſt will endeavour to inſult or invade this Nation, eſpecially if they know that we are no way prepared for our own Defence: Nay, I do not know but that our continuing neutral may diſoblige both Sides; and if either can expect to engage this Nation in their Favour, by producing a Change in our Government, they will probably for that Purpoſe attempt to invade us, if they ſhould be encouraged to make ſuch an Attempt by our preſent Government's not being in a proper Condition to reſiſt them. There is not indeed any Occaſion at preſent to fear ſuch Attempts; there is not the leaſt Appearance that any of the Powers now engaged in War will attempt to offer us any Inſult; but as the Politicks and Reſolutions of Foreign Courts are not to be depended on, as no Perſon can pretend to foreſee every Thing that may happen, his Majeſty is willing to have it in his Power to provide in Time againſt the worſt; and I think we are in Duty bound to enable him to do ſo; therefore I hope your Lordſhips will agree to the Motion I am to make, which is, *That an humble Addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, declaring our Duty and Fidelity to him, and the entire Confidence we repoſe in his royal Care and Wiſdom, and in his Endeavours for the Security of his Kingdoms, and for reſtoring the Peace of* Europe; *to expreſs the juſt Senſe we have of his Majeſty's Attention to the true Intereſt of his People, in previouſly taking the Advice of this Houſe, in order to make the neceſſary Proviſions againſt any Emergencies ariſing from the preſent Poſture of Affairs in* Europe, *eſpecially during the Interval of Parliament; to deſire his Majeſty to make ſuch Augmentation of his Forces by Sea or Land, as his Majeſty ſhall judge neceſſary, and to concert ſuch Meaſures as the Exigency of Affairs ſhall require; and to aſſure his Majeſty, that this Houſe will not be wanting in their Duty, in effectually enabling his Majeſty to make good all the extraordinary Expence that may be incurred, and to fulfil all the Engagements that may be entered into by his Majeſty, for the Honour, Intereſt and Defence of his Kingdoms.*

L——d C——t. My Lords, as no Sort of Information has been given to this Houſe about the preſent State of our foreign Affairs, or about the Engagements we now lie under with reſpect to all or any of the Powers engaged in War: As every thing tending to give us ſuch Information has been denied, it cannot be expected that I, or any other Lord, who has not had the Honour to be admitted into that Secret, ſhould ſpeak ſo fully to the preſent Queſtion as we might otherwiſe have done. As for myſelf, I think I cannot ſpeak properly to it, in any other Way than as it relates to our own Conſtitution, and in that Light I cannot but be againſt it; for it muſt be admitted, that the Demand now made upon us is a Demand of a very extraordinary Nature; it is ſuch an one as ought never to be complied with, but when the Nation is in the moſt imminent Danger, and even then, the Reaſons for apprehending ſuch a Danger ought to be communicated to this Houſe in a regular Manner, before we can either in Honour or Duty comply with it.

It has always, my Lords, been admitted, that Speeches from the Throne are to be looked on as Speeches from the Miniſters of State: Upon this footing it is that this Houſe has always, with a great deal of Freedom, taken

taken ſuch Speeches into their Conſideration; and I muſt be of Opinion that Meſſages from his Majeſty to this Houſe are to be looked on in the ſame Manner; for which Reaſon I hope, the Duty or the Reſpect we owe to his Majeſty will not be mentioned in the preſent Debate. No Man can be more ready than I am to grant every thing to his Majeſty that ſhall appear to be neceſſary for the Support of his Crown and Dignity; but whatever is to be granted for that Purpoſe, ought to be granted in a regular Manner, and according to thoſe Methods and Forms which our Anceſtors have laid down for the Preſervation of our Conſtitution; and even in that Way, it is inconſiſtent with the Honour and Dignity of this Houſe to make any ſuch Grant upon a meer Suggeſtion from the Miniſters that it is neceſſary. No, my Lords, the Reaſons, the Cauſes of that Neceſſity ought to be laid before the Houſe, and then every Lord may depend upon his own Judgment; whereas he who agrees to ſuch a Grant without any ſuch Information, cannot be ſaid to depend upon his own Judgment, but that of the Miniſters for the Time being.

I am, my Lords, ſincerely of Opinion that the Nation ought to be put in a much better State of Defence: It is what ought to have been done before now; but why was not this propoſed at the Beginning of the Seſſion? Is there any Thing has happened ſince that Time which can alter any Man's Opinion in this Reſpect, or can make him believe that it is now become more neceſſary than it was at that Time? If any ſuch Propoſition had then been made, both Houſes would have had Time to have taken the State of the Nation, with reſpect both to our foreign and domeſtick Affairs, into their Conſideration, and might eaſily have provided in a regular and uſual Manner for putting the Nation into a proper State of Defence; but the neglecting to make any ſuch Propoſition at that Time, and the bringing it in now by Way of Surpriſe upon us, when it cannot be ſo much as pretended that we have any Thing now to apprehend which we ought not then to have apprehended, really ſeems as if ſome Gentlemen were afraid leſt we ſhould reſolve to examine narrowly into the preſent State and Condition of our Affairs; and this, I think, ought to be a Reaſon rather for our refuſing than agreeing to any ſuch irregular and precipitate Reſolution as is now propoſed to us.

But, my Lords, ſuppoſe it was not then neceſſary to put the Nation into a better State of Defence than was at that Time propoſed; ſuppoſe it is not even now neceſſary to make any new Addition to our Forces, either by Sea or Land, but that the ſame may become neceſſary in a little Time; why may we not provide for ſuch an Accident, according to the regular Courſe of proceeding in Parliament? What Neceſſity is there for putting ſo ſpeedy an End to this Seſſion? Why may we not take Time to bring in a Bill for doing whatever ſhall appear to be neceſſary for providing againſt any ſuch Emergency? By ſuch a Method of proceeding both Houſes will have Time to call for and examine ſuch Things as may be neceſſary for giving them an Inſight into our Circumſtances both abroad and at home: And if from ſuch an Enquiry it ſhall appear abſolutely neceſſary to give his Majeſty the ample and unlimited Power now demanded, is it to be ſuppoſed that any Lord in this Houſe, or any Member of the other, will be more averſe to the granting of ſuch a Power, when the Neceſſity for ſo doing is made appear to him, than he was before that Neceſſity was made apparent, or indeed any the leaſt Reaſon for it aſſigned?

I will grant, my Lords, that the Fate of War is uncertain; I will likewiſe grant, that the Event of the preſent War is of the utmoſt Conſequence to the Liberties of *Europe*, and conſequently to this Nation: But his Majeſty has told us, that he is not engaged as yet to take any Share in the War: Suppoſe then that this Parliament were diſſolved, and a new one ſummoned; that new Parliament may meet in two Months Time, and in that Time it is impoſſible any Emergency can happen of ſuch Conſequence as to oblige his Majeſty immediately to join either of the Parties now engaged in War. The Balance of Power in *Europe* may be overturned, but it cannot be ſo ſuddenly overturned as not to give his Majeſty an Opportunity of having the Advice and Aſſiſtance of a new Parliament, before he declares himſelf of either Side of the Queſtion: In which Caſe that new Parliament may, and certainly will provide both for the Safety and Honour of this Nation, in that proper and regular Method which ought to be obſerved by every Parliament.

The Safety and Defence of the Nation is always to be provided for; but as there is at preſent no Neceſſity for doing it in any extraordinary Manner, do not, my Lords, let us do it in the unprecedented Manner now propoſed. Our agreeing to this Propoſition, would, in my Opinion, my Lords, be a moſt certain Prelude to Slavery: 'Twould be a giving up of all our Liberties at once; 'twould be a putting an abſolute Power into the Hands of the Crown, to continue till next Seſſion of Parliament, which would be a moſt dangerous Precedent; for as ſuch are generally improved, it may ſoon after be granted for a longer Term, and ſo may at laſt be made perpetual. I call it, my Lords, an abſolute Power, becauſe we not only give a Power of raiſing Forces both by Sea and Land, without Limitation, but we give an unlimited Credit for borrowing Money, and we promiſe to make good whatever ſhall be ſo bor-

rowed. I hope your Lordſhips will conſider, that the Liberties of this Nation do not ſo much depend upon our Charters or our Statute Books, as upon that of the People's keeping the Purſe in their own Hands; and if once the People ſhould be brought into the Way of giving anticipated Promiſes, they may at laſt be induced to give the Purſe entirely out of their Hands, which would put an End to all our Liberties at once.

It has always been reckoned, my Lords, one of the chief Safeguards of our Conſtitution, that the King cannot raiſe and keep up a Standing Army in Time of Peace, without the Conſent of Parliament; but if the Parliament ſhould once come into the Way of granting, from Time to Time, an unlimited Power to raiſe and keep up what Number of Forces, by Sea or Land, the Miniſters for the Time being may think proper, I would be glad to know of what Uſe this Limitation upon the Crown can be of, with reſpect to our Conſtitution? And if by Means of ſuch a Power our Conſtitution ſhould ever be overturned, would not the Parliament which had granted it be juſtly deemed the Betrayers of thoſe who had truſted their All to them? We have not, thank God, my Lords, any Thing to fear from any Power that may be granted to his preſent Majeſty; but if ſuch a Precedent ſhould be made, and in any future Reign a Set of Men ſhould be at the Head of the Adminiſtration, who had diſobliged the whole Nation, who had Reaſon to fear that ſuch a new Parliament would be choſen as would call them to an Account; would not they, in Purſuance of this Precedent endeavour to get ſuch a Power as this from the laſt Seſſion of the expiring Parliament? They would then let the new Elections go on, they would uſe all Means and Methods to corrupt and influence them; but if after all they ſhould ſee ſuch a new Parliament choſen as would call them to an Account, and puniſh them for their Wickedneſs, what then can we ſuppoſe they would do? Would not they make uſe of the Power ſo treacherouſly granted to them, and raiſe ſuch an Army as might enable them to govern without any Parliament at all? So that I muſt look upon the Propoſition now before us, as laying a Foundation for ſome future Adminiſtration to trample upon our Conſtitution by the Power of an Army, whenever they ſhall find they cannot trample upon it by the Power of Bribery and Corruption.

Beſides, my Lords, I do not think that what is now propoſed is legal: Or that any Thing can be legally done in Purſuance of it, if it ſhould be agreed to; for it is certain that no Forces can be raiſed or kept up in this Nation in Time of Peace, but by Conſent of Parliament; and the only proper Way of obtaining that Conſent always was ſuppoſed to be by Act of Parliament. We have already, my Lords, paſſed the Mutiny Bill; and if any new Forces ſhould be raiſed in Purſuance of this Reſolution, I do not know if they could be comprehended under that Law; for as a certain Number is thereby limited, if any more ſhould be raiſed, I doubt much if they could, without a new Act of Parliament, be ſubjected to the Martial Law.

I have ſaid, my Lords, that the Propoſition now before us, is a moſt unprecedented Method of providing for the Defence of the Nation: It is ſo; it is a Method which was never before practiſed. In all former Times, when this Nation has been threatened with any great and imminent Danger, which made it neceſſary that ſome extraordinary Steps ſhould be taken, if it happened in Time of Parliament, the King always came or ſent to Parliament, and not only told us we were in Danger, but how we were in Danger, that from thence we might judge whether the Danger was ſo imminent as to make ſome extraordinary Steps neceſſary; and when it was judged ſo, proper Meaſures have always thereupon been immediately concerted for obviating that Danger; but now it ſeems, my Lords, we are to agree to a moſt extraordinary Meaſure, without any Reaſon aſſigned, or ſo much as a Pretence that we are in any imminent Danger; nay, we are even told that we are not in any imminent Danger; that we are not at preſent in Danger of any Inſults or Invaſions from abroad, and I am ſure we are not in Danger of any Inſurrections at home, unleſs they ſhould be occaſioned by our agreeing to this Propoſition: Therefore, my Lords, as no Reaſon has been aſſigned, as I ſee no Reaſon for our coming into any extraordinary Meaſure at preſent, I cannot but be againſt the Motion.

D--ke of *A——le*. I have, my Lords, conſidered the Motion now before us with all poſſible Attention, and I cannot ſee that there is any Thing in it, or in the Motion the noble Duke has made us, ſo very extraordinary or unprecedented as the noble Lord has been pleaſed to repreſent. It is certain that ſuch Meſſages have been ſeveral Times ſent to Parliament, and likewiſe that ſuch Returns have always been made to them as the noble Duke has now moved for, on occaſion of the preſent Meſſage. It is true, that ſuch Meſſages have never been ſent but upon extraordinary Occaſions, and the Reaſons for ſending them have always been communicated to Parliament; and is not this the very Caſe at preſent? What more extraordinary Occaſion can be ſuppoſed? The noble Lord who ſpoke laſt admits, that the Liberties of *Europe* are deeply concerned in the Fate of the preſent War, and may be ſwallowed up by the Event; and can we imagine that

that the Liberties of this Nation are ſecure, when the Liberties of *Europe* are in Danger?

It muſt therefore be allowed, my Lords, that the Occaſion of this Meſſage is of the utmoſt Conſequence; and the Reaſons for our being neceſſarily obliged to come to ſome immediate Reſolution, are not only in themſelves apparent, but are fully expreſſed in his Majeſty's Meſſage. The Fortune of War we all know to be extremely precarious, and the Changes that happen are often as ſudden as they are unlooked for: Some of theſe may lay his Majeſty under an indiſpenſable Neceſſity of ſending immediate Aſſiſtance to the unfortunate Side, in which Caſe we may depend on it, that ſome deſperate Attempts will be made upon this Nation by the other Side now engag'd in the War: Our Neighbours have now great Armies in the Field, and ſome of them have powerful Fleets ready to put to Sea: They are already prepared to execute any Attempt, and when they are in ſuch Circumſtances, we may depend on it, that the Reſolution, as ſoon as taken, will be carried into Execution. We all know, that this Parliament muſt be ſoon diſſolved, and many Weeks muſt intervene before a new Parliament can aſſemble. In the mean Time, his Majeſty may be obliged to declare himſelf, and upon that, ſome Attempts may be made, which may be of the moſt dangerous Conſequence to this Nation, before his Majeſty can have the Advice and Aſſiſtance of a new Parliament, which makes it abſolutely neceſſary for us, before we now ſeparate, to give his Majeſty a Power to provide againſt the worſt.

I will agree with the noble Lord who ſpoke laſt, that all Meſſages from the King, as well as Speeches from the Throne, when they come to be conſidered in this Houſe, are to be looked on as coming from the Miniſters; therefore we may, with all imaginable Freedom conſider them, and whatever may be ſaid on that Occaſion, is always to be preſumed to relate only to the Miniſters, and not to the Crown; for which Reaſon, our Duty and Reſpect to his Majeſty, is never upon ſuch Occaſions to be brought any Way into the Queſtion. But as to the Meſſage now before us, my Lords, it is ſo far from being an extraordinary one, that I muſt look upon it rather as a Piece of Condeſcenſion in the Crown; for it is certain, that upon any ſudden Emergency, his Majeſty has a Power, which always has been, and muſt be veſted in the Crown, to provide for the Security of his Crown and Kingdoms, by raiſing Forces either for Land or Sea Service, and borrowing or applying Money for that Purpoſe, even without waiting for the Conſent of Parliament; and whatever the King may on ſuch Occaſions be obliged to do, will always be approved of, and provided for by Parliament, as ſoon as they meet, in Caſe nothing has been done, nor any Expences incurred, but what ſhall appear to be neceſſary; this is the Power his Majeſty has by our Conſtitution, and this is all he aſks for by the preſent Meſſage: He aſks only for a Power to make ſuch further Augmentation of his Forces, either by Sea or Land, as may be abſolutely neceſſary for the Honour and Defence of his Kingdoms.

This, in my Opinion, my Lords, is as modeſt a Demand, as ever was ſent to Parliament: It ſhews how cautious his Majeſty is of putting his People to any extraordinary Expence; conſidering the preſent Poſture of the Affairs of *Europe*, I believe this Houſe would have thought it but reaſonable, if his Majeſty, at the Beginning of the Seſſion, had aſked for a much greater Augmentation of his Forces, both by Sea and Land, than he did at that Time: Nay, if his Majeſty had now aſked for an immediate Augmentation, inſtead of aſking only for a Power to make it, in Caſe it ſhall hereafter appear to be abſolutely neceſſary, I do not doubt, but your Lordſhips would have complied with it; but his Majeſty, deſirous not to put his People to any Expence, or at leaſt to delay it as long as he can, and yet ſolicitous about the Quiet and Safety of his People, deſires only the latter; and that Power he applies for to Parliament, tho' he knows it to be veſted in him without any ſuch Application. This is the Light which the preſent Meſſage ought to be conſidered in, and therefore whether we ſhould grant ſuch a Power as is now aſked for, cannot, I think, be properly made a Queſtion.

Indeed, if the Miniſters ſhould make a bad Uſe of the Power now propoſed to be granted to his Majeſty, if they ſhould augment the Forces, either by Sea or Land, without any Neceſſity for ſo doing; if they ſhould put the Nation to any greater Expence, than what ſhall appear to be abſolutely neceſſary, there would be then ſome Ground for a Queſtion; but in ſuch a Caſe, can the preſent Meſſage, or the Addreſs propoſed in Anſwer to the Meſſage, be of any Weight on either Side of that Queſtion? Can the Miniſters plead in their Juſtification, that they had a Power from Parliament to do ſo? It is certain they cannot: They muſt anſwer for what they have done in the ſame Manner, as if no ſuch Addreſs had ever been propoſed. For my own Part, my Lords, I am no Miniſter, I never was, nor ever will be a Miniſter; but on all ſuch Occaſions as the preſent, I muſt think they have a moſt dangerous Taſk: The Danger of not providing in Time for the Safety and Defence of the Nation, and the Danger of running the Nation into Expences, which may be hereafter thought unneceſſary, are two oppoſite Rocks, which even the wiſeſt Miniſters ought to be afraid of: They will always find it difficult for them to ſteer the middle Courſe, ſo as to avoid both the Extreams: And we muſt conclude it to be the

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more difficult, when we conſider, that to the Bulk of Mankind Dangers ſeem huge in their Approach, but diminiſh vaſtly in their Retreat.

I am perſuaded none of your Lordſhips are afraid; I cannot indeed ſee the leaſt Reaſon why any Man ſhould at preſent entertain any Fears about the Liberties of his Country, I am ſure there is no Ground for ſuch Fears. If any Incroachments had been lately made by the Crown, or by the Miniſters of the Crown, upon the Rights and Liberties of the People, we ſhould have Reaſon, my Lords, to be jealous of every Propoſition that came from that Quarter; but there has been no ſuch Attempt lately made, and I believe there never was a Time, when private Men enjoy'd their Property with more Eaſe and Security; therefore I can ſee no Reaſon for us to take the Alarm; and the preſent Meſſage is ſo far from affording any Foundation for an Alarm, that I muſt look upon it as one of the greateſt Pieces of Condeſcenſion that was ever made by any King to his Parliament. As for the Clamours that may have been lately raiſed againſt the Miniſters of State, if ever there were any ſuch, they ought to be deſpiſed, becauſe they were without any juſt Cauſe, and were very far from being general. There have been ſome Clamours againſt all Miniſters, and againſt all future Miniſters we may expect there will be Clamours raiſed: Even in the Reign of Q. *Elizabeth*, which has been ſo often applauded by thoſe who had a Mind to reflect upon the preſent, there were Clamours among ſome Sorts of People during her whole Reign: Even that great Miniſter *Burleigh*, who with ſo great Wiſdom and Moderation, and for ſo many Years, during her Reign, manag'd the publick Affairs of this Nation, could not eſcape: Nay, there were not only Clamours and Diſcontents in that Queen's Reign, but there were many Plots too, and even ſome Rebellions raiſed againſt her; therefore we are not immediately to conclude, that Miniſters are guilty, becauſe there have been ſome little Clamours and Calumnies raiſed againſt them.

'Tis true, my Lords, we have already paſſed the Mutiny Bill, and in that Bill I muſt likewiſe grant, that a certain Number of Land Forces is mentioned; but, in my Opinion, the Mutiny Bill always did, and now does extend, not only to the Number of Forces therein mentioned, but to all the Land Forces that ſhould be raiſed within that Year: However, I am no Lawyer, tho' I am in the Neighbourhood of a very good one, to whom I ſhall leave the Determination of this Point, and I hope he will be ſo good as to riſe up and give the Houſe his Opinion upon it.

E—l of *C——ld*. My Lords, notwithſtanding what the noble D-ke who ſpoke laſt, has been pleaſed to ſay in Favour of the Meſſage now under our Conſideration, it ſtill appears to me to be the moſt extraordinary that was ever ſent to this Houſe. I believe no Man will doubt of my Affection to his Majeſty, or of my Readineſs to agree to every Thing I think abſolutely neceſſary for the Support of his Crown and Dignity; but as all ſuch Meſſages are preſumed to be framed by the Advice, and upon the Suggeſtion of thoſe in the Adminiſtration, therefore I, and every other Lord of this Houſe, not only have a Right, but we are in Duty bound to examine them narrowly; and from thence if it appears that what is demanded by ſuch a Meſſage is not at all neceſſary for the Support of his Majeſty, or the Safety of the Nation, tho' it may be neceſſary for the Support of Miniſterial Schemes, and perhaps for the Safety of Miniſterial Perſonages, we are both in Duty and Honour obliged not to comply with ſuch a Demand, eſpecially if it appears to be inconſiſtent with the Conſtitution, or contrary to the uſual Form of proceeding in Parliament, which is plainly the Caſe with reſpect to the Demand now made; for it moſt certainly be allowed to be contrary to the uſual Form of proceeding in Parliament; and as it veſts an abſolute Power in the Crown, for as long a Time as the Crown, or rather the Miniſters, may pleaſe to continue it, I cannot think it conſiſtent with the Conſtitution of our Government: I muſt think it the moſt extraordinary Demand that ever was made on any Parliament in this Kingdom; and it is the more extraordinary that it comes now at the End of the laſt Seſſion of a long Parliament: It really appears to me in the ſame Light, as if an Application ſhould be made to a Man on his Death-bed, a Man in his utmoſt Caducity, to bequeath all he has in the World, to thoſe who are utter Strangers to him; nay, to thoſe who have been generally reputed his greateſt Enemies.

I cannot agree with the noble D-ke that ſuch Meſſages have been frequent: It is certain they were never heard of till of late Years; I doubt if ſuch an unlimited Power was ever before aſked for; I am ſure ſuch a Power was never aſked for but when the Nation was in imminent as well as great Danger; for to tell us that the Liberties of *Europe* may be ſwallowed up by the preſent War, and that therefore this Nation is in great Danger, is no Excuſe for our breaking thro' all the Forms and Methods of proceeding in Parliament, by agreeing to the extraordinary Step now propoſed. I cannot think that the Liberties of *Europe* are in ſo great Danger of being ſwallow'd up in the Event of the preſent War as ſome People ſeem willing we ſhould believe; but granting they were, it is but a conſequential Danger to this Nation; and to excuſe ſuch an extraordinary Step the Danger ought not only to be great, but immi-

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nent; I do not think that any Thing ought to force us to make ſuch a Step, but when we are in immediate Danger of a powerful Invaſion from abroad, or of a very terrible Inſurrection at home. With reſpect to all other Dangers, we may deliberately provide againſt them, according to the uſual Methods of proceeding in Parliament; and if Precedents ſhould be ſearched into, I believe it will appear, that no ſuch Meſſage as the preſent was ever ſent to Parliament, but when we had good Reaſon to apprehend one of the two immediate Dangers I have mentioned.

Now, my Lords, in the preſent Caſe it is not ſo much as pretended that we are in any imminent Danger; on the contrary we are told, that no material Alteration has happened ſince the Beginning of the Seſſion; therefore if we are now in any imminent Danger, we were in the ſame State at the Beginning of the Seſſion; and if we were ſo at that Time, why were we not then made acquainted with it? If we had then been made acquainted with it, we might have long before now taken the Circumſtances of the Nation into our Conſideration, and might have ſufficiently provided againſt the greateſt Danger that can be ſuppoſed in a regular parliamentary Way: But ſuppoſe, my Lords, ſome conſiderable Alterations have happened ſince the Beginning of the Seſſion, which this Houſe cannot, I think, pretend either to affirm or deny, becauſe we have been kept in utter Darkneſs with reſpect to the Situation of our foreign Affairs; ſuppoſe ſome new Dangers are now to be apprehended, which could not be thought of or foreſeen at the Beginning of the Seſſion, what Neceſſity is there for providing againſt them in a Manner ſo inconſiſtent with our Conſtitution? Are they ſo imminent that we have Reaſon to apprehend their coming upon us in a few Days? It is impoſſible to ſuppoſe any ſuch; and if no ſuch Dangers can be ſuppoſed, what Reaſon have we to break thro' all the Forms of Parliament? Is there any Neceſſity for putting an immediate End to the preſent Seſſion? No, my Lords, by the *Septennial Law* this Parliament may continue ſitting till *September* or *October* next; before that Time the Dangers we are now threatened with may blow over, or if they ſhould approach nearer, we may provide againſt them in that Manner, and according to thoſe Forms which the Wiſdom of our Anceſtors has contrived for the Preſervation of our Liberties.

We are told our Neighbours are at War, they have great Armies in the Field, and powerful Fleets ready to put to Sea: What is all this, my Lords, to us? Does not this add to the Security of this Nation, inſtead of ſubjecting us to any Danger? If we are no way engaged in the War (and we are told we are not) if we have done nothing to give any juſt Alarm, is it to be ſuppoſed that any one of the Powers upon the Continent, while it is engaged in a dangerous and heavy War with another Power, will do any Thing, or attempt any Thing that may in the leaſt tend to draw the immediate Vengeance of this Nation upon its Head? Is it poſſible to imagine any Nation on Earth ſo weak, or rather ſo mad in their Politicks? I have not, 'tis true, the Honour to have been made acquainted with the ſeveral Engagements we may be under at preſent to foreign Powers; but if I can judge from ſuch of them as have been made publick; if I can draw any Concluſion from the many Treaties and Alliances lately made, I muſt conclude, that at preſent we are in good Terms with all the Powers in *Europe* at leaſt, therefore I muſt conclude we cannot be in any Danger from any of them; and I hope no Danger we may have to fear from any other Quarter of the World, can be of Weight enough to prevail with this Houſe to agree to ſuch an extraordinary Meaſure.

I ſhall grant, my Lords, that we might perhaps have offended the *Imperial* Court, by the Treaty made at *Hanover* with the *French*; but ſurely we have made up that Breach by our late Treaty of *Vienna*, by which we generouſly, and without the leaſt valuable Conſideration, became Guarantees of the Pragmatick Sanction. As to *France*, we have of late Years heaped ſo many Favours upon that Nation, that I cannot think they have any Reaſon, or indeed any Inclination to do us an Injury: Did not we by the Treaty of *Hanover*, which was made for pulling down the overgrown Power of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and the following Treaty of *Seville*, break that cloſe Union which had been contracted between the Courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid*, ſo much to the Prejudice of the Court of *France*? And did not we thereby oblige *Spain* to throw herſelf entirely into the Arms of *France*, by which we again united the two great Branches of the Houſe of *Bourbon*? And can we imagine that *France* will diſturb us, while ſhe is making the beſt of that Union which we were ſo good as to reſtore? And as to *Spain*, my Lords, we did perhaps diſoblige them likewiſe by our Treaty of *Hanover*, and ſome other Meaſures which were the Effects of that Treaty; but have we not ſince procured them the rich Dutchies of *Tuſcany*, *Parma* and *Placentia*, for their Son *Don Carlos*? Did not we, at a great Expence to this Nation, ſend a powerful Fleet into the *Mediterranean*, to conduct that Prince with the greater Pomp and Ceremony to the Dominions we had procured for him in *Italy*? 'Tis true, he did not make uſe of that Fleet, but was that any Fault of ours, or can it be ſaid we had any ſelfiſh View in what we did, ſince the Whole was tranſacted without any Stipulation in our own Favour? By this we opened a Way for the *Spaniards* into *Italy*; nay,

may, I do not know but that by our Management we have likewiſe thrown the King of *Sardinia* into the Arms of *France*, and have thereby opened a Way for the *French* likewiſe into *Italy*. Beſides all theſe Favours heaped upon our Neighbours, have not we, by the moſt full and explicit Treaties and Stipulations, ſecured all our Rights and Poſſeſſions both abroad and at home; and in ſuch Circumſtances, after ſo many glorious Treaties, can it be imagined that we are in Danger of being invaded or inſulted by any of our Neighbours?

This, my Lords, I take to be the Caſe as to our paſt Management; but it is ſaid the preſent War may take ſuch a Turn as may lay his Majeſty under a Neceſſity of ſending immediate Aſſiſtance to the unfortunate Side, in order to prevent the Balance of Power in *Europe* from being quite overturned. This is a Suppoſition which really to me ſeems as extraordinary as the Meſſage now under our Conſideration. I will readily allow, that the Fate of War is precarious, but I cannot eaſily admit that a whole Campaign, even the moſt unfortunate that can be ſuppoſed, can make the Emperor abſolute Maſter of *France*, *Spain* and *Sardinia*, or can make *France* abſolute Maſter of the whole *German* Empire; for we know that *France* has ſtood out many unfortunate Campaigns againſt the united Powers of *Germany*, *England*, *Holland*, *Portugal* and *Sardinia*; and tho' *Spain* and *Sardinia* now make uſe of *France* to enlarge their Dominions in *Italy*, yet if *France* ſhewed the leaſt Inclination to make a Conqueſt of *Germany*, they would both turn their Arms againſt her, becauſe they muſt preſerve *Germany* in order to preſerve their own Dominions in *Italy*, or indeed in any Part of the World. The Circumſtances of *Europe* are now very far from being the ſame they were at the Beginning of the late War; the King of *France* was then abſolute Maſter of *Spain*, and could make that Nation do whatever he had a Mind; but now *France* muſt act very cautiouſly, in order not to give that Nation any Jealouſy of her aiming at too great an Increaſe of Power, otherwiſe the *Spaniards* may ſoon become as deadly Foes to the *French* as ever they were heretofore: I muſt therefore think, my Lords, that the Liberties of *Europe* are not in ſuch Danger of being ſwallowed up in the Event of the preſent War; but if they were, they cannot be ſwallow'd up ſo ſoon, even by the moſt ſudden and moſt fatal Accident, but what his Majeſty may have Time enough to apply in a regular Manner to his Parliament for Advice and Aſſiſtance, before he can be under a Neceſſity of declaring himſelf of either Side of the Queſtion.

But, my Lords, we are told that this Parliament muſt be diſſolved; and before a new one can meet his Majeſty may be obliged to declare himſelf, or at leaſt that ſome of the Powers engaged in War may become jealous that he is to declare againſt them, and conſequently may attempt to invade this Nation before his Majeſty can have the Aſſiſtance of a new Parliament, to enable him to provide againſt ſuch Invaſion.

A This is an Argument I am ſorry to hear made uſe of in this Houſe, and I am perſuaded the noble Lords who make uſe of it, do not mean ſuch a Concluſion as ſeems naturally to flow from it; for, in my Opinion, it plainly ſeems to carry this Inſinuation, that the granting of ſuch a Power at the End of every Parliament, will be always neceſſary hereafter. If that were really the Caſe, I B ſhould be very apt to conclude, that the Power would then be made uſe of, not to defend the Nation againſt foreign Invaſions, but to defend the Miniſters againſt the Danger they might have Reaſon to apprehend from an anti-miniſterial Parliament, in caſe the new one ſhould appear to be of ſuch a Complexion; and I am very ſure, that a Miniſter with ſuch a Power in his Hands, and ſuch a Par- C liament againſt him, would never allow that Parliament to meet.

We are now told, as I have already taken Notice, that our Neighbours are deeply engaged in War one againſt another, that they have great Armies in the Field, and powerful Fleets ready to put to Sea; that they may conceive a Jealouſy that we are to join againſt D them, and may conſequently invade us before the King can have the Aſſiſtance of a new Parliament to enable him to provide againſt that Invaſion; therefore before we draw our laſt Breath we muſt, it is ſaid, for our own Safety, put an abſolute Power into the Hands of the Crown, to continue till the Miniſters ſhall think fit to convene the new Parliament. At the End of the next Parliament there E may, my Lords, be the ſame Reaſon for granting the ſame Power, and the Reaſon will be much ſtronger if we are then actually engaged in the War: But ſuppoſe there is then a profound Tranquillity in *Europe*, our Neighbours very probably will have very near as great Armies and as powerful Fleets as they have now; and may we not then be F told, Your Neighbours are now no Way engaged elſewhere, their Armies are quartered very near the Sea Coaſt, their Fleets may be made ready to put to Sea in a Month's Time, they may conceive a Jealouſy that you are to invade them, and therefore they will endeavour to invade you; for this Reaſon it is neceſſary for you to put an abſolute Power G into the Hands of the Crown? Will not this Argument be then ſtronger than the Argument now made uſe of? It will, my Lords, in my Opinion, be much ſtronger: We are certainly in greater Danger of being ſuddenly invaded by our Neighbours, when they have

their

their Troops unemployed, and quartered upon the Sea Coaſts, than when all their Troops are marched many 100 Miles from their Sea Coaſt, and employed againſt another Enemy; and ſurely they may more ſuddenly fit out a Fleet proper for that Purpoſe, when none of their Ships of War are employed elſewhere, than when they are obliged to keep many of them in Seas very far diſtant from this Iſland.

The Dictatorial Power was, my Lords, a Part of the *Roman* Conſtitution, even from the very Beginning of their Republick; but while they preſerved their Virtue, while they preſerved their Liberty, this Power was never granted but upon the moſt important, the moſt urgent Occaſions, and was never granted for a longer Term than ſix Months; when the Virtue and the publick Spirit of that once brave People began to decay, this Power was often granted upon trifling Occaſions; it then began to be granted for a long Term, and ſoon after was granted for Life: With this laſt Grant they granted away all the Liberties of their Country for ever: The Dictator might die, but the Power was handed down immediately to another; the Tyranny became perpetual. The Power now aſked for is in ſome Meaſure a Dictatorial Power, it has but of late Years crept into our Conſtitution, it was never yet granted but on the moſt urgent Occaſions; but if we once begin to grant it for a Time indefinite, and on ſuch Suppoſitions and May-be's, I can eaſily foreſee what will be: It will at laſt, nay, it will ſoon be either granted or taken for Life, and then adieu for ever to the Liberties of *Great Britain*.

I will allow, that by our Conſtitution our Kings have always had, during the Interval of Parliament, a Sort of Dictatorial Power, a Power to take Care that the Commonwealth may be no Way injured; and therefore in caſe of any ſudden and unexpected Danger, the King may raiſe Forces, or may fit out a Fleet, for preventing that Danger; and where the Danger is apparent, it is certain the King never did, nor ever will want Money as long as there is any in the Nation; for upon ſuch an Occaſion no Man will refuſe to lend his Money to the Government; and the Parliament will certainly approve of what has been done, and provide for the Re-payment of what has been borrowed, providing it be made appear to them that there was a Neceſſity for putting the Nation to that Expence; but the aſking for ſuch a Power before-hand, looks as if ſomething were intended which could not well be approved of: It looks as if the Nation were to be put to an additional Expence without any apparent Reaſon for ſo doing, and as if this anticipated Credit were aſked for from Parliament, in order to encourage People to lend their Money to the Publick, tho' they ſee no Neceſſity for any ſuch publick Expence. No Man will refuſe to let an Infant of a good Eſtate have whatever may be neceſſary for his Subſiſtence; for this he has no great Occaſion for any Letter of Credit from his Guardians; but if his Guardians ſhould be ſuch Fools, or rather ſuch unfaithful Guardians, as to give him an unlimited Letter of Credit for borrowing whatever he himſelf might think neceſſary for his Subſiſtence, it would certainly tend to throw him into Extravagance, and might make him a Prey for Uſurers and Extortioners.

I am very well convinced, my Lords, that the Safety of the People will not be any Way better ſecured by the Reſolution now propoſed; but I am very far from thinking that the Power of the Crown will be no Way enlarged; if it were really thought ſo, I am ſure no Miniſter would ever give himſelf the Trouble of perſuading the King to ſend ſuch a Meſſage to Parliament; but ſuppoſe I were convinced that no additional Power is by this Propoſition to be granted to the King; that very Conſideration would with me be a moſt prevailing Argument for being againſt it; for it muſt be allowed that what is now propoſed is ſomething very extraordinary, and contrary to all thoſe Forms and Methods of proceeding in Parliament, which long Experience has taught us to be neceſſary for the Preſervation of our Liberties; why then ſhould we make ſo great an Incroachment upon our Conſtitution, if neither the Safety of the People, nor the Security of the Crown, be thereby any way improved? This Reaſon, I ſay, my Lords, if there were none other, would prevail with me to be againſt agreeing to the Propoſition now before us; but as I think it of the moſt dangerous Conſequence to the Liberties of the People, as I think that a Power is thereby to be granted to the Crown, which ought never to be granted but in Caſes of the utmoſt, the moſt imminent Danger, therefore I ſhall moſt heartily give my Negative to it.

L—d *H*——*ck*. I think, my Lords, it is now admitted by both Sides, that during the Interval of Parliament his Majeſty has by Law, and without any previous Authority from Parliament, a Power to provide for the Safety of the Kingdom, and conſequently he muſt have a Power of doing whatever ſhall appear to be neceſſary for that End; therefore I hope it will be no longer inſiſted on, that there is any thing very extraordinary either in the Meſſage now under our Conſideration, or in the Propoſition that has been made to us in Conſequence of it. His Majeſty only aſks for a previous Authority for doing what he certainly might do without any ſuch Authority; and we by the Addreſs propoſed to us, only promiſe to ſupport his Majeſty in what ſhall appear to be neceſſary for the Safety of the Nation, and for the Support of his

Crown and Dignity. If the Nation ſhould be unneceſſarily put to Expence, if any extraordinary Meaſures ſhould be purſued, without a Neceſſity for ſo doing, the Miniſters will be anſwerable for it, and may be puniſhed in the ſame Manner as if no ſuch Addreſs had ever been propoſed; and as there is no extraordinary Power asked for, or propoſed to be granted, the Method of doing it cannot be of any Weight in the Debate, nor can it be attended with any ill Conſequence.

As to the giving his Majeſty a Power by an Addreſs or a Vote, to raiſe Land Forces, there is certainly nothing illegal in it; for tho' the King cannot by Law raiſe or keep up a Standing Army in this Nation in Time of Peace without Conſent of Parliament; yet, my Lords, I know of no Law that directs how that Conſent is to be obtained; it may, in my Opinion, be had by a Vote or an Addreſs from each Houſe of Parliament, as well as by an Act regularly paſſed in Parliament. And as to the Mutiny Bill which we have already paſſed, it is the ſame with former Bills of the like Nature; tho' there be a particular Number of Land Forces mentioned in the Preamble, yet the enacting Part is general, and comprehends all the regular Forces that then were on Foot, or that ſhall be raiſed in this Kingdom during the Continuance of that Act.

Therefore, my Lords, as there is nothing illegal or extraordinary in the Meſſage, or in the Propoſition now under our Conſideration; as from the preſent known Circumſtances of *Europe* ſome Accidents may happen that may put this Nation under a Neceſſity of making a further Proviſion for Self-defence; and as thoſe Accidents may fall out ſo ſuddenly and ſo unexpectedly, that there may not be a Poſſibility for his Majeſty to have Time to take the Advice and Aſſiſtance of a new Parliament, I cannot but be for agreeing to the Propoſition now made to us.

L—d *B*——*ſt*. My Lords, I have a very great Regard for the Opinion of the noble Lord who ſpoke laſt, eſpecially in ſo far as relates to the Laws and the Conſtitution of this Kingdom; and therefore I am the more ſurprized to hear him declare, that he knows of no Law which determines and directs the Method by which his Majeſty is to have the Conſent of his Parliament. I will not pretend to be ſo well acquainted with the Laws or the Statutes of this Realm as that learned Lord; but I am ſure there is a Law which determines the Method by which his Majeſty is to have the Conſent of his Parliament, as well with reſpect to the raiſing and keeping up a Standing Army in Time of Peace, as with reſpect to every other Caſe where the Conſent of Parliament is neceſſary by our Conſtitution: I mean, my Lords, the *Lex & Conſuetudo Parliamenti*, which I look upon to be as much a Part of the *Laws of England* as any other Part of the Common Law, nay, as any Statute expreſly enacted by King, Lords and Commons. 'Tis true, my Lords, there is not, I believe, any expreſs Statute for directing the Method of obtaining the Conſent in Queſtion; but there is never an expreſs Statute made in any Caſe, but where the Common Law is either doubtful or deficient; and as this Part of the Common Law, as this Cuſtom of Parliament was never before called in Queſtion, it was never thought neceſſary to make any expreſs Statute for regulating the Method of obtaining the Conſent of Parliament; but in this Age we ſeem inclined to call in Queſtion every Cuſtom and every Maxim eſtabliſhed by our Anceſtors, eſpecially when it interferes with any favourite Point our Miniſters have in View.

I hope, my Lords, it will be allowed, that no Tax can be impoſed or levied upon the People but by Conſent of Parliament: This, I hope, will be allowed to be one of the fundamental Maxims of our Conſtitution, and the Meaning of this Maxim I always took to be, that no Tax could be raiſed but by Act of Parliament; but as there is no expreſs Statute for regulating the Method of obtaining the Conſent of Parliament in this Particular, I do not know but it may now be ſaid, that Taxes may be impoſed, or the King may be enabled to impoſe a Tax by a Vote, or by an Addreſs from both Houſes of Parliament; I am ſure it may be ſaid, that this Method of obtaining the Conſent of Parliament is as ſufficient for the raiſing of Money as it is for the raiſing of an Army: Indeed if we agree to the Propoſition now before us, it will ſeem to inſinuate as much; for tho' we do not thereby expreſly impower his Majeſty to impoſe a Tax, yet we are to impower him to borrow Money, for the Re-payment of which ſome Tax or another muſt be impoſed next Seſſion of Parliament; and I do not know but the Gradation will be found more eaſy than ſome People at preſent ſeem to apprehend, for us to proceed from impowering the Crown, by way of a Vote or an Addreſs, to raiſe Money by a Loan, to that of impowering the Crown by way of a Vote or Addreſs, to raiſe Money by any Tax the Crown ſhall think fit to impoſe.

As to the Mutiny Bill, my Lords, I really did not take particular Notice of the Bill laſt paſſed in this Houſe: That Bill is now become ſo much a Bill of Courſe, that I never once doubted its being in the ſame Words with other Bills of that Nature formerly paſſed in Parliament, and therefore I did not read it with that Attention which I ought to have done; but I am ſure that in ſome former Bills of the ſame Nature, the Number of Forces to be kept up was mentioned to be ſo many,

and

and *No more*: Whether the Words *No more* be in the last Bill I cannot determine; but grant they are not, I am perſuaded ſome Lord of this Houſe, or ſome Member of the other would have taken Notice of their having been left out, if it had not been thought that they muſt neceſſarily be underſtood: And I think every Man has good Reaſon to ſuppoſe, that no greater Number of the Subjects of *England* can be ſubjected to the Martial Law than the Number mentioned in that Bill, whether the Words *No more* be added or not. It is certain that no Part of the Common Law, much leſs *Magna Charta*, or any other expreſs Statute, can be repealed but by Act of Parliament: I hope it will not be ſaid that any one of the ſtanding Laws of *England* can be repealed by a Vote or an Addreſs from both Houſes of Parliament, tho' I do not know indeed but even this Doctrine may hereafter be inſiſted on as a natural Conſequence of the Doctrine this Day advanced in this Houſe.

However, my Lords, I hope we will not this Day advance ſo far in our new Improvements; and therefore it muſt be allowed, that no private Man can be ſtript of thoſe Liberties and Privileges which he enjoys by *Magna Charta*, and many other expreſs Statutes, without a new Law made for that Purpoſe; and I hope it will be granted, that whatever general Words are in any Statute, which are or may ſeem to be contrary to the Liberty of the Subject, are always to be taken in the moſt confined Senſe; they cannot be ſo much as explained, much leſs extended, by a Vote, or by an Addreſs, of either or of both Houſes of Parliament. It will likewiſe, I hope, be granted, that all thoſe who are by the Mutiny Bill ſubjected to the Martial Law, are thereby ſtript of a great many of thoſe Liberties and Privileges they are intitled to as Subjects of *England*; and therefore if there are any general Words in that Bill, for ſubjecting all thoſe to the Martial Law who ſhall thereafter inliſt in his Majeſty's Service; theſe general Words muſt refer to the particular Number of Men mentioned in the Bill, and when that Number is compleat, no Man that liſts thereafter can be ſubjected to the Martial Law either by a Vote or an Addreſs; there muſt be a new Bill for that Purpoſe, otherwiſe there is not a Man in the Kingdom but may be ſtript of moſt of the valuable Privileges he enjoys as a Subject of *England*, by a ſingle Vote in Parliament; for if we can by a Vote or an Addreſs, impower his Majeſty to raiſe as many Land Forces as he pleaſes, and ſubject all the Forces ſo raiſed to the Military Law, we certainly can, by the ſame Method, impower the Crown to impreſs Men into the Service; and if ſuch a Vote ſhould be paſſed, what Man in the Nation could ſay he had an Hour's Certainty of enjoying thoſe Liberties and Privileges he is intitled to as a Subject of *England*.

My Lords, till this Day it has always been held for an undoubted Truth, that the Conſent of Parliament cannot be obtained any other Way than by a Bill brought into either Houſe, and regularly paſſed through both: By the Cuſtom of Parliament this Bill muſt be twice read, then committed, and then read a third Time in each Houſe, before it can be preſented to the King for his Conſent; and then at laſt it muſt have the Royal Aſſent before it can be looked on as a Law of this Kingdom, or as a Regulation to which the Parliament has given its Conſent. Theſe Forms and Methods of proceeding in Parliament were wiſely eſtabliſhed by our Anceſtors, to give Time to every Gentleman of either Houſe to be fully appriſed of what he was about, to conſider maturely all the Conſequences of what was propoſed, and even to conſult and adviſe with his Friends, before he ſhould be obliged to determine himſelf as to either Side of the Queſtion; and if ever this Method ſhould be altered, if ever the Doctrine ſhould take Place, that we may do as much by a Vote as we can do by a Bill, our Conſtitution will be upon the moſt precarious Footing; both Houſes of Parliament may be ſurpriſed into a Thing which it will never be in the Power of the Nation to retrieve; nay, I do not know but ſome Day or another both Houſes may be brought in by Surprize to ſurrender up to the Crown all the Rights, Liberties, and Privileges of their Country by one ſingle Vote.

There is a very great Difference, my Lords, between anticipated Promiſes and future Proviſions. The firſt is a running in Debt, the other is a paying of ready Money for what we have; and the Nature of Mankind is ſuch, that moſt Men are apt to be more extravagant when they live upon Credit than when they pay ready Money for every Thing they have. This Nation has already ſuffered ſeverely by the former Practice, and therefore I wiſh we would begin to think of following the latter only for the future: But there is this further Difference between the Parliament's providing afterwards for what the Nation has been obliged neceſſarily to expend, and promiſing before-hand to provide for what the Adminiſtration may thereafter think themſelves neceſſarily obliged to expend, that in the firſt Caſe the Honour of Parliament is no Way engaged to the Creditors of the Publick; and if the Nation ſhould be idly and extravagantly run into Debt, I believe the Parliament would not think themſelves any Way obliged to pay the Debts which had been ſo contracted, eſpecially, becauſe in ſuch a Caſe it may be ſuppoſed, that thoſe, who had upon ſuch an Account become the Creditors of the Publick, would

generally conſiſt of the Creatures and Favourites, perhaps the Truſtees of the Miniſters; but in the latter Caſe the Parliament ſtands engaged for all the Debts that ſhall be contracted, whether the Expence was neceſſary or not: The giving of anticipated Promiſes is giving a previous Credit to Miniſters, it is putting a parliamentary Truſt in them, it is really veſting in the Miniſters a parliamentary Authority, by which many innocent private Men may be encouraged and drawn in to lend them their Money, and therefore the Honour of Parliament ſtands engaged to repay that Money to the publick Creditors, without any Regard whether it has been neceſſarily expended for the Benefit of the Publick or not.

I ſhall readily grant, my Lords, that if in Conſequence of ſuch anticipated Promiſes the Miniſters ſhould run the Nation into an unneceſſary Expence, the next Parliament might puniſh the Miniſters who had adviſed ſuch Meaſures; but ſuppoſe ſuch Miniſters were actually hanged up, as they certainly would deſerve, would that make good the Damage the Nation had ſuſtained? Their Sufferings might perhaps make ſome Holy Days for the Populace: But can we ſuppoſe that their Eſtates would be ſufficient to reimburſe the Publick, or to ſatisfy the Debts with which they had loaded the Publick, by Means of the Credit imprudently given to them by Parliament? Surely there is more Wiſdom in not putting it in a Man's Power to betray his Truſt, than there is in fooliſhly and needleſsly repoſing a great Truſt in a Man, whereby he is not only enabled but perhaps tempted to cheat one; and then hanging him for doing ſo. This is really the preſent Caſe; the giving ſuch an unlimited Credit to Miniſters, is laying them under a very great Temptation to defraud the Publick. We know, my Lords, how natural it is for Men to hope for Impunity; nay, we know how difficult it is even for Parliament to bring great and high Criminals to condign Puniſhment; and ſuch a Power and Credit as are now propoſed to be given, may afford a Precedent, by which ſome future Miniſter may be enabled to put it abſolutely out of the Power, both of the Parliament and the People, ever to puniſh him, or any ſuch as him thereafter.

The Power and Credit now propoſed for us to give are, my Lords, at all Times dangerous, but much more ſo when granted at the very End of a Parliament, and juſt before a new Election. I do not believe that any bad Uſe will be made of the unlimited Credit now propoſed to be given; it is not to be ſuppoſed that a bad Uſe can be made of any Powers we give under his Majeſty's wiſe Adminiſtration; but I do not know what may happen hereafter: If we ſhould ever chance to have an ambitious Prince upon the Throne, or a weak Prince under the ſole Management of a guilty and wicked Miniſter, a Precedent may be made of what is now propoſed, the ſame unlimited Powers may be then obtained from an expiring Parliament, under Pretence of defending the Nation againſt imaginary and unknown Dangers, but really in order doubly to arm that Prince or Miniſter againſt our Conſtitution: That is to ſay, to furniſh him with Money to be laid out in procuring a Majority of the Creatures and Slaves of the Adminiſtration to be returned for the enſuing Parliament; but in Caſe he ſhould fail of Succeſs in that Attempt, to furniſh him with ſuch a Standing Army as might be ſufficient to protect him againſt the higheſt Reſentment of the new Parliament, or to ſupport him without any Parliament at all. If the firſt Project ſhould ſucceed; if he ſhould by Bribery get a Parliament to his Mind, ſuch a Parliament we may believe would certainly conclude with a like Vote of Credit, in order to chuſe the next; and thus a tyrannical Adminiſtration, and a ſlaviſh Parliament would for ever be entailed upon this Nation. But ſuppoſe he ſhould fail in his Project of Bribery, he would then have Recourſe to his Army, and might thereby ſupport himſelf without any Parliament at all; for ſurely no Man can ſuppoſe that a Prince or Miniſter, with a numerous Standing Army entirely under his Direction, and commanded by ſuch Officers only as he ſhall pleaſe to appoint, will ever want Money to ſupport that Army, or to anſwer the other Demands of his Government: As long as the Parliament complies with all his Requeſts, he will accept of what Money he wants in a legal Way; but if the Parliament ſhould once begin to refuſe, he will then reſolve to raiſe that Money in an illegal Way, which he finds he cannot have in a legal.

This, I hope, my Lords, is not the Deſign at preſent; but as what is now propoſed may give Encouragement to the forming of ſuch Deſigns, and may be made a Precedent for rendering that Deſign ſucceſsful, therefore I muſt be for diſagreeing with the Motion.

The E—l of *P——tt* ſpoke next in Favour of the Motion; then the E—l of *A——rd*, and after him the D-ke of *M—ſo* ſpoke both againſt it; and next,

The L—d C——or. My Lords, the preſent Situation of the Affairs of *Europe* is ſo well known to every Lord in this Houſe, that it is very unneceſſary to give any particular Account of them: Conſidering the dangerous and heavy War now actually begun, and the many Powers engaged in it, it is certain that ſome Accidents may occur which may threaten this Nation with great and imminent Dangers: This was, we may ſuppoſe, the Occaſion of the preſent Meſſage from his Majeſty; and it muſt be granted, that this was a moſt weighty Reaſon for ſending ſuch a Meſſage;

Message; but as by that Message his Majesty desires no Powers but what were before vested in him, therefore we are to look upon it only as an Application from his Majesty for the Advice of his Parliament, with Relation to what may be thought most proper to be done at such a critical Juncture; and the Address proposed by the noble D—ke is, in my Opinion, the most dutiful and the most proper Return we can make to such a gracious Message.

If without sending any such Message to Parliament, the Ministers, in Case of an absolute Necessity, had augmented our Forces both by Sea and Land, and had borrowed Money for that Purpose, can it be doubted but that the next Parliament would have approved of such Measures, and would have provided for such Expence? But if they should augment our Forces either by Sea or Land, or put the Nation to any Expence, without an apparent Necessity for so doing, is there any Thing in the Address proposed than can tend to justify them for such a Piece of Mismanagement? Will not the next Parliament be left as fully at Liberty to punish them, as if no such Message had ever been been sent to Parliament, nor any such Address presented to the King?

I will grant, my Lords, that by the Address proposed the Ministers may have a little more Credit among the People than otherwise they might have had. I will allow that the Honour of Parliament will, by the Address proposed, be engaged to provide for the Expence that may be incurred, and to repay the Money that may be borrowed on that Account, whether it shall appear that such Expence was necessary or not; but this is the very Reason that I am for the Proposition made to us: Surely in such a dangerous Situation as the Affairs of *Europe* are in at present, the Nation is not to be left defenceless, for fear a bad Use should be made of the Powers granted for providing for its Defence. Shall we refuse a reasonable Credit or reasonable Powers to our Government, and thereby expose the Nation to be invaded or over-run by a foreign Enemy, and our Government perhaps entirely subverted, only for fear that by granting such a Credit the Nation may perhaps be brought into a little unnecessary Expence, or for Fear our Ministers should make a bad Use of that Trust which we repose in them? My Lords, it is absolutely necessary at all Times and in all Countries, to put some Trust in those who are appointed to administer the Affairs of the Publick; without some such Trust it would be impossible for any Government to subsist; and the greater Danger a Country is in, the more Trust must the People necessarily repose in their Governors.

But there is another Consideration which is of greater Weight with me: His Majesty tells us, he has nothing more at Heart than to see the Flame of War extinguished; and as it is to be hoped his Majesty will succeed in his Endeavours that Way, before the Flame comes to such a Height, as that we may be necessarily obliged to involve ourselves in it, there is nothing can tend more towards making his Majesty's Endeavours successful, than to convince all the Powers now engaged in War, that there is a perfect Harmony subsisting between his Majesty and his Parliament; that we repose an entire Confidence in his Majesty's Wisdom and Conduct; and that we will be ready upon all Occasions to support those Measures which his Majesty may find himself obliged to take: And is there any Thing can be a greater Testimony of all this to Foreigners than our agreeing to the Address now proposed? This will convince every one of them, that in case any of them by their Obstinacy shall provoke his Majesty to declare against them, he will fall upon them with the whole Power of this Nation; and when the united Force of this Nation is thrown into the Scale, the Weight of it is well known to all the Powers in *Europe*.

As to the Method of granting the Power or the Credit now asked for, there is nothing new in in it; it is what has been often practised before, and it is now the more necessary, because it is proper the Parliament should be soon dissolved, and we do not know what may happen before it may be possible for the new one to assemble. 'Tis true, the present Parliament does not of itself expire by the *Septennial Bill*, till *September* or *October* next, so that there is not any absolute Necessity for calling a new Parliament before that Time; but the sooner a new Parliament is called I believe it will be the better; for tho' a new Parliament can do nothing but what the present may do, yet there is such a Thing as the Complexion of a Parliament to be considered; and if the new Parliament shall appear to be as much devoted to his Majesty as the present, it will shew that a perfect Harmony subsists between his Majesty and his People in general; and the new Parliament being to continue for 7 Years, it must add a much greater Weight to his Majesty's Councils, and to his Negotiations abroad, than can be expected from a Parliament that is to expire in 6 Months.

Therefore, my Lords, as there is nothing new or extraordinary in the Address proposed, as I think it the most proper Return can be made, and such a Return as we ought in Duty to make to his Majesty's most gracious Message; and as I think it absolutely necessary for the Safety of the Nation, and for rendering his Majesty's Endeavours for re-establishing the Tranquillity of *Europe* successful, I shall give my Consent to it.

L—d *C*———*t* again. My Lords, it is not to be deny'd, it has not in this Debate been

been deny'd, but that the Parliament may grant, and have formerly, tho' but very ſeldom, granted ſome extraordinary Powers to the Crown when it has been made appear to them that the Nation has actually been in any great and imminent Danger; but to take ſuch an extraordinary Step, to grant ſuch extenſive and unlimited Powers to the Crown, when it is not ſo much as pretended that the Nation is in any imminent Danger, I will aver to be not only a new, but a moſt dangerous Precedent. To tell us that the Nation may be in Danger, and therefore we muſt grant ſuch a Power as is now demanded, is certainly ſomething very extraordinary: It is a Reaſon for granting ſuch Powers that will always exiſt, and in my Opinion it always will, and always ought to be more prevalent when our Neighbours are all at Peace with one another, than when they are deeply engaged in a War; for if ever any Quarrel ſhould ariſe between us and any of them, if ever any of them ſhould conceive Hopes of Advantage from making an Invaſion upon us, it is certain they will be in a better Condition, and more eaſily induced to revenge that Quarrel, or to make an Invaſion, when they are no way engaged elſewhere, than when they are deeply engaged in a War with ſome other Nation, and have Uſe for all the Forces they can raiſe, in a quite different Part of the World.

I do not know, my Lords, but that there may be Occaſion for putting the Nation into a better State of Defence than it is in at preſent; but I am convinced that Occaſion is not now ſo preſſing but that it may be done in a regular parliamentary Way. To pretend that the putting of an abſolute Power into the Hands of the Crown will give Weight to his Majeſty's Councils, and to his Negotiations abroad, is to ſuppoſe that Foreigners know much leſs of our Conſtitution, or of the Temper of our People than they really do: Perhaps Ways and Means may be found to prevail upon a Parliament to do ſo, but our Neighbours know that it is contrary to the Nature of our Conſtitution; from thence they will moſt juſtly conclude, that ſuch a Meaſure will render the Generality of the People diſaffected, and this of courſe will diminiſh the Weight of his Majeſty's Negotiations abroad, and will make Foreigners much more ready both to inſult and invade us, than we can ſuppoſe they would otherwiſe be.

I will admit, my Lords, that his Majeſty has a Power of providing for the Safety of the Nation during the Interval of Parliament; but that Power muſt be very moderately uſed, and certainly in Caſe of any ſudden Danger, the Parliament is to be called together as ſoon as poſſible. If during the Receſs of Parliament it ſhould be diſcovered that the Nation were threatened with any imminent Danger, his Majeſty may immediately iſſue out the proper and neceſſary Orders for augmenting his Forces both by Sea and Land, and he may borrow what Money may be immediately neceſſary for that Purpoſe; but upon any ſuch Occaſion it is certain, that his Majeſty ought at the ſame Time to iſſue a Proclamation ordering the Parliament to aſſemble forthwith, and whoever ſhould adviſe him otherwiſe would be to the higheſt Degree criminal, and would deſerve the ſevereſt Puniſhment. As upon any ſuch Occaſion the Parliament might meet in a very few Weeks, we cannot ſuppoſe that any extraordinary Sums could be wanted in ſo ſhort a Time: And as his Majeſty enjoys the Hearts and the Affections of the People, their Purſes will always be open to him on any Emergency, when the Danger is apparent, eſpecially when they ſee the Parliament ſummoned to meet, from which they may expect immediate Reimburſement: Indeed when pretended and imaginary Dangers are invented by Miniſters, only for their own Ends, it is not to be ſuppoſed that they can borrow much Money from the People without a previous Authority from Parliament for doing ſo: Therefore as there never can be any Occaſion for ſuch a previous Authority in the Time of real Danger; as the granting of ſuch a previous Authority can ſerve only for enabling Miniſters to load the Publick, when there is no real Danger to be apprehended, as the granting of ſuch previous Authorities may ſome Time or other enable a Prince or Miniſter to overturn our Conſtitution, no ſuch ought ever, in my Opinion, to be granted; but if ever any ſuch is to be granted, it ought to be granted in a regular parliamentary Manner, and not in the Manner now propoſed, eſpecially when even thoſe that aſk for it, in ſuch an extraordinary Manner, cannot ſo much as ſay that the Nation is in any imminent Danger.

The E—l of *S——gb* ſpoke next for the Queſtion; and then the E—l of *I—a* ſpoke thus. My Lords, the Affair now before us I take to be of the utmoſt Conſequence: It is an Affair in which the Safety of this Nation, and the Honour and Dignity of the Crown are, I think, very deeply concerned, and therefore I am ſurpriſed to hear it treated by ſome Lords in ſo ludicrous a Manner: Such a Method of treating any Subject ought never, I think, to be made uſe of, or admitted into any of the Debates in this Houſe, but is ſtill more improper when made uſe of in a Debate of ſo very great Conſequence as the preſent.

Tho' this Nation, my Lords, may not perhaps at this very Inſtant be expoſed to any immediate Danger, tho' we are not as yet any way engaged to take a Share in the preſent

preſent War, yet it is highly probable we may at laſt be obliged to engage ourſelves, in order to preſerve that Balance of Power upon which the Liberties of *Europe*, and conſequently of this Nation, abſolutely depend; nay it is certain, that we muſt at laſt engage in the War, in caſe his Majeſty cannot by his Authority, and by the Weight which his Councils may have in foreign Courts, oblige the contending Parties each to yield up ſome of their Pretenſions, and all to ſubmit to the juſt Propoſals which he may think proper to make, for reſtoring the Tranquillity of *Europe*. Therefore, my Lords, in order to increaſe his Majeſty's Authority, and give his Councils that Weight which they ought always to have in foreign Courts, we ought to agree to the Propoſition now made to us; for if the Powers now engaged in War ſee that his Majeſty has an entire Confidence put in him by his Parliament, and that this Nation is in all Events well provided not only for its Defence, but for falling with great Vigour upon that Power, or that Side, which ſhall by their Obſtinacy provoke his Majeſty's Reſentment, it will add a prevailing Weight to thoſe Negotiations which his Majeſty ſhall find it neceſſary to enter into, and thereby the Balance of Power may be preſerved, the Tranquillity of *Europe* may be reſtored, without this Nation's being at all obliged to take any Share in the War, and perhaps without laying his Majeſty under a Neceſſity of making any great Uſe of thoſe Powers which are now propoſed to be granted to him: Whereas if the Powers now aſked for ſhould be refuſed, it will make Foreigners believe that neither the Parliament nor the Nation can put any great Confidence in his Majeſty's Conduct, and conſequently they will have little or no Regard to any Propoſition his Majeſty may make to them; by which this Nation will at laſt be neceſſarily drawn into the War, and will thereby be expoſed to great Dangers and many Loſſes, and put to an infinite Expence.

The Eyes of all *Europe* are fix'd, my Lords, upon the Meaſures to be taken by this Nation in the preſent Conjuncture, and if either of the Parties now engaged in War ſhould begin to ſuſpect that we were to fall in with the other, to oppoſe any of their Deſigns, or to put a Check to the Succeſs of their Arms, they would immediately, and with as much Diſpatch and Secrecy as poſſible, attempt to make an Invaſion upon us, eſpecially if they ſaw that we were no Way provided againſt them: Theſe Suſpicions and Jealouſies may ariſe without any Foundation, they may begin to ſuſpect that his Majeſty has reſolved and is preparing to join againſt them, before any ſuch Reſolution be really taken, or any Preparations made for that Purpoſe. 'Tis true, his Majeſty may not perhaps be obliged to declare himſelf openly on either Side till he has had Time to take the Advice and Aſſiſtance of a new Parliament, and to make proper Proviſions for the Defence of the Nation; but it is impoſſible to foreſee how or when ſome of our Neighbours may begin to ſuſpect that we have ſuch a Deſign, and therefore it is neceſſary for us immediately to prepare, at leaſt to put ourſelves in a proper Poſture of Defence, and to furniſh his Majeſty with the Powers neceſſary for that Purpoſe.

I am ſurpris'd to hear it ſaid, that our Neighbours will always, even in Time of Peace, be in as good a Condition to execute a Deſign ſuddenly againſt us, as they are at preſent. In Time of Peace, ſome few of their Forces may perhaps be quartered upon their Sea Coaſts, but then theſe Forces are always, for the Convenience of Quarters, ſeparated and diſperſed in ſuch a Manner, as to put it out of their Power to aſſemble any great Number at any one Place upon their Coaſt, without giving us juſt Ground for taking the Alarm, and ſufficient Time to provide againſt them: Whereas, at preſent, they may march a great Detachment from their Army, and that Detachment may be arrived at a proper Place for embarking, before it is poſſible for us to know what Rout they have taken, or to ſuſpect that they are deſigned againſt us. In Time of Peace, their Men of War are all laid up in their Harbours, their Seamen are diſperſed, and many Materials are wanting before a large Fleet can be fitted out; and therefore it is impoſſible to imagine, that any of our Neighbours can then be in ſuch Readineſs to make a ſudden Invaſion upon us, as they are at preſent, when moſt of their Ships of War are ready fitted out, well mann'd, and provided with every Thing neceſſary for ſailing upon any Expedition.

For theſe Reaſons, my Lords, I muſt conclude, that we are now in greater Danger of being invaded, than we can ever be in Time of Peace, and if I ſhould refuſe to grant the Powers now aſked for, I ſhould really think myſelf criminal: If a Servant, who knew that his Maſter's Houſe were in Danger of being attacked by Thieves, ſhould leave the Doors open, in order to give them an eaſy Opportunity of entering, to murder the Family and plunder the Houſe, I ſhould think ſuch a Servant more guilty than any of the Thieves themſelves; and if I ſhould refuſe to give my Conſent to the Reſolution propoſed, and an Invaſion ſhould be afterwards ſuddenly made upon us, and this Nation thereby involved in War and Confuſion, I ſhould look upon myſelf to be in the very Caſe of ſuch a Servant, and therefore guilty of one of the moſt heinous Crimes that can be committed againſt my Country.

E--l of *W——ea*. The noble Lords who have ſpoke in Support of the Reſolution propoſed

poſed to us, have all ſpoke, as if this Nation were no Way provided for its Defence, which really to me, my Lords, ſeems to be ſomething very ſurpriſing. I cannot comprehend what we have been doing in all the former Part of this Seſſion, if we have not already provided ſufficiently againſt any Invaſion that can be ſecretly and ſuddenly made upon us. Have we not reſolved to keep up a very numerous Army of Land Forces in this Iſland, beſides the numerous Army kept up in the neighbouring Iſland, which may be brought over upon any Emergency to our Aſſiſtance; and from all theſe, cannot we in a few Days form an Army of regular Troops? I am ſure much greater than any Army of Foreigners that can be ſent by Surpriſe to invade us. Surely no Lord in this Houſe can imagine, that ſo numerous an Army muſt always be kept up in this Iſland, even in the Time of the moſt profound Tranquillity: Nay, if we were actually engaged in War, I hope, it would not be thought neceſſary to keep always ſuch a Number of regular Forces at Home, in order to guard our own Dominions againſt Invaſions; I hope it would in ſuch a Caſe be thought, that we might ſafely ſend a great part of them Abroad, in order to carry the War into the Territories of our Enemies, otherwiſe any War we may hereafter engage in, muſt become very chargeable and burthenſome to the Nation. But beſides the Land Army we have already provided, have we not already made a very great Addition to the Number of our Seamen, and have not we thereby already enabled his Majeſty to fit out a Fleet much ſuperior to any Squadron that can be ſent againſt us? From all which I moſt conclude, my Lords, that we have already ſufficiently provided for the Safety and Defence of the Nation, againſt any ſudden and unexpected Attack that can be made upon us; and if his Majeſty ſhould think fit to join either of the Parties now engaged in the War; if any Foreign Power ſhould declare War againſt us, or if any of our Neighbours ſhould openly prepare to invade us, his Majeſty would have Time enough to call the Parliament together, and thereby we ſhould have an Opportunity of providing in a regular parliamentary Way for whatever ſhould be thought proper either for Offence or Defence.

I hope, my Lords, I ſhall always be as ready as any Lord in this Houſe, to put all proper Confidence in his Majeſty: I am on the preſent Occaſion extreamly willing to ſtrengthen his Majeſty's Hands as much as poſſible, in order to add Weight to his Negotiations, and to enable him to reſtore by his Influence the Tranquillity of *Europe*, or to preſerve by his Power the Liberties of *Europe*; but is there no Way of preſerving the Liberties of *Europe*, without making a Sacrifice of the Liberties of *Great Britain*? Are we under ſuch a Pretence to give up the Rights of Parliament? Are we to put an abſolute and an unlimited Power, and by ſuch an extraordinary Method too, into the Hands of his Majeſty's Miniſters? No, my Lords, no ſuch Power can ever be neceſſary; I hope this Houſe will never agree to any ſuch Miniſterial Demand; for the preſent I muſt look upon as ſuch: I ſhall always look upon ſuch extenſive Demands as coming from the Miniſters only; they may be neceſſary for the protecting of guilty Miniſters, but they can never be neceſſary for preſerving the Honour or the Dignity of the Crown.

The King has, no Doubt, a Power to make what Treaties, and to enter into what Negotiations he may think proper; and if the Nation ſhould happen to be threatened with any immediate Attack, he may, and I hope always will take the proper Meaſures for preventing or defeating that Attack: In all ſuch Caſes it is not to be doubted but the Parliament will approve of what has been done, when they come to examine into the Meaſures ſo taken, and find that they were wiſely concerted, and neceſſary for the End propoſed; but if the contrary ſhould appear; if it ſhould appear that diſhonourable and inconſiſtent Treaties have been concluded; that ridiculous Negotiations have been ſet on foot, and ridiculouſly carried on; that the Nation has been ſometimes expoſed to Dangers and Inſults without any juſt Cauſe, and often put to great Expence when no Danger could poſſibly be apprehended; has not the Parliament, in ſuch a Caſe, a Power? Are they not in Honour, in Duty to their Country, bound to enquire into ſuch Miſconduct, and to puniſh the Authors of ſuch knaviſh or ſuch fooliſh Councils? And ſhall we, my Lords, thus before-hand approve of whatever Negotiations or Treaties the Miniſters may be pleaſed to adviſe his Majeſty to enter into or conclude? Shall we thus give an anticipated Promiſe to provide for whatever Expence the Miniſters may pretend to think neceſſary for the Nation's Defence? No Miniſters ought to deſire ſuch an implicit Faith to be placed in their future Management, and I cannot think that the preſent, by their late Conduct, deſerve any ſuch extraordinary Confidence.

With reſpect to thoſe who may become Creditors of the Publick, the Difference betwixt an anticipated Promiſe and a poſterior Approbation has been already fully explained: It has by both Sides been admitted, that the Honour of Parliament in the firſt Caſe ſtands engaged to the Creditors of the Publick, whether the Expence incurred may be thought neceſſary or not; but in the laſt Caſe the Honour of Parliament does not ſtand engaged, unleſs it appear to them that the Expence was neceſſarily incurred. But I muſt likewiſe take

take notice, my Lords, that it is the ſame with reſpect to any Treaties that may be entered into: When the Parliament grants before-hand ſuch full Powers as are at preſent demanded, the Honour of Parliament ſtands engaged to ſee ſuch Treaties punctually performed, whether they be conſiſtent with the Honour and Intereſt of the Nation or not; but when Treaties are concluded without any ſuch full Powers from Parliament, the Honour of Parliament is no way engaged to perform them, unleſs they approve of them; the moſt that the Parliament or the Nation are in Honour obliged to do in that Caſe, is, to make a Sacrifice of thoſe Miniſters, who engaged their Country in ſuch diſhonourable or diſadvantageous Treaties; but in the firſt Caſe, I do not ſee how the Nation could get off from the Obligation, unleſs it were by making a Sacrifice of all thoſe Members of either Houſe of Parliament, who conſented to the granting of ſuch Powers, as well as of the Miniſters themſelves.

I will agree that the Queſtion now before us is an Affair of the utmoſt Conſequence; it is an Affair in which the Safety of the Nation, and the Honour and Dignity of the Crown are deeply concerned; but I am convinced that the Safety of the Nation, and the Preſervation of the Honour and Dignity of the Crown, conſiſt in rejecting the Propoſition now before us: In this the Safety of the Nation certainly conſiſts, becauſe our agreeing to the Propoſition would, in my Opinion, be, to bring the Nation into a real domeſtick Danger, under the Pretence of providing againſt a foreign Danger, that is either altogether imaginary, or ſo diſtant that it may eaſily be provided againſt without making a Sacrifice of our Conſtitution; and as the Honour and Dignity of the Crown of *Great Britain* conſiſts in our King's being the King of a free People, therefore every Thing that may tend to encroach upon the Freedom of the People, which this Propoſition directly does, muſt derogate both from the Honour and the Dignity of the Crown.

I ſhall likewiſe grant that the preſent Subject ought to be treated in the moſt ſerious Manner: I am really ſorry to hear ſuch Arguments founded upon ſuch pretended Dangers; for I may venture to propheſy, that if ever the Parliament of *Great Britain* ſhould come into the Practice of raiſing Phantoms in the Air, as an Excuſe for their granting extraordinary Powers to Miniſters of State, the Liberties of this Nation will then begin to ſtand upon a very precarious Footing: They will depend entirely upon the Miniſters for the Time being; if they make a right Uſe of the Powers granted them, our Conſtitution may be, during their Time preſerved; but they may whenever they pleaſe turn thoſe Powers towards the Overthrow of our Conſtitution; and as the future Safety of Miniſters of State may very probably ſoon come to depend upon the Overthrow of our Conſtitution, after our Liberties come to depend upon ſuch Guardians, I am afraid they will be but ſhort lived.

The noble Lord who ſpoke laſt told us, that the Servant who left his Maſter's Door open for the Thieves to enter and ſteal, was as criminal as the Thieves themſelves: In this I agree with him; but in the preſent Caſe who is the Criminal, the treacherous Servant? We are told, that the Nation is now in no greater Danger than it was at the Beginning of the Seſſion; therefore we are now either in no Danger, and conſequently under no Neceſſity of granting the Powers aſked for, or we were then in great Danger, and the Criminal, the treacherous Servant muſt be he who then knew of that Danger, and yet has concealed it from us, has concealed the Deſign and the Approach of the Thieves, till it is become impoſſible for us to ſhut our Doors againſt them, till it is become impoſſible for us to guard againſt the Danger from without, but by expoſing ourſelves to as great Danger from within.

L—d *H*——*ey*. My Lords, as ſo much has been ſaid in Favour of this Queſtion by the noble Lords who have ſpoke before me, I ſhall give you but a very little Trouble on the Subject. I ſhall ſuppoſe, my Lords, that the Danger we may be in is now neither greater nor more imminent than it was the very firſt Day of the Seſſion; yet I think a very good and ſufficient Reaſon may be aſſigned, for his Majeſty's being now obliged to make an Application to his Parliament for further Powers, which he did not think himſelf under any Neceſſity to make at the Beginning, or during the Continuance of the Seſſion.

Tho' this Nation was in Danger at the Beginning of the Seſſion, yet, my Lords, his Majeſty did not think the Danger ſo imminent as to oblige him to put his People to any greater Expence than what was at that Time propoſed, and has been provided for by Parliament. While the Parliament continued ſitting, his Majeſty had no Uſe for any further Power, becauſe if the Danger ſhould have approached nearer, or begun to appear more formidable, his Majeſty could have immediately applied to his Parliament for further Aſſiſtance; but as an End is ſoon to be put to this Seſſion of Parliament, as even the Parliament itſelf will probably ſoon be diſſolved, the Danger may become more imminent, and more formidable before the next Parliament can meet; and as his Majeſty cannot, in that Caſe, immediately apply to Parliament for further Aſſiſtance, therefore, as he always has the Quiet and Safety of his People much at Heart, he thinks himſelf obliged to aſk for ſome conditional Powers, that he may be enabled, during the Interval of Parliament,

liament, to do that which the Parliament, if it were ſitting, would moſt certainly enable him to do as ſoon as he thought fit to apply for the ſame; that is to make ſuch further Augmentation of his Forces, either by Sea or Land, as may be abſolutely neceſſary for the Honour and Defence of his Kingdoms, and to concert ſuch Meaſures as the Exigency of Affairs may require.

If the Danger, my Lords, had become, or were now more imminent, or more formidable than it appeared at the Beginning of the Seſſion, his Majeſty would certainly have applied for an immediate Augmentation of his Forces both by Sea and Land, and for a Proviſion's being made by Parliament for that Purpoſe; and in ſuch a Caſe whatever had been done by Parliament muſt have been done by Way of Bill; but as there is no Neceſſity for any immediate Augmentation, his Majeſty, willing to put off as long as he can charging his People with any new Expence, only deſires a Power to make that Augmentation, in Caſe it ſhould become neceſſary at a Time when he cannot poſſibly have the immediate Aſſiſtance of his Parliament. This, my Lords, I muſt think extremely reaſonable, nay even abſolutely neceſſary, conſidering the preſent State of the Affairs of *Europe*, and therefore I cannot refuſe my Conſent to the Propoſition made to us.

The Queſtion was then put, and upon a Diviſion was carried in the Affirmative. Of Lords in the Houſe there were 76 Contents and 39 Not Contents; of Proxies 25 Contents and 19 Not Contents. (See the Proteſts on this Occaſion, in our *Magazine* for *April*, p. 173.)

DEBATE *in the Houſe of C--ns, on his Majeſty's Meſſage, &c.*

The ſame Day, viz. *Thurſday March* 28. a Meſſage to the ſame Effect was preſented to the Houſe of Commons, by Mr. C——or of the E——r, who mov'd that it ſhould be taken into Conſideration the next Day.

Whereupon, *W-----m Sb---en*, Eſq; ſtood up, and ſpoke as follows, *viz.* When I reflect, Sir, upon what happened in this Houſe the very firſt Day of this Seſſion, I am a good deal ſurpriſed at a Meſſage of this Nature, and the more that it is now brought in upon us the very End of a Seſſion, and that Seſſion, I ſuppoſe, the laſt of a long Parliament. I remember that I, as well as ſome other Gentlemen, took Exception at ſome Words propoſed to be in our Addreſs, in anſwer to his Majeſty's Speech from the Throne at the Opening of this Seſſion, becauſe they ſeemed to bear ſomething like a Promiſe of a Vote of Credit; upon which Occaſion the Hon. Gentleman who has made you this Motion, and his Friends, pretended to be greatly aſtoniſhed at our Sagacity, and ſeemed, as I then thought, to give us Aſſurances that nothing of that Kind ſhould be aſked for in this Seſſion.

I muſt confeſs, Sir, I had ſome ſort of Dependence upon what they ſaid, but as they were only the Words and Promiſes of Miniſters of State, in which I never had any great Faith, I begin now to be aſhamed even of that little Confidence I put in them. I do not know indeed but that they may now find an Excuſe for their Breach of Promiſe in this Reſpect; for I muſt grant that what they now aſk for is not properly a Vote of Credit, it is an abſolute Surrender of all we have in the World. This, indeed, is laying the Ax to the Root of the Tree, and may prevent our being ever troubled with any Demands for the future: But as this is an Affair of the greateſt Conſequence to the whole Nation, as well as to the Gentlemen now in this Houſe, I hope ſome longer Time will be given to Gentlemen to conſider of ſuch an extraordinary Demand, before they be obliged to determine what they are to do; for if they once agree to ſuch a Grant, it may be generouſly and voluntarily reſtored, but it will never be in their Power to reſume it.

When we come to take the Meſſage into our Conſideration, I do not doubt, Sir, but the Hon. Gentleman who brought it us will not only give us the Reaſons, why it became neceſſary for his Majeſty to ſend us ſuch a Meſſage, but will likewiſe tell us why it was ſo long of being ſent, and therefore I ſhall not till then ſo much ſuſpect his Candour, as to think that there was any unfair Deſign in delaying it till ſo many Gentlemen are gone into the Country; but as it has been ſo long delayed, I hope ſome few Days will be granted before we take it into Conſideration, that ſome of thoſe Gentlemen, at leaſt, who are gone into the Country, may have Time to return: I ſhall not pretend to name any Day; but if the Hon. Gentleman will be ſo good as to withdraw his Motion, I doubt not of ſome other Gentleman's riſing up to propoſe ſome more diſtant Day.

Mr. C——or of the E——r. I have not forgot, Sir, what paſſed in this Houſe the firſt Day of the Seſſion: I remember that ſome Gentlemen did then take Exceptions to ſome Expreſſions in the Addreſs propoſed, as if a Promiſe of a Vote of Credit was couched under theſe Expreſſions: And upon that Occaſion I might for one take the Liberty to aſſure the Houſe, that no ſuch Uſe ſhould be made, or was intended to be made, of any Expreſſion then propoſed to be put into our Addreſs. This, I remember, was what I ſaid, and I ſaid no more: Nor can I believe that any more was ſaid by any Gentleman in this Houſe; for as the Neceſſity of demanding Votes of Credit depends upon future Events, it would have been ridiculous for any Gentleman to have pretended to have promiſed that no ſuch Thing ſhould be deſired.

As to the Meſſage itſelf, it is not now proper

per to enter into the Merits of it, or into the Cauſes which have produced it; but in all the Time I have had the Honour to ſit in Parliament, I remember no Inſtance where a Meſſage ſigned by the King has not been next Day taken into Conſideration: This is a Reſpect which has been always paid to the Crown, and I am ſure his preſent Majeſty has never done any Thing to merit leſs Reſpect being paid by the Parliament to him, than what has been paid to all his Predeceſſors: I am perſuaded, when we come to enter into the Merits of the Meſſage, there can be no Reaſon found for making a Diſtinction between this and former Meſſages of the like Nature; and the Neceſſity of ſending it at this Conjuncture will be made fully appear; therefore, as I have already moved, I hope the Houſe will take it into Conſideration To-morrow Morning.

Sir *W-----m W-----m.* I muſt own, Sir, my Surpriſe is as great as my worthy Friend's, that a Meſſage of this Nature ſhould be ſent to this Houſe ſo near the Cloſe of this Seſſion; for whatever Promiſes were or were not made the firſt Day of the Seſſion, I am very ſure that moſt Gentlemen expected that every Thing of Conſequence had been over long before this Time, and upon this general Preſumption, a great many Gentlemen who have not the Honour to be let into miniſterial Secrets are gone into the Country, it being at preſent more neceſſary, perhaps, than uſual, for ſuch Gentlemen to return to their reſpective Countries, in order to prevent their being bought and jobbed out of that natural Intereſt by which only they can expect to enjoy the Honour of repreſenting their Country in Parliament: But however neceſſary their Preſence there may be at this Time, yet if Time be allowed them, I doubt not but moſt of them will think it their Duty to return to the Service of their Country in this Houſe, when they hear that a Matter of ſo very great Importance is to come before us: It is, I think, Sir, a Matter of the higheſt Importance: It is, as my worthy Friend called it, an abſolute Surrender of our All; a Surrender of the Rights, and a delegating the Power of Parliament to the Crown: This abſolute Power, 'tis true, is now demanded but till next Seſſion; but if it were not for the great Confidence I repoſe in his preſent Majeſty, I ſhould be much afraid the next Seſſion would never be allowed to meet, unleſs upon the new Election a Majority of the Members ſhould appear to be ſuch as would be ready to confirm or to renew that Surrender.

The Hon. Gentleman on the Floor has told us, that it has been always uſual to ſhew ſo much Reſpect to the Crown, as to take ſuch Meſſages as the preſent into our Conſideration the very next Day, and that he remembers no Inſtance to the contrary: 'Tis true, Sir, ſince I have ſate in Parliament, I remember many, but too many, Meſſages ſomething of this Nature; and I believe they have always been taken into Conſideration the next Day; but that did not proceed ſo much from the Reſpect we owe to the Crown, as from the Cauſe of ſending the Meſſage: There never was a Meſſage of this Kind ſent from the Crown, but when the Nation was threatened with ſome ſuch Thing as an immediate Invaſion or Inſurrection, which in the Body of the Meſſage was expreſſed to be the Reaſon or Cauſe of ſending ſuch a Meſſage; and as in ſuch Caſes the near Approach of the Danger required the immediate concerting of proper Meaſures to prevent it, we may ſuppoſe that this was the chief Reaſon of their being ſo immediately taken into Conſideration by this Houſe: But as we are generally apt to improve upon bad Precedents, I will be bold to ſay, there never was ſuch a Meſſage ſent to Parliament as the preſent, either with Reſpect to its Nature, to the Reaſon of ſending it, or to the Time of its being ſent. By no Meſſage that was ever ſent to Parliament, was there an abſolute and unlimited Power demanded by the Crown, which to every Gentleman muſt appear, at firſt Sight, to be the Demand now made upon us: There was never ſuch a Meſſage ſent to Parliament but what informed us of ſome immediate Danger impending, and juſt ready to fall upon the Nation; by the preſent Meſſage we are told of no ſuch Thing, nor do I believe that any ſuch Thing can be pretended: And I remember no Inſtance of a Meſſage any Way reſembling this, that ever was ſent to this Houſe the very End of a Seſſion, and that Seſſion the laſt of a Parliament.

I cannot indeed, Sir, form to myſelf a Reaſon why any ſuch Meſſage ſhould have been at all ſent, and much leſs why it ſhould have been ſent at ſuch a remarkable Time, and therefore I muſt think that Gentlemen will certainly expect to be informed by thoſe who are able to inform them, what Neceſſity there was for this Meſſage, and from what ſudden and, till now, unforeſeen Change in our Affairs the ſending of ſuch a Meſſage has now become more neceſſary, than it was at any Time during the former Part of the Seſſion: But whatever may be told us as to this Particular, conſidering that almoſt one half of the Houſe are, for Reaſons we all know, retired to the Country, in Decency, I think, and out of Regard to our own Proceedings, as well as out of Reſpect to the Crown, whatever is to be done in Conſequence of this Meſſage, ought to be done in a full Houſe. Whether you ſhould order a Call, or which may be a ſhorter and a more effectual Method, direct Letters to the Sheriffs, I ſhall leave to Gentlemen to determine, but one of the two

ought certainly to be done, unleſs the Hon. Gentleman who brought us the Meſſage will riſe up and inform us of ſome imminent Danger we are now threatened with; and, even in that Caſe, I think ſome few Days ought to be allowed, that thoſe Gentlemen, at leaſt, who are at no great Diſtance may have Time to come up, and attend the Service of the Houſe upon this important Occaſion, otherwiſe it will look like ſtealing a Reſolution of the Houſe when Gentlemens Backs are turned, which I am ſure can teſtify no great Reſpect to the Crown.

Sir, if we are really threatened with any immediate Danger, I ſhall propoſe the taking of this Meſſage into our Conſideration on *Monday* or *Tueſday* next, and I am ſure, let the Neceſſity be never ſo preſſing, let the Danger be never ſo great, ſo ſhort a Delay can be attended with no great Inconvenience, and whatever Reſolution you may come to, it will carry the greater Weight, and will be the more effectual for obviating any impending Danger.

Sir *W----m Y----ge*. I remember, Sir, no Promiſes or Aſſurances given the firſt Day of the Seſſion, other than thoſe which the Hon. Gentleman by me has fully and rightly ſtated to you; and as no Gentleman has drawn, or, I believe, will draw any Argument in Favour of the preſent Queſtion, from any Words or Expreſſions in the Addreſs then agreed to, I do not think that either the Promiſes then made, or the Aſſurances then given, can have any Relation to the preſent Debate: But Gentlemen are very apt, I find, to wander from the Affair in Hand, and in particular the Hon. Gentleman who ſpoke laſt, has entered a good deal into the Merits of the Queſtion, which I cannot think either proper or neceſſary at preſent; for, in my Opinion, all that is now before us, is, Whether we ſhould take the Meſſage into our Conſideration To-morrow, or put it off for a longer Day, and therefore I ſhall confine myſelf entirely to this, without anticipating your future Debate with relation to the Meſſage itſelf.

As to the Queſtion now before us, the Hon. Gentleman who ſpoke laſt owns, that he knows of no Meſſage from the Crown that was ever ſent to Parliament, but what was next Day taken into Conſideration; and by this, I really think, he ſeems to give up the Queſtion; but then he has endeavoured to make a Diſtinction between this Meſſage and thoſe formerly ſent by the Crown to Parliament: Whether any ſuch Diſtinction can be made or not, is, in my Opinion, a Queſtion that cannot be reſolved till we come to take the Meſſage into our Conſideration, and then, I believe, every Gentleman in this Houſe will ſee that there is no material Difference between this and former Meſſages of the like Nature.

As to the Time of ſending this Meſſage, it is certain that the Crown never does ſend ſuch Meſſages but when ſome Exigency of Affairs, in a Manner, forces them to do ſo: It is always the Neceſſities of State that obliges the Crown to aſk for any extraordinary Powers from Parliament, and whether the Neceſſity falls out early or late in a Seſſion, or in the firſt or laſt Seſſion of a Parliament, ſeems not material: It is by the Neceſſity there is for granting ſuch Powers that Gentlemen are to be induced to grant the Powers demanded, and not by any Conſideration as to the Time of making the Demand. And as it cannot appear to us, whether the Neceſſity for granting what is now aſked for be urgent or not, till we have taken the Meſſage into Conſideration, as it cannot till then appear whether the ſhorteſt Delay may not be attended with great Inconveniencies, therefore the ſooner it is taken into Conſideration the better; for which Reaſon I muſt think that the Motion made by the Hon. Gentleman near me, for taking it into Conſideration To-morrow Morning, is a proper and right Motion: And whoever has a Mind to ſhew us the contrary, will, I hope, confine himſelf to that only, without entering into the Merits of the Queſtion.

Sir *J---n B---rn---d*. The Hon. Gentleman who ſpoke laſt has been pleaſed, Sir, to find Fault with my worthy Friend by me, for entering, as he call'd it, into the Merits of the Queſtion; but that Gentleman ought to conſider, that there is a very great Difference between ſpeaking to the Nature of a Queſtion, and entering into the Merits of it. My worthy Friend ſpoke indeed as to the Nature of the Meſſage now before us, and I would gladly know from the Hon. Gentleman over the Way, or any other, how it is poſſible to ſpeak to the preſent Queſtion, as to the Neceſſity of its being taken into Conſideration To-morrow, without explaining a little the Nature of what is to be taken into Conſideration; but no Gentleman has yet entered into the Merits of the Meſſage, which I take to be, whether it ought to be complied with or not?

I hope neither the Hon. Gentleman, nor any other Gentleman, will lay it down as an infallible and unalterable Rule, that this Houſe is to take every Meſſage immediately into their Conſideration that may be hereafter brought from the Crown; and if we have any Liberty in this Reſpect, ſurely we muſt examine a little into the Nature of the Meſſage ſent us, in order to determine, whether we are immediately to take the Meſſage into our Conſideration, or defer it to a longer Day. If upon the Face of the Meſſage it had appeared, if his Majeſty had thereby ſo much as inſinuated, that the Nation had been in any immediate Danger, I ſhould have readily

dily agreed to the Motion now made to us; but as no ſuch Thing is inſinuated, nor can, I believe, be ſuppoſed, I cannot think there is any Neceſſity for our entering ſo immediately into the Conſideration of a Queſtion of ſo great Importance; it may perhaps be the laſt Queſtion that can ever be taken into Conſideration by a legal and free Parliament of *Great-Britain*; and therefore, I think, it is extremely reaſonable to give a few Days to thoſe Gentlemen who are here to conſider of it, and that thoſe who are abſent, at leaſt ſuch of them as are near the Town, may have Time to return.

The L--d *C——ne* ſpoke next againſt the Motion; and then,

W——r Pl——r, Eſq; Sir, I ſhall always be as ready as any Gentleman in this Houſe, to concur on all Occaſions in ſtrengthening the Hands of the Crown in a proper Manner, and when it ſhall appear neceſſary; but as the Powers now demanded are of a moſt extraordinary Nature, as the granting of them will certainly be a giving up, in a great Meaſure, the Power of Parliament for a Time; if we are to make ſuch a Grant, I think it ought not to be precipitantly made. It ought to be done with the greateſt Caution, and in as full a Houſe as can poſſibly be had.

As to the Reſpect we ought to ſhew to the Crown, it has nothing to do with the preſent Queſtion: Our Reſpect to the Crown, Sir, has nothing to do with this Meſſage, or any Meſſage that can come from the Crown; for tho' they bear the King's Name, yet, when we come to conſider them in this Houſe, we are to look upon them as coming from the Miniſters, and we may treat them in ſuch a Manner as we think they deſerve, without incroaching in the leaſt upon that Reſpect we owe to the Crown. Are we to be told, that, out of Reſpect to the Crown, we muſt always take ſuch Meſſages immediately into our Conſideration? Sir, if this Doctrine ſhould prevail, we ſhall next be told, that, out of Reſpect to the Crown, we ought always to comply with ſuch Meſſages; and then it will be in the Power of the Miniſters to adviſe the Crown to ſend ſuch Meſſages, as may be very diſhonourable for the Parliament to comply with, nay, inconſiſtent with the real Intereſt of the Crown, however neceſſary they may be for the Purpoſes of the Miniſters at the Time.

By the Law of *England*, Sir, we know, that when a Man is dying and about to make his Will, if any real Eſtate is thereby to be deviſed, the Will muſt be made before three Witneſſes, which is a greater Number than is neceſſary upon any other Occaſion: We are, Sir, a dying Parliament, and the Crown now deſires we ſhould make our Will, and leave them, by Way of Legacy, all we have in the World: If we are to do ſo, I think we ought to call, at leaſt, as many Witneſſes as are uſual upon moſt other Occaſions; and therefore we ought to delay the Conſideration of this Meſſage, till the abſent Members have Time to return.

The Queſtion, for taking the Meſſage next Day into Conſideration, was then put, and, upon a Diviſion, was carried in the Affirmative, by 211, to 121.

Next Day the ſaid Meſſage was accordingly taken into Conſideration, when

Mr. C——r of the E——r ſtood up, and ſpoke as follows, *viz.* As I had the Honour, Sir, to bring his Majeſty's moſt gracious Meſſage to this Houſe, and likewiſe to move for your taking it this Day into your Conſideration, I think it incumbent on me to offer what I judge to be proper, adviſeable, and even becoming this Houſe to do upon it.

The Manner, Sir, in which his Majeſty's Speech at the Opening of the Seſſion was conceived, the Difference that was obſervable in it from former Speeches, the Notice thereby given by his Majeſty to Parliament of the Situation of Affairs abroad, muſt have made every Gentleman who heard it expect, that ſomething of this Nature might poſſibly come before you ſome Time this Seſſion. His Majeſty in that Speech told us, that the War which had begun in *Europe* ſtill continued; and tho' his Majeſty then declared that he had no Part, except by his good Offices, in thoſe Tranſactions, which had been declared to be the principal Cauſes and Motives of the War, yet, I believe, there was not a Gentleman in the Houſe but ſuppoſed, that his Majeſty might poſſibly be obliged to take a Share in the War, in order to prevent too much Power's being thrown into one Scale, whereby the Balance of Power in *Europe* would be overturned, and conſequently every Gentleman muſt have expected ſuch a Meſſage as this, in caſe the Tranquillity of *Europe* could not by way of Negotiation be reſtored before the End of this Seſſion.

When Gentlemen expect, Sir, to hear Reaſons given why this Meſſage comes now, and was not brought ſooner, and ſeem to inſinuate, as if this muſt proceed from ſome ſudden and unforeſeen Change in Affairs, all I can anſwer is, that we are now in the ſame Situation we were in at the Opening of the Seſſion, ſome little Variation may perhaps have happen'd, but our Circumſtances are in general the ſame, and their remaining ſo is, in my poor Opinion, a ſufficient Reaſon for his Majeſty's making this Application to his Parliament, and for our coming to ſuch a Reſolution as I ſhall by and by have the Honour to move to you. If any extraordinary Change had happened in the Affairs of *Europe*,

rope, or with Reſpect to our own particular Circumſtances, during the Continuance of the Seſſion, his Majeſty could immediately, and without any Delay, have applied to his Parliament for what was proper to be done upon ſuch an Occaſion; but as the War ſtill continues, no Man can pretend to foreſee what Changes may ſoon happen, or how ſoon his Majeſty, in Conjunction with his Allies, may be obliged to give Aſſiſtance where the Intereſt of this Nation, and the Preſervation of the Liberties of *Europe* may call immediately for it; and as this Seſſion is drawing towards a Cloſe, as this Parliament may probably be ſoon diſſolved, his Majeſty will not then have the Opportunity of applying immediately to his Parliament for what may appear to be neceſſary for the Defence of the Nation, in Caſe any Change ſhould happen during the Interval of Parliament, which makes it abſolutely neceſſary to furniſh his Majeſty with ſuch Powers as are now aſked for, before this Seſſion breaks up; and the furniſhing him now with ſuch a Power, cannot be in the leaſt more inconvenient for the Nation than it would have been at the Beginning of the Seſſion.

Ever ſince the Beginning of this Seſſion, his Majeſty, in Conjunction with other Powers, has been endeavouring by Negotiation to reconcile the jarring Intereſts of the ſeveral Powers now at War, and to reſtore the Tranquillity of *Europe*; if theſe Negotiations had ſucceeded, there would have been no Occaſion for this Meſſage, or for putting this Nation to any additional Expence; and tho' theſe Negotiations have not yet had the deſired Effect, yet his Majeſty's Propoſals are not altogether rejected, which makes it ſtill unneceſſary to put the Nation to any immediate Expence: This ſhews his Majeſty's tender Care for his People, as well as the Wiſdom and Integrity of thoſe he is pleaſed to adviſe with upon ſuch Occaſions: It ſhews how unwilling he is to put the Nation to any extraordinary Expence, as long as it can poſſibly be avoided; but the great Concern his Majeſty has for the Peace and Quiet of his People, and the Uncertainty in which the Affairs of *Europe* ſtill continue, lays his Majeſty now under a Neceſſity of thus deſiring his Parliament to ſtrengthen his Hands in ſuch a Manner, as that he may be able to provide againſt any the moſt diſtant Dangers, with which this Nation may happen to be threatened, after the End of this, and before the Meeting of a new Parliament.

If Gentlemen will but conſider the preſent Circumſtances of *Europe* in general, and of that Nation in particular, from the Situation of whoſe Country we muſt always have moſt to fear, I believe the Neceſſity of the Motion I am to make will pretty evidently appear. *France* has now a large Fleet aſſembled in one of thoſe Ports which lies neareſt to this Iſland: The Ships are all fitted out, and almoſt ready to put to Sea; and there are, as we are told, ſeveral thouſand Men ready to be ſh'p'd on Board that Fleet. I believe, Sir, there is nothing deſigned againſt us; but when we know that a large Squadron of *French* Men of War, with an Army of 6 or 8000 Veteran Troops is to paſs through the *Britiſh* Channel, I ſhould think one in the Station in which I have the Honour ſo unworthily to ſerve the Crown, did his Duty but very ill, if on ſuch an Occaſion he did not adviſe the taking of all neceſſary Care, for putting the Nature in a proper Poſture of Defence.

I repeat it again, Sir, I do ſincerely believe that the Nation is in Safety, but I do not deſire that the Safety of the Nation ſhould entirely depend on my Belief; I have, I think, good Reaſon to believe, that the *French* Squadron is deſigned elſewhere; but if from new Councils, from any Jealouſy groundleſly conceived, or any ſudden Change in their Meaſures, that Squadron ſhould come this Way, I muſt ſay, that in our preſent Situation I do not know what the Conſequence might be; and therefore I muſt think, that thoſe who have the Honour to adviſe the King, have done their Duty in adviſing him to make this Application to Parliament. Tho' we are not yet engaged in the War, tho' no Power in *Europe* has yet openly declared againſt us, yet the preſent Circumſtances of *Europe*, and of this Nation, are ſuch, that, I believe, I might leave the Queſtion to reſt wholly upon them; and I am convinced that no Gentleman, who conſiders them impartially, can refuſe agreeing to what his Majeſty has, by his moſt gracious Meſſage, deſired.

His Majeſty is not willing to alarm any foreign Power, by making an unneceſſary Augmentation of his Forces either by Sea or Land; but he deſires to have a Power at leaſt of providing againſt any unprovoked Inſults: He is reſolved not to put the Nation to any unneceſſary Expence; but he deſires not to diſoblige his Allies, he deſires not to give them a mean Opinion of this Nation, by our not putting ourſelves in ſuch a Condition as to be able to perform all our Engagements to them. This is all the Power his Majeſty aſks for, and this Power, we may depend on it, will not be wantonly uſed, or uſed at all, unleſs the Neceſſity of our Affairs require it: From the whole of his Majeſty's paſt Conduct, from the Conduct of thoſe who have the Honour to adviſe him, we may expect, that a Backwardneſs rather than a Forwardneſs will be ſhewed in putting the Nation to any Expence, or engaging it in any unneceſſary Broils.

His Majeſty, Sir, deſires only a Power of providing what may appear to be abſolutely neceſſary, for the Defence of the Nation during

during the Interval of Parliament, when he cannot have their Advice or Aſſiſtance, with this Aſſurance, that every Thing that ſhall be done in Purſuance of that Power, ſhall be laid before next Parliament for their Approbation; to them he promiſes, that a full Account ſhall be rendered of the temporary Truſt repoſed in the Crown. What Danger then can there be in granting the Power now asked for? Can it be preſumed, that any Miniſter will dare to make, or adviſe his Majeſty to make a bad Uſe of it, when ſo ſtrict an Account muſt be rendered to next Parliament of every Uſe that ſhall be made of it; yet this is what Gentlemen have been pleaſed to call a ſurrendering the Rights, a delegating the Power of Parliament to the Crown, and a laying the Ax to the Root of the Tree: They have likewiſe been pleaſed to inſinuate, as if it were the Servants of the Crown that deſired to have more Power granted to them. Sir, as I am one of the Servants of the Crown, I can anſwer myſelf, that I deſire no Power; I know the Danger too well of making uſe of any Power but that which has the Sanction of Parliament; and where-ever I am entruſted with any ſuch Power, I ſhall always be ready to account to Parliament for the Uſe I make of it.

'Tis true, Sir, the Powers now asked for may occaſion a further Expence to this Nation; but whatever Expence may, in Purſuance of ſuch Powers, be incurred, does not his Majeſty, in the Meſſage now before us, promiſe it ſhall be fully and particularly accounted for to next Parliament; and if any Part of that Expence ſhall appear to have been unneceſſarily incurred, may not we expect that the next Parliament will ſeverely puniſh thoſe who have been the Authors of ſuch unneceſſary Expence? There is nothing contained in the Meſſage which can in the leaſt tend to excuſe thoſe who ſhall dare to give ſuch wicked Council to his Majeſty; and in the Motion I am to make, I ſhall endeavour to expreſs my ſelf in ſuch a Manner as to obviate any Objection that can be made on that Account. His Majeſty deſires only a Power to make ſuch further Augmentation of his Forces, either by Sea or Land, as may be abſolutely neceſſary for the Honour and Defence of his Kingdoms, and to concert ſuch Meaſures as the Exigency of Affairs may require; and when we ſee his Majeſty expreſſing himſelf ſo cautiouſly in the Meſſage he has been pleaſed to ſend us, can we ſuppoſe any Miniſter will be hardy enough to adviſe him, or that he will allow himſelf to be adviſed to put the Nation to any Expence that ſhall not plainly appear to be abſolutely neceſſary?

Now, Sir, let us ſee whether the Meſſage now before us, or the Powers thereby demanded, are ſo extraordinary or unprecedented as ſome Gentlemen have been pleaſed to repreſent? Tho' I am no great Maſter of Precedents; tho' I never look into them but when I have immediate Occaſion for them, yet I have got 3 or 4 in my Hand which I take to be exactly parallel to the Caſe now before us. In 1702 her late Majeſty Q. *Anne* ſent a Meſſage to this Houſe, acquainting them with the then Situation of Affairs abroad; and upon that Meſſage this Houſe, by an Addreſs, gave her Majeſty the ſame Sort of Powers as are now asked for. In 1715, his late Majeſty ſent a Meſſage to this Houſe, acquainting them of the Danger the Nation was in from Inſurrections at home, and likewiſe from intended Invaſions from abroad, in favour of the Pretender; and the ſame very Powers now asked for were granted by an Addreſs of this Houſe to his late Majeſty. In 1718, during the *Spaniſh* War, that Power was again renewed to his late Majeſty; and in 1725 the ſame Powers were again given to the Crown both in the ſame Method; and therefore it cannot be ſaid that what is now propoſed is either new or unprecedented. It is what has often been practiſed, and what muſt always be practiſed, when the Nation happens to be threatened with any Danger.

I am afraid, Sir, I have already taken up too much of your Time, and therefore I ſhall now add no more; but if any material Objections be made to what I am to propoſe, I hope the Houſe will again indulge me to make ſuch Anſwers to them as I may then think of, or that ſome other Gentleman, who may perhaps be of the ſame Opinion with me, and better able to anſwer ſuch Objections than I am, will riſe up and do it: Therefore I ſhall only beg Leave to make you the following Motion,

That an humble Addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, to declare the Duty and Fidelity of this Houſe to his Majeſty, and the entire Confidence which they repoſe in his Royal Care and Endeavours for the Security of his Kingdoms, and for reſtoring the Peace of Europe, *to expreſs the juſt Senſe they have of his Majeſty's Attention to the true Intereſt of his People, in previouſly taking the Advice and Concurrence of this Houſe at this critical Conjuncture, in order to make the neceſſary Preparations againſt any Emergencies ariſing from the preſent Poſture of Affairs in* Europe, *eſpecially during the Interval of Parliament; to deſire his Majeſty to make ſuch Augmentation of his Forces by Sea or Land, as his Majeſty in his great Wiſdom ſhall judge neceſſary, and to concert ſuch Meaſures as the Exigency of Affairs ſhall require: This Houſe not doubting but that his Majeſty will find that his faithful Commons will at all Times, when the Accounts ſhall be laid before them, of the extraordinary Expences incurred by his Majeſty, for the Honour, Intereſt, and Defence of his Kingdoms, effectually enable his Majeſty to anſwer and make good the ſame.*

W—m

W——m S——n, Eſq; I am glad to find, Sir, that the Hon. Gentleman has now diſcovered a Meaning in his Majeſty's Speech at the Opening of this Seſſion, which he could not, it ſeems, diſcover the firſt Day of the Seſſion: He was, or pretended, at leaſt, to be ſo far from diſcovering at that Time any ſuch Meaning in his Majeſty's Speech as he has now ſhewn to us, that he ſeemed very much ſurpriſed any Gentleman ſhould have the leaſt Apprehenſions of ſuch a Meaning. I, as well as ſeveral Gentlemen round me, remember well the Gentleman's very Words upon that Occaſion; I remember, when I intimated then to the Houſe my Fears, that ſome ſuch Thing as a Vote of Credit was intended, he ſaid, he believed no Man alive but myſelf could dream of any ſuch Thing; but now we are told, that from his Majeſty's Manner of expreſſing himſelf upon that Occaſion, every Gentleman in the Houſe muſt have expected a Demand of ſuch a Nature as what is now before us: I did indeed, from what his Majeſty ſaid, expect a Demand for a Vote of Credit; but I little expected that that Demand would have been attended with ſuch other extraordinary Demands as are contained in this Meſſage.

As no ſufficient Time has been given, Sir, for Gentlemen to conſider of this extraordinary Demand from the Crown, as no Information has been given us by the Hon. Gentleman who ſpoke laſt, from whom, I believe, every Gentleman in this Houſe expected a full Information, with reſpect to the Reaſons which the Crown may have for making ſuch a Demand; Gentlemen like me, who are kept at a Diſtance from the Secrets of the Adminiſtration, have no Way left to judge, but according to what appears upon the Face of the Meſſage; and from thence I muſt judge, that the Demand now made upon us is entirely new, and very extraordinary. As I ſaid before, it is a Demand for a total Surrender of all the Rights of Parliament; for we are now, it ſeems, to give the King a Power of raiſing what Money he pleaſes; we are to give him a Power of raiſing what Military Force he pleaſes, without Conſent of Parliament: Are not theſe the two Rights upon which all the other Rights of Parliament depend? Is not the Controul we have over theſe two the only Handle by which we can or dare vindicate any other Right that belongs to us; and after the Surrender of theſe two, can it be ſaid that we have any Right, or at leaſt that we dare claim any Right, but ſuch as the Crown ſhall vouchſafe from Time to Time to allow us?

The Hon. Gentleman, Sir, by Way of Introduction to his Motion, was pleaſed to ſay a great deal in Juſtification of the Meſſage, and of the Powers thereby demanded; but I think the Subſtance of what he ſaid may be reduced to theſe three Heads, That it is neceſſary for us to grant thoſe Powers; that the granting of ſuch is neither new nor unprecedented; and that they may with Safety be granted to the Crown: Every one of which Propoſitions I muſt deny, and I think I have good Reaſon for ſo doing. The Gentleman indeed ſpoke to us Yeſterday of the Neceſſity of ſending ſuch a Meſſage, and I was in Hopes he would have this Day endeavoured to have made that Neceſſity appear: But this is ſo far from being the Caſe, that, I think, he has rather ſhewn the contrary.

Whether the Powers now aſked for be unprecedented or not, it is certain, Sir, they are extraordinary, and therefore ought never to be granted but when the Nation is in imminent Danger, or in Caſes of the utmoſt Extremity; and for this Reaſon I did expect we were to have been told this Day, that the Nation was immediately to be invaded by ſome foreign Power, or that ſome dangerous Plot had been diſcovered; and I expected this the more, becauſe the ſhort Time that was aſked for taking this Affair into our Conſideration was refuſed. However, now I find it is quite otherwiſe, the Gentleman himſelf ſays he believes the Nation to be in Safety, but does not deſire its Safety ſhould depend upon his Belief. In this, Sir, I agree with him; I really do not deſire that the Safety of the Nation ſhould depend upon his Belief; and I believe it would be happy for us it did not depend upon his Adminiſtration. Tho' at firſt he ſeemed willing to terrify us with the *French* Squadron, yet at laſt he told us he believed it was deſigned elſewhere; but new Counſels, groundleſs Jealouſies, ſudden Changes might bring them this Way. For God's ſake, Sir, are Gentlemen ſerious when they talk at this Rate? Are we to come into ſuch extraordinary Meaſures, are we to veſt an abſolute Power in the Crown, becauſe from new Counſels, from ſudden Changes, the Nation may be in Danger? If this be a Neceſſity for our agreeing to what is now propoſed, will not the ſame Neceſſity always prevail? Are we not in as great Danger from new Counſels and ſudden Changes, when our Neighbours are all at Peace, as when they are all engaged in a bloody War, and every one of them courting us, either for our Aſſiſtance or for a Neutrality? Nay, for this Reaſon, I think we are now in greater Security than we can ever propoſe to be in Time of the moſt profound Tranquillity; and therefore if we now agree to the granting of ſuch Powers, and in ſuch an extraordinary Method too, I ſhall expect to ſee them demanded from every Seſſion of Parliament for the future: I ſhall never expect to ſee them refuſed.

I ſay, Sir, in ſuch an extraordinary Method

thod too; for ſuppoſe it could be alledged that we ſhould probably be expoſed to ſome great Danger, in a Month or ſix Weeks hence, which might make it neceſſary to grant ſuch Powers to the Crown; yet that would be no Reaſon for doing it in ſuch an extraordinary Manner: We would, in ſuch a Caſe, have Time to do it in a regular parliamentary Way, and where-ever that can be done, it ought to be done. There can be no Reaſon, no Excuſe for thus leaping over all the Forms and Methods of proceeding in Parliament; but when the Danger is ſo near at Hand, that the providing againſt it cannot admit of ſuch Delays. The Hon. Gentleman ſays, our Circumſtances are much the ſame now they were at the Beginning of the Seſſion; therefore if we are now in Danger, we were then in the ſame Danger: Why then were we not made acquainted with it at that Time? If we had, we could have provided againſt it in a regular Manner. But ſuppoſe we had then done it in this irregular Manner, does the Gentleman think, as he pretends, that there is as great an Inconvenience in lodging an unlimited Power in the Hands of the Crown at the Beginning of a Seſſion as at the End of it, or perhaps at the End of a Parliament? The contrary is evident; while the Parliament continues ſitting after ſuch a Power granted, they will nevertheleſs be a Check upon the Uſe of that Power; they may recal it before it be too late; but when an expiring Seſſion, much more an expiring Parliament, grants ſuch a Power, it may, before the next Seſſion, or the next Parliament is allowed to meet, be extended beyond Controul.

The Hon. Gentleman told us, Sir, that there have been Negotiations on foot; that there are Negotiations on foot; 'tis true they have not, he ſays, yet had the deſired Succeſs, but neither have they been rejected: That his Majeſty is willing to wait the Reſult of theſe Negotiations, being reſolved to delay putting his People to any Expence, as long as it can be avoided. Upon this he applauded his Majeſty's tender Care for his Subjects, and took Care to aſſume great Merit to himſelf in adviſing this Delay. Let us ſuppoſe, Sir, this Parliament diſſolved; ſuppoſe theſe Negotiations actually rejected; ſurely we cannot ſuppoſe any Power in *Europe* ſo mad, or ſo unjuſt as to attack his Majeſty for endeavouring to reconcile the Differences between them and their Enemies; and it is impoſſible to ſuppoſe that the Affairs of *Europe* can, upon the rejecting of ſuch Negotiations take ſuch a ſudden Turn, as may inevitably oblige his Majeſty to declare of one Side or the other, before it be poſſible for the new Parliament to meet: This, I ſay, is impoſſible to ſuppoſe; and it is as impoſſible to ſuppoſe that any of the Powers now engaged in War will attempt to invade or inſult this Nation, till his Majeſty has openly declared againſt them. The Gentleman ſays, that his Majeſty has all along endeavoured not to give any juſt Cauſe of Alarm to any foreign Power, nor to diſoblige any Ally: I am afraid if we diſoblige any Power in *Europe*, we muſt diſoblige an Ally; However as his Majeſty has, during the Seſſion of Parliament, been ſo cautious, it is not to be doubted but that he will continue to be as cautious, during the Interval of Parliament: So that upon the Whole, I muſt think, that every Thing the Hon. Gentleman ſaid tended to prove, that we are not at preſent under the leaſt Neceſſity of granting the Powers demanded.

Now, Sir, give me Leave to examine the Precedents the Hon. Gentleman was pleaſed to mention, and which he ſaid were exactly parallel to the Caſe in Hand. I do not know, indeed, but from the 4 Caſes he mentioned taken jointly, we may make up ſome ſort of Precedent for the preſent; but I am very ſure that no one of them taken ſeparately is any Way parallel to the preſent. As to that in 1702, it is quite different from this, both as to the Manner of ſending it, as to the Time of its being ſent, and as to the Powers that were either aſked or given: As to the Manner of ſending it, it appears that that great and good Princeſs Q. *Anne*, in the very Meſſage which ſhe ſent, acquainted the Houſe, that ſhe had commanded the ſeverel Letters and Repreſentations paſſed between her and the States General, upon the Subject Matter of the Meſſage, to be therewith tranſmitted to the Houſe. So far was ſhe from deſiring her Parliament to grant, only becauſe ſhe thought fit to aſk, that on the contrary ſhe laid the Whole of her foreign Tranſactions before them, and thereby made them Judges of what ought to be done upon that Emergency; and I muſt ſay, Sir, it would be no Diſcredit for the beſt and wiſeſt of her Succeſſors to imitate her royal Example in this, as well as in moſt of the other Meaſures of her glorious Reign.

Then as to the Time of ſending that Meſſage, we were then actually engaged in the War, and one of our Allies was in the moſt imminent Danger of being ſwallowed up by our moſt inveterate Enemy; an Enemy, who but a little before had put the greateſt Affront upon this Nation, by ſetting up a Pretender, and acknowledging him in the moſt publick Manner, as the only rightful King of theſe Realms. It was not then ſaid, that we or our Allies might, from new Counſels, and ſudden Changes, be in Danger: It was ſaid, it was not only ſaid, but ſhewn to the Houſe in the moſt authentick Manner, that one of our Allies was actually then in imminent Danger. And further, Sir, that a Meſſage was not ſent to the Houſe at the End of a

Seſſion, and after moſt of the Members were gone to the Country; it was ſent in the very middle of the Seſſion, and at a Time when it muſt be ſuppoſed that the Houſe was full.

But as to the Powers then demanded or granted, I am ſurpriſed to hear it ſaid, that that Caſe is parallel to the preſent. Sir, her Majeſty asked no Powers; ſhe only told, and ſhewed the Houſe, what her Allies deſired and prayed; but ſhe did not pretend by her Meſſage to direct the Houſe what they were to do; ſhe did not deſire them to do any Thing, but only ſaid, ſhe doubted not but they would take ſuch Meaſures upon that Occaſion, as might be moſt for the Honour and Advantage of her Majeſty, the Safety of her Kingdoms, and the neceſſary Support of her Allies: And in Conſequence of this what was done? This Houſe was very far from granting to her Majeſty a Power of augmenting her Forces both by Sea and Land, as much as ſhe pleaſed; a Power of raiſing and keeping up in this Nation as numerous an Army as ſhe pleaſed; a Power of running this Nation in Debt as much as ſhe pleaſed; a Power of entering into, and concluding whatever Negotiations or Treaties ſhe ſhould think proper. No, Sir, they only told her, that, if her Majeſty ſhould think it neceſſary to enter into any further Negotiations for encreaſing the Forces which were to act in Conjunction with the Forces of the States General, that Houſe would enable her Majeſty to make good the ſame; and even to this ſo particular, this ſo much limited Grant, they added this expreſs Condition, that *England* ſhould not be charged with the Pay of ſuch additional Troops, but from the Day when a Stop ſhould be made by the States-General to all Correſpondence, Trade, and Commerce with *France* and *Spain*: But this Condition, Sir, was never performed; the additional Troops were taken into our Pay, but no ſuch Stop was ever made by the States-General; which ſhews how little we ought to depend upon the Conditions annexed to, or implied in any Grant we make, or in any Power we give.

As to the Meſſages ſent to this Houſe in the Years 1715 and 1718, they are very far from being Precedents for the preſent. At the Time of the firſt, there was an Inſurrection in a manner actually broke out, and an Invaſion expected; the Nation was then in imminent Danger, the Government was expoſed to the Danger of being immediately overturned: This the King in his Meſſage acquainted the Houſe of, and this was the Reaſon for their coming to the Reſolution they then did: But even in that Time of imminent Danger, this Houſe neither was deſired, nor did they condeſcend, to grant to his late Majeſty ſuch extenſive Powers, as are now demanded, and propoſed to be granted. They deſired his Majeſty indeed to augment his Forces both by Sea and Land, which, conſidering the ſmall Number of regular Forces we had then in the Kingdom, was much more reaſonable than the ſame Power can now appear to be, even ſuppoſe we were threatened with the like Danger; but 'twas not then ſo much as deſired, that the Houſe ſhould beforehand approve of all the Negotiations and Treaties, which his Majeſty, or rather his Miniſters, ſhould think proper to enter into, or to conclude; and the Power then granted to his Majeſty was the leſs dangerous, becauſe neither the Parliament, nor the Seſſion of Parliament, was then drawing towards a Cloſe; but on the contrary, his late Majeſty was ſo good as to continue the ſame Seſſion till the Danger the Nation was threatened with was entirely over; ſo that the Parliament had at any Time an Opportunity, and certainly would have put a Check to the Miniſters of State, if they, or any of them, had attempted to have made a wrong Uſe of that Power which the Parliament had granted to his Majeſty. The Powers granted in 1718, were granted for the ſame Cauſe. His Majeſty in his Speech acquainted his Parliament, that the Nation was in Danger of being invaded by a foreign Power; and it actually would have been invaded, if the *Spaniſh* Fleet had not met with a Diſaſter at Sea; ſo that neither of theſe Caſes can be any way conſidered as parallel to the preſent.

'Tis true, Sir, the other Precedent quoted by the Hon. Gentleman may be looked on as ſome way parellel to the preſent: We were then in a Sort of State which I cannot give a Name to; it was neither a Time of War, nor a Time of Peace; but I do not remember it was ſo much as pretended, that the Nation was threatened with imminent Danger; yet we then did ſomewhat like what we are now deſired to do; we granted away Millions for ought we knew, in the Dark, without any Cauſe or Reaſon aſſigned. But I muſt obſerve, Sir, that that Meſſage happened ſince the Hon. Gentleman's Return to Power, and therefore may be ſuppoſed to have been adviſed by the ſame Perſons, and to have proceeded from the ſame Councils with the preſent; yet they were a little more modeſt at that Time: It could not be then properly ſaid, that the Nation was in a State of abſolute Tranquillity, yet nevertheleſs the Hon. Gentleman was ſo modeſt, as to aſk only for a Power to make an Addition to the Number of Seamen, and to negotiate and make Treaties; he did not ſo much as ask for a Power to raiſe, and keep up in this Nation, in a Time of Peace, whatever Number of Land-forces he might pretend to think neceſſary. Thus we ſee the Hon. Gentleman improves upon his laſt Precedent, and it is natural to ſuppoſe he will likewiſe improve upon this; therefore, if all the Powers now asked for be granted, as I do not know any other

ther Power his Majeſty can want from his Parliament, but that of making Laws, I ſhall expect that, beſides the Powers now aſked for, there will be, in the next Meſſage from the Crown, a Demand for impowering his Majeſty to make or repeal, continue or ſuſpend, alter, explain, or amend ſuch Laws, and in ſuch Manner, as he ſhall think abſolutely neceſſary for the Safety of the Nation. This, I ſay, is the only further Grant that is neceſſary for us to make in order to eſtabliſh by a Reſolution of both Houſes the abſolute Power of the Crown; and with reſpect to the Liberties of the Nation, I think it is much the ſame, whether we grant this Power to the Crown, or put the Crown in a Capacity of aſſuming it whenever they have a Mind, which will certainly be the Conſequence of the Reſolution now propoſed.

This, Sir, naturally leads me to the other Doctrine which the Hon. Gentleman has endeavoured to eſtabliſh; that we may with Safety grant to the Crown the Powers now aſked for. As to his preſent Majeſty, Sir, he is a Prince of ſo much Goodneſs and Wiſdom, and is endowed with ſo many noble and princely Qualifications, that we may ſafely not only truſt him with the Powers now demanded, but we may ſurrender, and lay down the whole of our Rights and Liberties at the Foot of the Throne; but as this would be a moſt dangerous Precedent, and might be made a moſt wicked Uſe of in Times to come, the ſame Wiſdom and Generoſity, which makes it ſafe for us to put ſo much Truſt in his preſent Majeſty, would render Perſons capable of ſo much mean and low Complaiſance, moſt deſpicable in his Majeſty's Eyes. He might juſtly ſay of us, what the *Roman* Emperor ſaid of that Senate, which was ſo complaiſant as to refuſe nothing he aſked; *O Homines ſervire paratos!* And his Majeſty would have as much Reaſon to be quite tired with our fawning Complaiſance, as that Emperor is by the Hiſtorian repreſented to have been with the fawning Complaiſance of the *Roman* Senate. We all know, Sir, how difficult it is to refuſe to the King upon the Throne thoſe Favours or Powers which have been granted to his Predeceſſor; and therefore it has always been the eſtabliſhed Maxim of every honeſt Man, who had a Seat in either Houſe of Parliament, not to grant to a good King thoſe Powers, which a bad King might make an ill Uſe of; and ſurely, if a bad King were truſted with a Power of raiſing Land-Forces at Diſcretion, he might eaſily turn it to the utter Subverſion of all the Liberties and Privileges of the People of this Kingdom.

But with Reſpect to the Powers now aſked, our Safety is, it ſeems, to be ſecured by this; that a particular Account is to be rendered to next Parliament of whatever may be done, and of all the additional Expence that may be incurred, in Purſuance of theſe Powers. Sir, I have been ſo often deceived by Miniſterial Promiſes, and Experience has ſo fully convinced me, that we are never to expect any ſuch Account in a fair and regular Manner, that I have no Faith in, nor any Dependence upon ſuch Promiſes: Both I and other Gentlemen have often called for ſuch Accounts, but we have always been told, that either Matters were not ripe for laying ſuch Accounts before Parliament, or that the Secrets of the Government were not be revealed; and the higheſt Satisfaction we could ever get upon ſuch Occaſions was to be told, that the Expences had been neceſſarily incurred on Account of foreign and ſecret Services: It has always been pretended there was a Neceſſity for ſuch Expence, but the Parliament was never to be let into the Secret from whence that Neceſſity aroſe; we are always, it ſeems, to believe ſo upon the bare Word of our honeſt and wiſe Miniſters; and I am very apt to believe that the ſame Confidence and Reſignation will be required from the next Parliament.

The Gentleman ſaid he might leave the Queſtion to reſt wholly upon our preſent Circumſtances: It may be ſo, Sir, but I wiſh he had told us what theſe Circumſtances are. He ſaid they were the ſame they were at the Beginning of the Seſſion; not altogether the ſame; they were the ſame in general, but by Time, and Variations in foreign Councils, an Alteration might be made in them. I muſt ſay, Sir, the Houſe is very much obliged to the Hon. Gentleman for giving us ſo much Satisfaction; and from this Intelligence we ſhall certainly be able to give our Friends in the Country a moſt ſatisfactory Account, and a moſt convincing Reaſon for what we have done. 'Tis true, they have been made believe that they are to pay but 2s. in the Pound Land-Tax, but we can tell them that the Hon. Gentleman gave us ſo particular an Account of our Circumſtances, and of the Danger the Nation was expoſed to, that we thought proper to leave it to his Diſcretion, whether the Nation ſhould be charged with 6s. or perhaps with 19s. in the Pound Land-Tax; and by his paſt Conduct the Nation is ſo fully convinced of his Wiſdom and Sincerity, that they will certainly approve of what we have done.

Sir, I have troubled you too long; I think I have ſhewn that the Reſolution propoſed is neither neceſſary nor ſafe, nor founded upon any Precedent: But quoting of Precedents ſignifies nothing; ſuppoſe there were Precedents exactly parallel to the preſent Caſe, it would be no Argument for our agreeing to what is propoſed. There are but too many Precedents which reſemble it a little; it is now high Time to put a Stop to the Practice, and I am ſure it will be much more for our Honour to make a Precedent where ſuch

a Demand has been refuſed, otherwiſe the Thing may come to be familiar: It may become an uſual Cuſtom to veſt the Crown with ſuch a Power at the End of every Parliament; ſo that all our ſucceeding Parliaments may come to be choſen under the Influence of abſolute Power, and then neither the Hon. Gentleman, nor any of his Succeſſors in Office, needs deſire to do any Thing without the previous Sanction of Parliament; for it is not to be ſuppoſed that a Parliament choſen under the Influence of arbitrary Power, will ever refuſe their Sanction, when the Miniſter, for the Time being, pleaſes to demand it; in which Caſe, I believe, every Gentleman will agree with me, that the Parliament will be altogether uſeleſs, it will ſerve for nothing but to make our Miniſters the more daring, and the Oppreſſions of the People the more grievous; and therefore, Sir, I am againſt the Queſtion.

Sir *T——s R——n* ſpoke next for the Queſtion; after him L--d *C——ne* ſpoke againſt it, and then

E——d D——y, Eſq; ſtood up and ſpoke to the following Effect: The Hon. Gentleman who opened this Debate has, in my Opinion, Sir, made as artful a Speech in Favour of arbitrary Power as ever I heard made any where, and has ſaid a great deal more in Recommendation of ſuch a Government than ever I expected to have heard within theſe Walls. I will not eaſily admit, Sir, that we are ever to truſt the Crown with ſuch extenſive Powers as are now demanded; but ſurely if we are ever to do any Thing like it, if we are ever to veſt in the Crown any extraordinary and unuſual Powers, it ought to be in a Caſe of the extremeſt Neceſſity, and even then we ought to do it in the moſt deliberate Way that the Circumſtances of the Caſe can admit of, and not till after the Caſe has been fully explained, and the Neceſſity made clearly to appear to us. Had we been informed of our Danger in the Beginning of the Seſſion, what is now propoſed might have been done; but then it might have been done in a regular Way, and might have paſſed thro' all the Forms of Parliament; by which Means the other Houſe might have had an Opportunity of putting a Negative upon it, which they ought to have by our Conſtitution; and every Gentleman of either Houſe might have had an Opportunity of examining into the Merits of the Queſtion, and of giving his Opinion upon it; whereas now we are in a thin Houſe, and without any Concurrence of the other Houſe, to give up by a ſingle Vote all the Rights of Parliament, and, for ought we know, to put an End to all Parliaments.

The Hon. Gentleman has told us, that during the former Part of the Seſſion his Majeſty did not make this Application, becauſe the Danger had not become ſo great, as to make it neceſſary for us to put ourſelves to any immediate additional Expence, but that after the Seſſion is broke up, or this Parliament diſſolved, ſome Change may happen which will make ſuch Expence neceſſary; and as his Majeſty cannot then have an Opportunity of applying to his Parliament, therefore it is neceſſary to furniſh him with ſuch Powers as are now demanded, before the Seſſion breaks up. Sir, I would be glad to know from that Gentleman, or any other, what Neceſſity there is for this Seſſion's breaking up ſo ſoon, or if there is any Neceſſity for diſſolving this Parliament in a few Days? Our Time does not expire till *October* next; and however neceſſary our Preſence may be in the Country, if the Nation be in any Danger, if there be any Reaſon to ſuſpect that the Nation may ſoon be in Danger, I am ſure every Gentleman will think it his Duty to remain in Town, or return to Town, in order to attend the Service of his Country in Parliament. If we have now really any Thing to fear from the *French* Squadron, and that I think is the only Danger I have heard ſo much as inſinuated, all Apprehenſions from that Squadron muſt be over long before that Time; nay, I do not know but if the few Days that were aſked Yeſterday, for taking this Meſſage into our Conſideration, had been granted, the Danger from that Squadron might have been over before we had come to conſider of that Danger, or how to provide againſt it, and this perhaps was the chief Motive for refuſing ſo ſhort and ſo reaſonable a Delay; for if that Squadron had been ſailed elſewhere, the Gentlemen would have been ſtript of the only Argument I have heard them make uſe of for perſuading us, or rather for terrifying us, into the granting of an abſolute Power to the Crown.

The Hon. Gentleman told us, that his Majeſty deſired not to give our Allies a mean Opinion of this Nation, by our neglecting to put ourſelves in a Condition of making good all our Engagements to them. Sir, I do not know what Engagements we may lie under, or who are our preſent Allies, for I think all the Powers of *Europe* have lately been our Allies in their Turns; but for this very Reaſon, Sir, I am againſt what is now propoſed, I am for giving our Allies, whoever they may be, a good Opinion, not only of this Nation, but of his Majeſty's Government, and therefore, whatever may be neceſſary to be done for putting ourſelves in a Condition to make good our Engagements, I am for its being done in a full Houſe, and in a regular parliamentary Method. Can any Gentleman imagine that our Allies, eſpecially the *Dutch*, if they be our Allies, are ignorant of our Conſtitution? No, Sir, they are per-

perfectly acquainted with it, and therefore if we ſhould grant ſuch Powers as are now demanded, or make any other Sort of Proviſion in a full Houſe, and in the regular parliamentary Method, we cannot doubt of its having greater Weight with our Allies, than a Reſolution or Vote thus obtained, by Surpriſe, at the End of the Seſſion, and after moſt of the Gentlemen are retired to the Country. Such a Method of obtaining the Approbation of Parliament muſt neceſſarily give them a mean Opinion, at leaſt, of our Government, and muſt contribute to the rendering his Majeſty's Endeavours, for reſtoring the Peace of *Europe*, of little or no Effect.

Beſides, Sir, by the Propoſition now made to us, we are really going to do what our Allies know we cannot do: We are not only going to delegate the Power of Parliament to the Crown, but we are going to promiſe that a future Parliament ſhall approve of whatever may be done in Purſuance of that Power ſo delegated. Does not every one of our Allies know that no Parliament can make ſuch a Promiſe? Does not every Man know that no Parliament has a Right to ſurrender the Liberties of the People, or to delegate the Power of Parliament to the Crown? And can we imagine that any Potentate in *Europe* will have any great Dependence upon the Powers or Promiſes which are granted by thoſe who had no Right to grant any ſuch? But ſuppoſe we had a Right to grant the Powers now aſked for, that Right is certainly never to be made uſe of but when the Nation is in the moſt imminent Danger; and as I can ſee no Pretence for ſaying that the Nation is now, or is like to be, in any ſuch Danger, nor have heard any other Reaſon for aſking the Powers now propoſed to be given, I muſt ſuſpect that they are aſked for Purpoſes that cannot be openly avowed, and therefore I ſhall give my Negative to the Queſtion.

Pb——p G——n, Eſq; ſpoke next againſt the Queſtion, and after him *H——y P——m*, Eſq; in Favour of it; then *T——s P——r*, Eſq; ſpoke againſt it; and after him,

H——o W——le, Eſq; ſpoke in Subſtance thus: Gentlemen, Sir, have been at a good deal of Pains to make out a Difference between the Precedents that have been mentioned and the Caſe now before us; tho' I think with very little Succeſs: There never was yet a Precedent for any Propoſition or Determination ſo exactly parallel to the Caſe in Hand, but ingenious Gentlemen might find out ſome minute Differences, yet Precedents where no material Difference could be ſhown have always been allowed to be good Authorities for what was propoſed to be done; and in the preſent Caſe I do not find that with all their Ingenuity they have been able to ſhew any material Difference between the Precedents mentioned, and the Propoſition now made to us. The two material Points now under our Conſideration with reſpect to Precedents are, whether it has not been the Practice of Parliament to grant extraordinary Powers to the Crown in Time of Danger? And in what Method thoſe Powers have been granted? Theſe, I ſay, are the two chief Points, and as to both of them every one of the Precedents mentioned appears to be as exactly parallel as any one Caſe can be to another.

But, Sir, I will endeavour to point out to the Hon. Gentlemen one very material Difference between the Meſſage now before us, and all the other Meſſages that have formerly come from the Crown, and it is this, in the preſent Meſſage his Majeſty expreſly promiſes to lay a full Account of whatever Expences may be incurred before the next Parliament, which is a Piece of Condeſcenſion that was never made by the Crown in any former Meſſage ſent to Parliament: This is indeed a material Difference, but ſuch a Difference as in my Opinion, ought certainly to be a prevailing Argument for us to agree to what is now demanded. And as to the Meſſage in the Year 1702, I muſt upon this Occaſion obſerve, that if a greater Confidence had been placed in her Majeſty, and her then Miniſters, and ſtronger Reſolutions made by that Parliament, it is more than probable that the War which enſued might have been entirely prevented, or at leaſt that the Enemies of th' Nation would have been obliged to have entered into the War under much greater Diſadvantages than they did; ſo that the ſlow and lukewarm Proceedings of that Parliament, and the fatal Effects they produced, is one of the ſtrongeſt Arguments that can be ſuggeſted, for us now to ſtrengthen his Majeſty's Hands in ſuch a Manner as may prevent any ſuch fatal Conſequences.

It is ſurpriſing to me to hear Gentlemen complain that nothing has been laid before them, to ſhew the Neceſſity for granting the Powers now aſked for. Did not his Majeſty in his Speech, at the Opening of the Seſſion, inform us of the War then begun in *Europe*? Does not he by the preſent Meſſage acquaint us that this War ſtill continues? And is not every Gentleman convinced by what he knows of the Situation of *Europe*, that the Balance of Power in *Europe* entirely depends on the Event of that War? Let which ever Side prevail, if it ſhould be allowed to prevail too far, would not the Balance of Power be thereby overturned, and will not this Nation neceſſarily be obliged to prevent ſo fatal an Effect? Beſides this, does not every Gentleman know that the *French* have lately fitted out a very powerful Sea

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Armament, which if not deſigned againſt this Country can be deſigned againſt but one other Place in the World? I indeed believe that it is deſigned againſt *Dantzick*, but if that Affair ſhould blow over, which is poſſible, before the *French* Fleet ſails, can we then be eaſy, can we imagine ourſelves in Security, while ſo large a Squadron with an Army ready to be put on board lies within a few Hours ſailing of our Coaſt?

The Hon. Gentleman by me very well obſerved what has been done by the *Dutch*; they had reſolved to reduce 10,000 of their Land-forces, but upon the Breaking out of the War, they have put off that Reſolution: They are our natural Ally, they have hitherto gone hand in hand with us, but we know in what a weak and defenceleſs Condition their Barrier in *Flanders* is at preſent, and if we ſhould ſit ſtill and do nothing, is it to be expected that they will go on in the ſame Way? No, Sir, they will be obliged to throw themſelves entirely into the Arms of *France*, and muſt depend upon the Honour of that Crown for the Preſervation of their Barrier in *Flanders*.

Gentlemen may, Sir, if they pleaſe, call this a Vote of Credit, but as his Majeſty has ſo expreſly promiſed an Account, it cannot properly be called a Vote of Credit. It is in my Opinion, only a Vote of Confidence: It is only coming to a Reſolution, which by ſhewing the entire Confidence we have in his Majeſty, will give his Inſtances with foreign Powers the greater Weight, and conſequently is abſolutely neceſſary for the Preſervation of the Balance of Power in *Europe*, without which this Nation can never be in any Safety or Security.

S——l T——ell, Eſq; ſpoke next likewiſe in Favour of the Motion: After him the *L—d T——el* ſpoke againſt it; and then,

Sir *W——m W——m* ſpoke to this Effect. As I find myſelf at preſent very much out of Order, I am very unfit, Sir, to offer my Opinion on ſo important a Queſtion: However, I muſt beg Leave to trouble you a little upon this Occaſion, becauſe if what is now propoſed ſhould be agreed to, I do not know but it may be the laſt Time I ſhall ever have an Opportunity of delivering my Opinion as a Member of this Houſe.

With me, Sir, it is a Matter of no Conſequence, whether the Propoſition now made to us be founded on Precedents or not; for if any Thing like what is propoſed has been done, I am of Opinion, that as often as it has been done it has been wrong done, and the oftner it is done it will ſtill be the worſe: But to tell us, that the only two Points now under our Conſideration is, Whether extraordinary Powers have upon any Occaſion been granted to the Crown; and in what Method theſe Powers have been granted? is very extraordinary: For ſuppoſing it right to grant extraordinary Powers by an extraordinary Method, upon ſome Occaſions, certainly we are, upon all ſuch Occaſions, to conſider the Reaſons for granting ſuch Powers, and the Nature of the Powers to be granted; and if, upon the preſent Occaſion, the Powers propoſed to be granted are much more extenſive than thoſe formerly granted, and the Reaſons for granting them not near ſo ſtrong as upon former Occaſions, no former Precedent can give any Authority for doing what is now propoſed.

We are told of the naval Armaments of *France*; but I would gladly know what we have done to deſerve any Inſult from that Nation. If contributing to throw the Affairs of *Europe* into their preſent Situation, by which the Houſe of *Bourbon* has been again put into a Condition of pulling down the overgrown Power of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, which ſo greatly alarmed us ſome Years ago; if this, I ſay, deſerves any Inſult from *France*, I do not know but we may deſerve it: But if this were true, while we have an Army of 18,000 Men in this Kingdom, and 12,000 in *Ireland*, all ready at our Call, and a more powerful Fleet than any the *French* can put to Sea, what have we to fear from 5 or 6000 *French*, if they were actually landed in the Iſland? Sir, if we had not a Regiment in the Kingdom, we could not have any Thing to fear from ſo inconſiderable a Number. And can we ſuppoſe the *French* ſuch Fools as to make ſo ridiculous an Attempt, by which they muſt expect to draw the immediate Vengeance of this Nation upon them?

When our Armies or our Fleets are to be augmented, when we are to enter into expenſive Negotiations, or when we are deſired to put extraordinary Powers into the Hands of the Government, for Purpoſes not to be told, I have often obſerved, Sir, that ſome Gentlemen are, upon ſuch Occaſions, mighty apt to raiſe Phantoms, and to magnify imaginary Dangers, from whence they argue for the Neceſſity of providing againſt them as if they were real: We are then to be afraid of Invaſions and Inſults from almoſt every Power in *Europe*; but when upon other Occaſions they are told what is too true, that the Nation is in a moſt dangerous and diſtreſſed Condition, they then inſiſt upon it that we are in the moſt happy Situation, that our Trade is in a flouriſhing State, and that we are in Friendſhip with, or at leaſt have no Diffidence of any foreign Power whatſoever.

But now it ſeems, Sir, we muſt grant more extenſive Powers to the Crown than were ever granted by any Parliament, tho' it cannot be ſo much as pretended that we are in any immediate Danger; for even thoſe Gentlemen who talk of the Neceſſity of granting ſuch Powers, tell us, that we are in the ſame Circumſtances

cumſtances we were in at the Beginning of the Seſſion: 'Tis true, we were not told what Circumſtances we were then in, nor are we told what Circumſtances we are now in: For this we muſt depend upon the Aſſertion of an Hon. Gentleman; and even he has told us, that he does not believe we are in any Danger, but does not deſire the Safety of the Nation to depend on his Belief. God forbid, Sir, it ſhould; but if we thus, upon his bare Word, give up all the Rights of Parliament, and in ſome meaſure deſtroy the Neceſſity of holding any Parliament for the future, I muſt ſay, that we ſhall from that Moment leave the Safety of the Nation, and the Preſervation of our Conſtitution, to depend very much upon his Management: This is what I ſhall never agree to: It is what I hope no Parliament will ever agree to; and therefore if we are in any Danger, or if we are like to be in any, let us know our Danger from ſomething elſe than his bare Aſſertion, and then I doubt not but the Wiſdom of Parliament will provide effectually againſt it.

We are ſeldom indeed told much, we are never told Things but by Halves; but if what we are told be true, if his Majeſty has hitherto taken no Share in the War, we cannot be in any immediate Danger. However, tho' his Majeſty, as King of *Great Britain*, may not have taken any Share in the War, yet he certainly has, as Elector of *Hanover*; and as this Nation has, by ſome Fatality or another, been generally engaged in the ſame Quarrel which our King, as Elector of *Hanover*, eſpouſed, if the ſame Thing ſhould again happen, this Nation may then indeed come to be threatened with ſome Danger or Inſult; but in ſuch a Caſe it is not neceſſary for us to provide againſt ſuch a diſtant and conditional Danger, in the extraordinary Method now propoſed: Why may we not ſit for a few Months longer, and do in a regular parliamentary Way whatever may ſeem neceſſary on that Occaſion? When we are all together we make of ourſelves a pretty good Battalion; it cannot be ſaid but that we are well officer'd, and a little Time might probably bring us to turn to Right and Left, and to perform all the other Parts of Exerciſe by Beat of Drum; but this, Sir, is a ſerious Subject, and therefore I aſk Pardon.

We have been told, Sir, that all that is now aſked is only to put a Confidence in his Majeſty. No, Sir, it is to put a Confidence in his Miniſters, and in them I have none; no not even tho' the Hon. Perſon on the Floor has aſſured us, that no wanton or bad Uſe ſhall be made of it; for if we once grant the Power, we cannot tell how it may be uſed, nor can we be aſſured that any future Parliament will have it in their Power to call thoſe to an Account, who may make a wrong or a wicked Uſe of it: We are not to expect *Sylla*'s in every Age; abſolute Power is a bewitching Poſſeſſion, and ſeldom voluntarily reſigned. The ſame Hon. Perſon aſked us, if the paſt Conduct of the Adminiſtration did not promiſe rather a Backwardneſs than a Forwardneſs in making uſe of this Power? I muſt confeſs, Sir, that a Backwardneſs has been ſhewn by them in Caſes where it was very wrong to ſhew any ſuch Thing: When repeated Inſults have been offer'd to the Nation; when our Merchants have been pillaged, and our Sailors murdered, and that for Years together, they have ſhewed a mean and diſhonourable Backwardneſs, and therefore I think we have good Reaſon to ſuſpect that the ſame Imprudence may make them unwiſely raſh, and unſeaſonably forward in engaging in Diſputes where the Intereſt of the Nation may call upon them to be at leaſt neutral.

As all the principal Powers of *Europe* are now engaged in a bloody War againſt one another, and as we have not yet taken any Share in that War, the preſent Circumſtances of *Europe* are to me a moſt evident Proof, that we neither are nor can be in any Danger as long as we continue in the ſame Situation; and as we have no contrary Evidence, but what appears upon the general Miniſterial Meſſage, now under our Conſideration, I do not ſee how we can poſſibly form a Pretence for agreeing to what is now aſked of us: We ought, and I hope we always will ſhew as great a Deference to the Crown as becometh the free-born Subjects of *Britain*; but conſidering how often the Crown has, upon former Occaſions, been induced to aſſert for Truth, what Time, the Diſcoverer of Secrets, has made appear not to be true; conſidering that we are to look upon this, as well as all other ſuch Meſſages, as proceeding from the Advice and Suggeſtion of Miniſters; and when we reflect upon former Aſſertions which came to Parliament, by the Advice and upon the Suggeſtion of the very ſame Perſons, we cannot be juſtified in delegating ſo great a Power upon ſo ſlight an Evidence; an Evidence which Time may hereafter, as it has before done, ſhew to be entirely falſe.

I could have added a great deal more upon this Subject, but I find myſelf ſo bad, Sir, I can proceed no further, only ſhall take this Opportunity, this laſt Opportunity, I'm afraid, of declaring my Attachment to the Liberties and the Conſtitution of my Country, by declaring my Averſion to the Propoſition now before us.

Sir *W——m T——ge*. As all the Objections made to what is now propoſed have been already fully anſwered by other Gentlemen, I ſhall not pretend, Sir, to enter much into the Merits of the Queſtion; neither did I intend to have given you any Trouble in this Debate; but ſuch Expreſſions have dropt from the Hon. Gentleman who ſpoke laſt, that it is impoſſible they ſhould be paſſed over without

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ſome Notice. He told us that the Crown had often aſſerted for Truth what afterwards appeared to be falſe. This, Sir, I take to be an Accuſation which is very inconſiſtent with that Duty and Reſpect, which every Member of this Houſe ought to ſhew to the Crown; and I was the more ſurpriſed to hear that Gentlemen accuſe the Crown of impoſing Falſities upon the Parliament, becauſe he always uſes a great deal of Caution in what he ſays in this Houſe: I was ſorry the Hon. Gentleman was prevented from proceeding in this Diſcourſe, becauſe I believe he would have explained what he had ſaid in ſuch a Manner as not to imply ſo much Diſreſpect to the Crown: I dare ſay he would, but as his Words now ſtand, I cannot think it poſſible they ſhould eſcape the Notice of this Houſe.

I promiſed not to enter much into the Merits of the Queſtion, however I will beg Leave to explain a little what paſſed in this Houſe the firſt Day of the Seſſion, upon the Motion for an Addreſs; I remember ſome Gentlemen took Exceptions to an Expreſſion propoſed to be put into that Addreſs, as if a Promiſe of a Vote of Credit had been intended to be couched under it; and upon that Occaſion the Hon. Gentleman by me, ſaid, he believed no Perſon ſo much as dreamed that ſuch an Uſe was intended to be made of that Expreſſion; becauſe if any ſuch Thing as a Vote of Credit ſhould be deemed neceſſary, the Demand for it would come in the uſual Way by a Meſſage; and if any ſuch Meſſage ſhould come, he believed, no Argument in Favour of it either could or would be drawn from the Words then propoſed to be put into your Addreſs.

Gentlemen, I perceive, pretend that they cannot find out the Difference between what is now propoſed and a Vote of Credit; yet, in my Opinion, if they will be at the Pains to compare the two together, they may very eaſily diſcover the Difference; for a Vote of Credit is, where a Sum is given for certain Services, not to be accounted for to Parliament; whereas the preſent Meſſage bears this expreſs Promiſe in it, that a full and particular Account ſhall be laid before next Parliament of all the Expences which may be incurred in Conſequence of the Powers now to be granted; and as no Power is deſired but what appears to me neceſſary for the Security and Quiet of the Nation, I neither can ſee nor have heard any ſufficient Reaſon for not granting them.

Sir J—n B—rn—d. The Hon. Gentleman who ſpoke laſt found fault, Sir, with my worthy Friend below me, for ſpeaking diſreſpectfully, as he called it, of the Crown; upon which I muſt obſerve that the Hon. Gentleman is very apt, I will not ſay willingly, to miſtake what other Gentlemen ſay, and then to find fault with what he ſuppoſes they did ſay. My worthy Friend ſaid, that the Crown has often been induced to aſſert for Truth what Time has afterwards diſcovered not to be true. Sir, the Crown is never ſuppoſed to know any Thing but by Information, and if thoſe who inform the Crown have been themſelves miſinformed, or ſhould for any private and wicked Purpoſe give the Crown a falſe Information, the Crown may by ſuch Information be induced to aſſert for Truth, what Time may very probably ſhew not to have been true; ſo that without any Explanation, there is no Foundation for finding Fault with what my worthy Friend ſaid: Nay it is what happens but too often; were not we told but a few Years ago of ſome ſecret Articles in an Alliance entered into between two of our Neighbours, by which *Gibraltar* was to have been taken from us, and the Pretender was to have been placed by Force upon the Throne of theſe Realms: This was afterwards diſcovered not to be true; and, indeed, to conſider the Situation and Circumſtances of the two Powers who were ſaid to have entered into theſe Articles, it is hardly poſſible to believe that any ſuch Projects ſhould have enter'd into either of their Heads: Yet this was confidently aſſerted; and to have pretended at that Time to have doubted of it, would, I believe, have been reckoned highly diſreſpectful to the Crown, if not downright Diſaffection. So far are we, Sir, from being obliged to believe every Thing aſſerted by the Crown, that we are in many Caſes bound to enquire into the Truth of ſuch Aſſertions; and if they ſhould, upon ſuch Enquiry, appear to be falſe, we ought to puniſh thoſe who have either fooliſhly or knaviſhly impoſed upon the Crown.

Upon the preſent Occaſion, Sir, the Crown is abſolutely ſafe from any Accuſation or Suſpicion of this Kind; for we have not as yet had the leaſt Information from the Crown; even by the preſent Meſſage, notwithſtanding the great Powers thereby demanded, it is not ſo much as inſinuated that the Nation is in any Danger, nor are we informed of any Fact from which it may be conjectured that the Nation may ſoon be in Danger: It has indeed been inſinuated by an Hon. Gentleman in this Houſe, by Way of Supplement to the Meſſage, that we are in Danger of an Invaſion from *France*; but even that Gentleman himſelf ſays, he does not believe we are in any Danger, which is ſomething very ſingular; he does not, he ſays, believe it, but yet he would have every other Gentleman in this Houſe believe it; for it is certain there is no Danger to be apprehended from any other foreign Power; therefore it is impoſſible for any Gentleman, who is of his Opinion, with Reſpect to our Danger from *France*, to agree to his Reſolution. I ſay, it is impoſſible that any Gentleman, who does not think the Nation in any Danger, ſhould

agree to the granting to the Crown an unlimited Power of raiſing Forces by Sea and Land, of entering into expenſive Alliances, and putting the Nation to an infinite Expence.

But perhaps, Sir, the Danger we are now threatened with is of a domeſtick Nature: If ſo, I wiſh ſome of thoſe Gentlemen who know it, would riſe up and give us ſome Account of it; for really my Imagination is ſo barren, that I cannot form to myſelf an Idea of any ſuch Danger, unleſs it be the Danger of having the Majority of next Parliament conſiſt of ſuch Perſons as may not be agreeable to ſome Gentlemen; and if the Vote of Credit we are now to give ſhould be applied towards preventing that Danger, if any Part of the Money ſhould be made uſe of for that Purpoſe, it is certain that no Gentleman needs be under any Apprehenſions or any Uneaſineſs from the Promiſe now made, of accounting to next Parliament. But I beg Pardon, Sir, I believe I ſhould not have called the Reſolution propoſed to us a Vote of Credit; for I find Gentlemen are greatly divided, whether it ought to be called a Vote of Credit, or a Vote of Confidence. However, I think that Diſpute may be eaſily accommodated, by calling it a Vote of Confidence and Credit.

It may be thought, Sir, that I do not treat this Subject ſeriouſly enough; I will allow, that if the Nation were really in any Danger, it would be an Affair of very great Conſequence. In ſuch a Caſe, it would be a very ſerious Queſtion to determine, whether we ſhould devolve the Power of Parliament upon the Crown for a ſhort Time: But when Gentlemen come with ſuch a Demand, without any Foundation, when even they themſelves tell us they believe we are in no Danger, but tell us of a *French* Squadron with 4 or 5000 Forces ready to be put on Board; and becauſe we are now juſt at the End of a Parliament, make uſe of that Story as a ſufficient Argument for us to put it in the Power of a Miniſter never to call another; I ſay, Sir, ſuch a Demand, founded upon ſuch an Argument, muſt be look'd on as a Miniſterial Demand only, and therefore ought either to be treated with Ridicule, or rejected with Indignation. It is a Demand of ſuch a Nature, Sir, that, in my Opinion, no Gentleman, who has the leaſt Regard for Parliaments, or who expects ever to ſit in another free Parliament, can agree to it.

Mr. C——r of the E——r. Sir, in the Station in which I have the Honour to ſerve the King, I cannot ſit ſtill when I hear the Crown reflected on in the Manner it has been, I am, in Juſtice to the Memory of the late King, and in Duty to the preſent, obliged to take Notice of what happened to fall from the Hon. Gentleman under the Gallery. His late Majeſty's Aſſertion, relating to the two ſecret Articles agreed on between two foreign Powers, which that Gentleman took Notice of, and which he was pleaſed to ſay appeared afterwards not to be true, was as well founded, and as true an Aſſertion as ever came from the Crown. 'Tis true indeed, Monſ. *Palm*, the Imperial Miniſter then at this Court, denied that there were any ſuch ſecret Articles in the Treaty; but, Sir, when we have the Word of the late King from the Throne on one Side, and the Denial of a foreign Miniſter, a Miniſter of inferior Rank too, upon the other, I muſt ſay that in ſuch a Caſe, to pretend to be at a Loſs which to give moſt Credit to, is treating the Memory of our late Sovereign with very great Indignity; and I am ſure, if Time has diſcovered any Thing, it has diſcover'd the contrary of what the Hon. Gentleman pretends. Do not we all know that *Gibraltar* was ſoon after actually beſieged, and if proper Care had not been taken to prevent it, every Thing elſe that was ſtipulated by theſe ſecret Articles would as certainly have been undertaken. The other Project, if it had been undertaken, would, I believe, have met with the ſame Succeſs; but I am perſuaded there are ſome who are ſorry it was not accompliſhed.

Gentlemen talk, Sir, of miſinforming, and impoſing upon the Crown; but in that Caſe it was not his late Majeſty's Miniſters here who informed him, it was he that informed them of that Tranſaction: He had his Information at *Hanover*, and his Information was ſo good that he could not be deceived: I know as well, and am as certain that there were ſuch Articles, as thoſe very Perſons who drew up the Articles. I am ſorry, Sir, I have been provoked to ſay ſo much. To talk of theſe Things may now be improper, and perhaps I cannot juſtify myſelf in having ſaid ſo much, yet in Juſtice to the late King, I think I could ſay no leſs.

As to the Queſtion itſelf, I have heard no Objections made, but what have been fully anſwered by other Gentlemen, therefore ſhall not trouble you further upon it, but only to declare, that as this Nation may be expoſed to great Dangers during the Interval of Parliament, I think it abſolutely neceſſary to comply with his Majeſty's Meſſage; and as an Account is to be rendered to next Parliament, and that Parliament muſt meet ſome Time next Winter, if not ſooner, the Powers now to be granted cannot, in that Time, produce any bad Conſequences; but may produce very good Effects, by giving a due Weight to any Propoſals his Majeſty, in Conjunction with his Allies, may think proper to make to the Powers now engaged in War.

W-----m P----ney, Eſq; As it is now ſo late, Sir, and as ſo many unanſwerable Objections have been already made to the Propoſition now before us, I ſhould not have ſtood up to give you any Trouble, but that I think

the Queſtion of ſo great Moment, that I ought to teſtify my Averſion to it by ſomething more than a bare Negative. As to the Danger from the *French* Fleet, Sir, it is either too near to be provided againſt by any Thing that can be done in Conſequence of this Meſſage; or it is ſo remote, that it may be provided againſt in a regular Manner: This has already been taken notice of, and has not as yet received any Anſwer. But I muſt further obſerve, that if there had ever been any Ground to ſuſpect, that the *French* Fleet was deſigned againſt this Iſland, their not coming hither before now, is ſufficient to remove any Jealouſy that might have been entertained that Way. They might have had Ships ſufficient to have tranſported 5 or 6000 Men to this Iſland, and thoſe Troops might have been embarked, nay, and even landed in this Iſland, long before this Time; and therefore their Fleet's waiting ſo long in their Harbour, is a plain Demonſtration, that they are not deſigned againſt this Iſland, but againſt a Place, which they cannot approach ſo early in the Spring.

It is ſomething very ſurpriſing to me, Sir, that upon the preſent Occaſion we ſhould be told what the *Dutch* have done, or rather, indeed, what they have not done. When they make any Reduction of their Forces, in order to ſave publick Expence, and to ſpare their People, we are then told, that their Example can be no Rule for us: But if they make any neceſſary Addition to their Land Forces, in order to put themſelves in a Poſture of Defence againſt Dangers, which we, from the Difference of our Situation, have not the leaſt Reaſon to apprehend, then we are told, we ought to follow their Example: But in the preſent Caſe, even the Example of the *Dutch* can be no Argument: We have already done more than they have done, we have not only reſolved to keep up the ſame Number of Land Forces, which certainly would not have been done, if the Tranquillity of *Europe* had remained undiſturbed; but we have already made a very large Addition to the Number of our Seamen; an Addition which amounts to a greater Number of Men, than that Number of Land Forces which the *Dutch* have only reſolved not to reduce; ſo that tho' we be not near ſo much expoſed to the Danger as the *Dutch*, yet we have already very far exceeded them in the Expence we have put ourſelves to on account of the War.

We are next told, that the Towns in *Flanders* are in a very bad Situation, and no Way provided for Defence. For God's ſake, Sir, are we thus to be eternally the Dupes of *Europe*? If the Emperor or any other Power neglects to keep their fortified Places in a proper Poſture of Defence, muſt we anſwer for that Neglect? Are we for the Sake of preſerving the Balance of Power in *Europe*, to undertake at our own Charges to defend every Power in *Europe*, and to prevent their being invaded or conquered by any of their neighbouring Powers? Such Arguments, Sir, I ſhould think ridiculous, if made uſe of for perſuading us to put ourſelves to the leaſt additional Expence; but they are much more ſo when they are the only Arguments made uſe of for prevailing with us to make a total Surrender of our Liberties. Surely, Gentlemen muſt think this Houſe mighty ready to reſign the Liberties of their Country, when they make ſuch Propoſitions, and ſupport them by ſuch Arguments.

To me, Sir, it really appears as if this Propoſition had been made by way of Experiment, to ſee what Lengths we might be prevailed on to go; and if we agree to it, I am ſure it is what we can never anſwer for to ourſelves, our Conſtituents, or our Poſterity: Nay, we cannot anſwer for it even to his Majeſty himſelf; for it is a deſtroying of the Rights of Parliament, and as his Majeſty's Right to the Crown is founded on the Rights of Parliament, whatever tends to the Deſtruction of the one, muſt tend to the Deſtruction of the other. The Parliament, Sir, is the Guardian of the Crown as well as of the People. We are to protect the People in the Enjoyment of their Rights and Privileges, we are likewiſe to protect the Crown againſt wicked and evil Counſel'ors; and, in my Opinion, the Meſſage now before us, and the Propoſition now made to us, are of ſuch an extraordinary Nature, that if the Spirit of Liberty, that Spirit which brought about the Revolution, and eſtabliſhed the preſent Family upon the Throne, is not already quite extinguiſhed in this Nation, we may ſoon expect to ſee a Parliament, that will not only cenſure, but condemn and puniſh thoſe who have been the chief Adviſers of ſuch a Meaſure.

Mr. S——r G——l ſpoke next for the Queſtion, after him Sir *J——n H——d C——x* ſpoke againſt it; and then the Queſtion was put, which upon a Diviſion, was carried in the Affirmative by 248 to 147.

The Addreſs was accordingly drawn up, and on *April* 1, preſented to his Majeſty by the whole Houſe: To which his Majeſty returned a moſt gracious Anſwer. (Which ſee p. 216.)

Appropriating unappropriating Clauſe.

On *April* 3, the Order of the Day, for the Houſe of Commons to reſolve itſelf into a Committee of the whole Houſe, on the Bill for enabling his Majeſty to iſſue and apply a certain Sum (1,200,000 *l.*) therein to be mentioned, out of the ſinking Fund, being read, a Motion was made, that the ſaid Committee might have Power to receive a Clauſe of Appropriation with a Power to his Majeſty to apply ſuch Sums of Money, as ſhould be neceſſary for

ſer or towards the Increaſe of the Expences that ſhould ariſe by the Augmentation of his Majeſty's Forces by Sea or Land, as his Majeſty in his great Wiſdom ſhould judge neceſſary to make, and for concerting ſuch Meaſures as the Exigency of his Affairs might require.

This appropriating and unappropriating Clauſe (as it was called by ſome Gentlemen) ſtood great Debates, and was ſtrenuouſly oppoſed in both Houſes; and in the Houſe of Lords it occaſioned a long Proteſt, which our Readers may ſee in our *Magazine* for *April* laſt, (Page 200.) But it was agreed to by a Majority of both Houſes, and ſtands Part of that Bill, afterwards paſſed into a Law.

Meſſage relating to the Princeſs Royal.

On *Monday* the 8th Day of *April*, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer acquainted the Houſe, that he had a Meſſage from his Majeſty to that Houſe, ſigned by his Majeſty; which he preſented to the Houſe, and the ſame being read by Mr. Speaker, was as followeth, *viz.*

GEORGE R.

HIS Majeſty, having been pleaſed to direct Letters Patent to be paſſed under the Great Seal of Great-Britain, *for ſettling on the Princeſs Royal an Annuity of* 5000 l. per Annum, *as a Mark of his royal Favour and Affection to her, and the Laws now in Being reſtraining his Majeſty from granting the ſame for any longer Term than his own Life, hopes, he ſhall be enabled to make ſuch Grant for the Life of the ſaid Princeſs Royal, in caſe ſhe ſhall ſurvive his Majeſty, and recommends the Conſideration thereof to this Houſe.*

Which Meſſage was immediately taken into Conſideration, and Leave was given to bring in a Bill in Purſuance of the ſame; which was accordingly brought in, and paſs'd both Houſes.

On the 16th, his Majeſty came to the Houſe of Peers, and gave the Royal Aſſent to the Bills mentioned, p. 217. After which he made a moſt gracious Speech to both Houſes, and prorogu'd them; and two Days after, they were diſſolved. (See the Speech, p. 217.)

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